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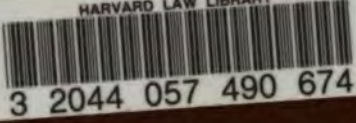
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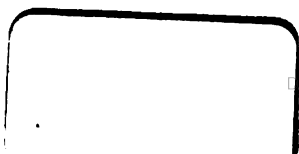
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COUNCILS  
AND  
ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS  
RELATING TO  
*GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.*

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# COUNCILS

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## ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO

*GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:*

EDITED, AFTER SPELMAN AND WILKINS,

BY

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**I. BRITISH CHURCH DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD: A.D. 200-450.**

**II. BRITISH CHURCH DURING THE PERIOD OF SAXON CONQUEST :  
A.D. 450-681.**

**III. CHURCH OF WALES: A.D. 681-1295.**

**IV. CHURCH OF CORNWALL: A.D. 681-1072.**



## P R E F A C E.

THE present volume contains the first portion of a work, based upon the *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae* of Wilkins, and aiming at a reproduction of that great work, in accordance with the present state of our knowledge and materials. The extent however of the undertaking is at present limited to the period antecedent to the Reformation. And as the book will thus cover less ground than that of Wilkins, so it has seemed expedient to depart in it also from the arrangement adopted by him, as well as of course (and very considerably) from the contents themselves of his book. Acknowledging fully our obligations to him, as having alone rendered a work like the present possible at all, we have not felt bound to retain everything which he admitted, any more than we have tied ourselves to the limits of the materials which were accessible to him. We have acted upon our own judgment, and to an extent that renders our work almost a new work, both in omitting and in adding; save that in the former, we design to omit nothing, except upon the grounds of proved spuriousness, or as substituting a better and earlier authority for a later, or as displacing documents wrongly attributed to our own Church but really translations of e.g. Frankish or other foreign documents.

In point of arrangement, it has seemed more convenient to keep together the documents relating to each period and division of the several national or local branches of the Churches of these islands, placing them chronologically under each of those several periods and divisions. We shall thus have the older British, the Welsh, the Cornish, the Scottish (in the modern sense of the term), the Irish, the Anglo-Saxon documents, besides those of minor or of



later divisions, grouped together so as to illustrate one another: and this, at the cost of a very trifling amount of rather cross-reference than repetition. Wilkins's single and purely chronological arrangement results in the scattering of the few Welsh, Scottish, or Irish documents within his reach, here and there, among contemporary Anglo-Saxon or Norman documents, otherwise for the most part wholly unconnected with them.

In respect to contents the present work varies even far more widely from its predecessor and prototype. For the year 1737, the *Concilia* of Wilkins was a monument of gigantic labour and learning, and worthily claimed both to rival and to supplant the work, for its date equally wonderful, of Wilkins's own forerunner Spelman. But it is no imputation either upon that indefatigable scholar's industry, or upon his critical skill, to say, that for our present needs, and with our present materials, and according to the sounder canons of present historical and philological knowledge, his work is inadequate, exceedingly defective and incomplete, and (especially in its earlier portions) uncritical: to say nothing of the not few blemishes which disfigure it, of incorrect readings and inaccurate Anglo-Saxon translations. The complete revolution effected in Anglo-Saxon scholarship by the labours of such men as Rask, Grimm, Bosworth, Kemble, Thorpe, etc., and the labours of the last-named upon the special class of Anglo-Saxon documents with which we are concerned, supply ample materials for the remedy of the last-named defect. And the aid in this department kindly promised to us by the Rev. John Baron, M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford, the careful and learned editor of Johnson's *English Canons*, will enable us we trust, notwithstanding our own very imperfect knowledge of Anglo-Saxon, to make adequate use of them.

In respect to the collection of additional materials and their critical use, it is obvious that abundant helps have become accessible since the days of Wilkins, although until now no attempt has been made to employ them in one great and complete work. Not only are additional collections of MSS., as every one knows, now open, but both their contents and those of other collections have been very largely searched, and catalogued, and published in print. Of printed works,

the Anglo-Saxon Charters collected by Kemble, or in Thorpe's *Diplomatarium*,—the laborious editions of Penitentials, and of Anglo-Saxon laws, due to Kunstmann<sup>a</sup>, Wasserschleben<sup>b</sup>, Thorpe, and Schmid<sup>c</sup>,—the publications of the Record Commission, and especially (as bringing together critically and thoroughly the entire series of historical sources for the ante-Norman history of Church as well as State) the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, and Mr. Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (so far as it is yet published),—with other scattered sources of information too numerous to specify,—not only supply additional documents, many of them previously buried in MSS. and unknown, but furnish also copious critical help in their selection and arrangement. And the specially ecclesiastical volume of the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (Rec. Comm. 1840), although singularly unfortunate in its choice of documents to be published, adds to our store nevertheless some that are both important and previously not in print, in addition to the improved Anglo-Saxon text and English version of Anglo-Saxon documents already referred to. Liverani<sup>d</sup> also, and above all Theiner<sup>e</sup>, have so far disclosed the secrets of the Vatican, as to furnish very much of additional material, the latter principally for early mediæval Irish and Scottish Church history; while they increase our curiosity to learn something more still of the untold wealth of like documents, still waiting (we suppose) for the kingdom of Italy to make them entirely accessible to European scholars. Kunstmann, and with a more than German thoroughness, Wasserschleben, as above mentioned, prosecuting enquiries and investigations started by Knust, Mone, Hildenbrand, and others, have critically and almost thoroughly exhausted the store of Continental MSS. of Irish or Anglo-Saxon Penitentials, and have left to us in that particular department the task only of using the

<sup>a</sup> F. Kunstmann, Die Lateinischen Pönentialbücher der Angel-Sachsen, mit geschichtliche einleitung: Mainz 1844.

<sup>b</sup> F. W. H. Wasserschleben, Die Bussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche, nebst einer rechtsgeschichtlichen einleitung: Halle 1851.

<sup>c</sup> Reinhold Schmid, Die Gesetze der Angel-Sachsen: in der Ursprache mit Übersetzung und Erläuterungen herausgegeben, etc. Erster Theil: Leipzig 1832. Zweite, völlig umgearbeitete

und vermehrte Auflage: Leipzig 1858.

<sup>d</sup> Franc. Liverani, Spicilegium Librarianum: Florent. 1864.

<sup>e</sup> Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam illustrantia, quæ ex Vaticanis, Neapolitanis, ac Florentinis Tabulariis deprompsit et ordine chronologico disposuit Aug. Theiner, Presb. Congr. Oratorii etc. Ab Honorio PP. III. usque ad Paulum PP. III., 1216–1247: Romæ 1864.

additional but important MSS. (unknown to them) in the Bodleian Library and in that of C. C. C. Cambridge. There still remain, among the valuable MSS. at S. Gall, some Irish Canons and fragments of liturgies, etc. yet unpublished, which will enrich our collection of early Irish documents.

All the works, however, above named are either restricted to special departments of Wilkins's comprehensive subject, or include also foreign documents of the class they treat of, or simply help to elucidate the Church history of the period. The task is still left to be done, which we now hope to do, of combining and employing all these various classes of information, in the preparation of a single and complete series of the documentary evidence of the Church history of these islands prior to the Reformation.

To specify a few particulars in a little more detail.—1. The "Origines" of the British Church were added by Wilkins as an appendix at the end of his work, by an afterthought. And he has merely reprinted there Spelman's long since obsolete speculations upon the subject. The few documents relating to it at the beginning of his first volume, like the mythical council held by Ine A.D. 712, are almost all pure fable. For the period then antecedent to the Saxon invasion, which has left behind no documentary evidence whatever of its own, we have thought it best to collect and arrange every Patristic or Continental allusion to the British Church that can be found. The period which follows, that of S. David and the settlement of the Welsh Church, is somewhat better provided from its own stores, although (with the exception of Gildas) the preservation of such fragmentary remains as it has left, is due either to Brittany or to Irish Churchmen. The former source supplies some Penitential Canons (published first by Martene and Durand); interesting, besides their curious contrast with the legendary conception of the British Church of that time, as throwing back the beginning of the great development of the Penitential system in the West, which is usually attributed to Theodore, to the Celtic Churches which he found in these islands. The latter have preserved fragments of what seems like a second *Epistola* of Gildas (hitherto, in part, unpublished). The non-historical portion of Gildas' well-known first *Epistola* is also here reprinted, as bearing upon the

probable hypothesis of a special British Old Latin Version of the Bible: a supposition confirmed by the discovery also of a few fragments of (apparently) such a version, here published for the first time. The series, which follows, of the documents of the Welsh Church down to the time of its absorption into the English, is one now for the first time made, and has been collected (as will be seen) from various sources, as e.g. from Peckham's Register, from the Vatican Transcripts in the British Museum, etc., etc., but in particular from the original MS., now again come to light, of the *Liber Landavensis*, and from the extracts from the Red Book of S. Asaph preserved among the Peniarth (formerly Hengwrt) MSS.: for the courteous loan of which two MSS. we desire to record our obligations, respectively, to P. Davies Cooke, Esq., of Owston, co. York, and W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., of Peniarth. It need hardly be added, that we have taken our extracts from Howel Dda's Laws from Mr. Aneurin Owen, not from Dr. Wotton.

2. The late lamented Mr. Robertson's unwearied research and historical skill have anticipated a large portion of our labours in respect to the Northern Churches of the island. His volumes of Scottish Councils (in the modern sense of the word Scottish) have already digested and arranged the greater part of the mass of material relating to the subject accumulated in various antiquarian publications or elsewhere, and have advanced largely upon Father Innes's brief outline prefixed to Wilkins. The task still remains for ourselves of working up also the fragmentary information relating to the period before King David, where Mr. Robertson begins; a task largely facilitated by such publications as Mr. Skene's Early "*Chronicles*" of Scotland (Edinb. 1867).

3. The labours of Dr. Reeves, Dr. Todd, Mr. King, and of the other and non-ecclesiastical members of that great band of Irish scholars who have recently converted Irish early history and archæology out of an almost proverbial chaos of wild and uncertified fable into something approaching to coherent and critically digested knowledge, render it now possible, almost for the first time, to produce a similarly sifted and critically arranged and edited series of Irish Church documents of the ante-Norman period. The S. Gall MSS. enable us to add the interesting collection of Irish Canons,

which was made apparently for Irish continental monasteries and missions in the early part of the 8th century, and of which hitherto only a few extracts have appeared in print (viz. in D'Achery, and in Martene and Durand). The same source, and other Swiss libraries, supply also some Irish liturgical fragments, published for the first time (with the exception of one, which is also in a printed but unpublished report of the Record Commission) in Bishop Forbes's Preface to the *Arbusnot Missal*. A Penitential of Vinniaus (S. Finian), and other Irish Penitential Canons, collected by Wasserscheleben, represent in our collection that class of Irish early documents. The work of the kind attributed to Cummián, and which largely coincides with the genuine Theodore, contains also so much that comes from later sources, as to make it plain, either (if the well-known Cummián, who wrote upon the Easter controversy about A.D. 634, be the author of it) that we have only in our MSS. a work founded upon his, or (if the work as it stands is to be assigned to some other Cummián) that its compiler lived as late as the 8th century, when there certainly was a Bishop Cummián at Bobbio, viz. about A.D. 711-744 (see Wasserscheleben's *Einleitung*, pp. 64, 65). The latter seems the more likely guess. And the document, so far as it is not mere repetition, will be placed by us according to that date. All these departments of our work are in effect additional to Wilkins, who was acquainted very scantily with their subjects.

But there remains very much to be done in even, 4. the *Anglo-Saxon* period, upon which Wilkins bestowed especial pains, and which Mr. Thorpe has handled subsequently. Mr. Kemble's charters have disclosed a number of additional councils, although none of much importance; besides throwing a great deal of light upon questions of date or of genuineness. And Mr. Thorpe's ecclesiastical volume of *Ancient Laws* adds as we have said some valuable documents, such e. g. as that which he entitles *Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical*, and again Ælfric's *Pastoral Epistle*, and that entitled *Quando Dividis Chrisma*, besides some minor additions. In the department however both of codes or digests of canons generally, and of penitential canons, both Wilkins and Thorpe are unfortunate. The *Liber Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which is one of the two representatives of the former class in Wilkins, and is repro-

duced as "*Ecclesiastical Institutes*" by Thorpe, is (as Wilkins himself tells us, from Johnson) a translation of a work of Bishop Theodulf of Orleans, who flourished c. A.D. 797.

Penitentials are in still worse plight. Wilkins, omitting all Irish or other Celtic documents of the kind, exhibits only one specimen of those of Anglo-Saxon times, viz. the Penitential attributed by him (as by others) to Egbert, which is in large part a mere translation into Anglo-Saxon of three books of Halitgar of Cambrai, who flourished about A.D. 825. Mr. Thorpe, reprinting a better text and translation of this, but still as Egbert's, has added, under the pseudonym of Theodore's Penitential, the first half, arbitrarily severed from the remainder, of what is really a Frankish Penitential of the 9th century; of which Spelman, knowing nothing but its table of contents, had guessed that it was the lost work of Theodore. And Kunstmann, noticing the difficulty of the case, has followed Thorpe. The English editor indeed has published only a part of the document in question, which stands as a single whole in the MS. (C. C. C. C. 190, marked O by him); omitting without notice six chapters at its commencement, and twenty-two at its close, and the whole story of Furseus (as found in Bæda) at the end of c. 45; while he severs the last two chapters of the portion which he does print (putting them in different type from the rest) as plainly later than Theodore, and leaves the reader to suppose that the MS. ended with them. The very title and contents of the first chapter of the portion thus groundlessly cut away from the rest for publication, sufficiently prove, that a work written when the "*Orientalis provincia Germania et Saxoniam*" contained settled Christian Churches, and by a writer who had "learned by experience" the customs of those Churches, could not possibly be the work of one, in whose days those parts of Germany were sunk in heathenism, and of whose life we know enough from Bæda to know certainly that he never could have been in Germany at all. The first paragraphs also of c. 20 are from a Roman Council of A.D. 721. And other portions are from still later sources, as from Charlemagne's *Capitulare Ecclesiasticum* of A.D. 789, and from Halitgar in 829 (see Wasserschleben, Einl. p. 18). And the entire Penitential belongs to the Frankish family of such documents. Moreover, there

is literally no ground for assigning it to Theodore beyond the guess of Spelman, who had never seen it. The genuine Penitential of the great Archbishop (so to call it,—for it is in truth a general collection of canons not exclusively penitential, and it was not composed by Theodore at all, which accounts for Bæda's omitting to mention it, but was compiled by a disciple as a record of Theodore's decisions), lies after all side by side with that which has thus figured under its name, in the library of Corpus College at Cambridge. It is in C. C. C. C. 320 (designated N by Mr. Thorpe, and by some unaccountable oversight described by him as Cott. Tib. A 3, although he gives its locality correctly in his Preface); the MS., at the end of which are the verses addressed to Bishop Hæddi, printed by Mr. Thorpe, and which contains also the various readings (if those can be so called, which are taken from one work and applied to another and totally different one) printed also by Mr. Thorpe as from N. Internal evidence led ourselves to pronounce this to be the genuine Theodore. And the identical document has we find been printed as Theodore's by Wasserschleben from ten foreign MSS., one of them professedly a copy from the Cambridge MS. itself, while another contains an express statement that the work was compiled from the mouth of Theodore, and "*consiliante venerabili Theodoro Archiepiscopo,*" and by a "*discipulus Umbrensi*" for the benefit of the "*Angli,*" the greater part of it having been communicated by Theodore first to one Eoda a presbyter. Obligation also to a "*libellus Scotorum,*" but to no other preceding work, is specially acknowledged. The existence in the work of all the quotations professing to come from Theodore's Penitential,—a fact for which we must here refer ourselves to Wasserschleben,—and the parenthetical remark of the scribe (twice, viz. in I. v. 2, and 6), that he could hardly believe such and such a canon to have come from Theodore,—with other arguments for which we must here refer to Wasserschleben,—confirm the inference from suitability of contents, and render it certain that here at length we have the genuine work.

The genuine Penitential of Bæda has also been discovered and published from foreign MSS. by the same Wasserschleben. It had previously lain hid in numerous works of the kind, founded upon it, but (as is usually the case with such compositions) enlarged and

altered by subsequent Church authorities *ad libitum*: e.g. in the works, one with Bæda's name and another without it, commonly styled *De Remediis Peccatorum*; both of which appear to have been all but entirely made up of the shorter and genuine document found by Wasserschleben and of a similar document belonging to Egbert.

The last-named Archbishop has suffered even more in the same way, viz. by the assigning to him of later compilations<sup>f</sup>, founded upon his, but with much the same latitude with which our own work is "founded" upon that of Wilkins. We have first a short Penitential, found by Wasserschleben in a Vienna MS. and elsewhere, and especially also in one at S. Gall; which is attributed by its title to Egbert, is independent of other documents in its contents, refers to nothing subsequent to his date, and generally is suitable to him as its compiler. And at the end of this are added in the Vienna MS. two chapters, the second professing to be made up "*de dictis sancti Bonifacii Archiepiscopi*," or, as it stands in another entirely different compilation which happens to quote the same chapter, "*edictio sancti Bonifacii*;" while the MS. at S. Gall (which Wasserschleben apparently had not himself seen) adds at the end, but without these additional chapters, the words "*editio Bonifacii Episcopi*." The constant interchange of MSS. between Egbert and Boniface is known from Boniface's own letters; and those who used in Germany the Penitential of the former, might naturally add to their copy some further rules made by the latter. Here then we believe we have the genuine and original work of the York Archbishop. For we have, next, two works, as above said, *De Remediis Peccatorum*, one with Bæda's name, the other without it, sometimes assigned to Bæda and sometimes to Egbert, but really made up almost wholly of the two shorter and (as here assumed) genuine works of both. And then, thirdly, we find in Bodl. MSS. 718 (a 10th century MS., and one of Bishop Leofric's valuable gifts

<sup>f</sup> That which Wilkins and Thorpe call Egbert's Penitential, is, as above said, really a part of Halitgar's, and does not appear even to profess to be Egbert's. His "Confessional," also in Wilkins and Thorpe, claims only to be, and may well be, a translation merely by Egbert from Latin into Saxon; and is really made up, with

the smallest possible exception, of extracts from the genuine Theodore and Egbert themselves. MS. S. Gall 243, which contains the Irish Canons, is styled Egbert's Penitential by mistake in the S. Gall Catalogue, because its scribe's name happens to have been Eadberct.



to his cathedral, unknown to Wasserscheben) a very long and elaborate treatise, described (in a title placed after the contents of its first Book) as *Excerptio de Canonibus etc. penitentialis libri ad remedium animarum Eggerbti Archiepiscopi Eboraca Civitatis*; but with this title limited expressly (by the closing words of that book) to the first book of the treatise, while the other three are "excerpts" from Fathers, Canons, etc., and contain a systematically arranged treatise, compiled by a member of a religious house at the bidding of his rector, but without the slightest reference to Egbert. And the first book of this compilation contains the identical genuine work of Egbert as already assumed; but 1. prefixes to it 21 *capitula*, manifestly belonging to time and country of Frank Emperors, the 7th of them directing prayers to be made "pro vita et imperio domini Imperatoris et filiorum ac filiarum salute;" and 2. inserts after it, but apparently as Egbert's, forms of prayer and litanies etc. for confession, which are certainly (judging by the invocations) Anglo-Saxon. Lastly, we have, in Cott. MSS. Nero A. 1, and in C. C. C. C. K. 2 (a Worcester MS.), these same 21 *capitula*, followed by two comparatively short series of excerpts, agreeing largely but by no means entirely both with each other and with the much longer series in the Bodl. MS. Bk. IV., and both attributed to Egbert; the first of them printed as Egbert's *Excerptiones* by Wilkins and Thorpe, the second abstracted and in part translated by Johnson, and both of them containing extracts from the capitularies of Charles the Great. And we have also a further statement of Leland and Bale, that "Hucus Levita," a Cornishman of probably the 11th century, prefixed to some homilies of his own, now lost, certain "*Excerptiones Egberti*." The inference seems naturally to follow upon the case thus stated, that the shorter work first named is the only genuine one,—that Bodl. MSS. 718 is only Egbert's as regards this portion of its first Book, and perhaps the confessional appended to that portion,—and that the various compilers of the several sets of *Excerptiones* took the whole of the four Bodleian books to be Egbert's, and put together accordingly, under Egbert's name, what had really become (wrongly) associated with him through the combining of such *Excerptiones* with Egbert's genuine work by the compiler of the Bodleian MS.

We shall have, then, in our Anglo-Saxon period the three genuine

works of respectively Theodore, Bæda, and Egbert, now for the first time published in England. Of works founded upon theirs, or of translations from foreign documents, only those will claim admission at their respective dates, which 1. are not mere repetitions, and 2. obtained authority in our own Churches as being adopted by Saxon Archbishops or in any similar way.

Passing from Penitentials to the Easter controversy, we shall have to add to Wilkins here also, as under the Irish Church the letter of Cumnian, so under the Anglo-Saxon that of Aldhelm. That of Ceolfrið stands at present in Wilkins as the sole document of the kind. The interesting tract among the Holkham MSS. upon the Roman law, hitherto unpublished, which Palgrave attributed to Aldhelm, is certainly not his, and belongs to a date not far from the Conquest.

What has been said will we hope shew abundantly, both that our proposed work brings together important documents hitherto scattered or inaccessible, and that it adds also a fair amount of material now for the first time published at all. For further detail we must refer to the notes and explanations attached to each document in its place.

We have found considerable difficulty in defining precisely and consistently the classes of documents to be respectively omitted or inserted in a collection like that of Wilkins or our own. A rigid exclusion of everything except literal canons of formal councils would be a wide departure from Wilkins's practice (not to say, also, from his title-page), would be very far from producing an adequate modern representation of his work, would not furnish anything like a complete collection of authoritative Church documents or laws, and would indeed leave a very small skeleton of Church documents of any kind for any, and none at all for some of the earlier, periods or divisions of our insular Churches. On the other hand, the inclusion of every document relating to ecclesiastical things or persons at all, would issue in a work too unwieldy for use, in large part of very narrow interest, needlessly repeating the contents of collections already existing, and above all, far too heavy for the already over-tasked power of editors. A general as opposed to a local or individual interest appears to

be, roughly speaking, the qualification that should alone obtain admission for a document. And all grants of lands, e.g. to particular ecclesiastical bodies, may stand as a specimen of those which certainly fall as such outside the line. Everything partaking of the nature of a law or canon, every record of the existence of a synod even if its acts are lost, every document relating to the discipline of the Church or to its relations to the State or to the method of appointment to Bishoprics, or in any way illustrating the rules of procedure or the ecclesiastical practice or principles of the times, seems to fall within that line. Liturgies are the only large class of authoritative Church documents which seem to constitute a distinct and extensive department of their own; far too much so to allow of their being properly treated as a mere portion of a larger and more general work. And these therefore are omitted from our pages, with the small exception of certain ancient fragments, interesting historically as much as liturgically, and which also take up very little space. We have thought it best, in short, to aim at a collection of what the French call *Pièces Justificatives*, save that there is of course in our work no precedent history which the documents are alleged to sustain. And we have rather looked to the interest attaching to each case, than sought to draw a hard line to which it might be often inconvenient and almost out of our power to adhere.

It has been impossible to collate every document with the original MS. We have done so wherever we could; and in such cases cite the MS. as our authority, and if the document have been already printed elsewhere, add the words—"and in" such and such a book. If we have depended wholly on a printed authority, we have quoted either that authority simply, or the MS. as "in" such and such a book.

In conclusion, we venture to express a hope, that although the arrangement of the subject has limited the contents of the present and first volume to Churches so far from our present times, or so narrow in extent, as to be largely of antiquarian perhaps more than historical interest, yet even here we shall have thrown light upon many questions still practically important. The groundlessness of the so often alleged "Orientalism" of the early British Church,—oriental in no other sense than that its Christianity originated like all

Christianity in Asia, and found its way to Britain through (most probably) Lyons, and not through the then equally Greek Church of Rome, but without imprinting one single trace upon the British Church itself of any one thing in a peculiar sense Greek or Oriental,—the sweeping away of fictitious personages like King Lucius, or of gratuitous assumptions like that of S. Paul's personal preaching in these islands,—the placing the British Easter controversy upon its right footing, once more, of a mere confusion of cycles,—these and the like results, whatever ingenious partizans on either side may make of them, are certainly interesting to our patriotism, and may perhaps be made remotely practical for present polemics. Much again among the specially Welsh documents is chiefly interesting, except to the inhabitants of the Principality, itself, in the way of illustrating national character as impressed vividly upon a national Church, rather than in any larger sense. But other points emerge in the volume of still living interest. The futility, injustice, and utter mischief to discipline, of Papal appeals, considered solely in their practical aspect, and as exhibited in the cases of Bishop Urban and of Giraldus in the beginnings respectively of the 12th and 13th centuries,—the contest between Chapter, Crown, and Pope, for the right of nomination to Bishoprics, a contest complicated in Wales by questions of race, and of English domination,—the well-known Archiepiscopal summons to a synod in 1125, mentioning "permission" given to the Papal legate to hold it,—the repeated mention of diocesan synods,—the freedom and self-government accorded to the native Welsh Church of almost all dates, and diminished gradually as Henry III. and Edward I. brought English law to bear upon the subject, *pari passu* with their gradual and attempted Anglicizing of Wales,—the fearful abuse of spiritual powers and the exceeding worldliness of the Church, exhibited in all the relations of England to Wales during the same period, and especially in the monstrous wickedness with which excommunications and interdicts were scattered about at random, while the darker shades of the picture are relieved by the unselfish charity and piety, however oddly expressed, of such as Archbishop Peckham, and by the obviously sincere religion of Edward himself,—the commencement of that bane of the Welsh Church, the imposing

upon it of a clergy that could not speak Welsh, and the treating it sees as mere pieces of preferment,—all these are surely subjects which have a living interest, and belong to questions of which the moving forces are active in the present day. And our next volume will include a subject of certainly very pressing interest, namely, the early documents of the Church of Ireland.

For the present volume, Mr. Haddan is responsible. The second, which will contain the early Scottish and Irish documents, besides some minor divisions, also falls to Mr. Haddan. And Professor Stubbs will complete the Saxon period in vols. III. and IV. The second and third volumes will it is hoped appear by the end of 1869 or shortly after.

We have finally the agreeable task of tendering our thanks for much and courteous help, to the Librarians and Staff of the Bodleian Library,—thanks none the less heartily due, because their courtesy is alike extended to all who need it,—to Professor Westwood,—to the Rev. Dr. Reeves,—to the Rev. George Williams of King's, and to Mr. Bradshaw the Librarian of Cambridge University Library,—to the Master and Fellows of Corpus College, Cambridge, and especially to the Rev. W. M. Snell, for ready access to their invaluable MSS.,—to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Forbes of Brechin,—to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Leicester, for courteously permitting access to his library at Holkham, and to the Rev. Canon Collyer, for kind help in making that permission available,—to Mr. Hardy for the loan of some of the unpublished Reports of the Record Commission,—to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Greith of S. Gall, and to Herr F. E. Buchegger, the Librarian of the S. Gall Library,—to Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael of Trinity College, Oxford, and of the British Museum,—to the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and to Mr. Alfred Stowe, Fellow of Wadham College, for much Welsh information; and to many others for special assistance, to whom severally we have expressed our thanks at the particular passage to which that assistance referred.

ARTHUR W. HADDAN.  
WILLIAM STUBBS.

OXFORD,  
*Christmas, 1868.*

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## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- p. 8, note <sup>a</sup>, line 2. Add, before "Seiden"—"Theodorus Lector, ap. Morelli, *Bibl. MS. Græc. et Lat.* 225 sq.; *Ebedjesu Sobensis, Collect. Canon. Synod. Tract. I. V.*, ap. *Mat. Script. Vett. Novæ Collect. X.* 37 sq."—But these additional lists leave the statement of the note itself unaltered. It should have been noticed also, that S. Patrick, in the passage of his *Confessio* which recites his Creed, does not insert the term 'Ομοούσιον.
- p. 26, line 12. The coins of Lucius (so called) probably belonged to a Gailish King: see *Laluel, Type Gaulois*, Plate IX., nos. 37, 38; Bruz. 1840: cited by Mr. Beale Poste.
- p. 29, note <sup>b</sup>, line 1. For "Evreux," read "Avranches."
- p. 39, line 10. Add, "See also *The Basilica and the Basilican Church of Brinsworth*, by the Rev. C. F. Watkins (Rivingtons, 1867).
- p. 55, lines 21, 22. The words from *Si* to *Domini* are from Micah iii. 8, but in a translation peculiar to Gildas. See also p. 89, lines 26, 27.
- p. 102, note <sup>c</sup>. For "a mortuis Domini nostri Jesu Christi," read "Jesu Christi ex mortuis."
- p. 109, line 5. "Mors intrat per fenestram," is from Jerem. ix. 21, in a translation found also in *Paulinus, Epist. XLV.*
- p. 141, line 6. For "pp. 153, 154," and lines 18, 21, for "p. 153," read "p. 155."
- p. 143, line 14. For "almost exactly," read "pretty generally." S. Asaph, "cui et Powysia subest" (*Gir. Camb., Descript. Camb., c. IV.*), was itself in Perfeddwlad, which was distinct indeed from Gwynedd, but belonged to it and not to Powys. And Llandaff, which stood in Morgannwg, included (at least, as time went on) several small states within its see, which were at one time independent of one another. It is however in the main true, that the States and the Bishoprics bore a direct relation to each other. It is a tempting theory indeed, that S. Asaph, of which no trustworthy record of a Bishop exists prior to A.D. 928, came into existence as a see with the little Denbighshire principality of Strathcdwyd, founded by a colony from Kentigern's northern Strathcdwyd A.D. 890.
- p. 144, line 5. For "1154," read "1145."
- p. 144, line 23. The reason of H. Huntingdon's omitting S. Asaph, was because that see, at the time he was writing, was both vacant and nearly destroyed: see p. 316.
- p. 155, note <sup>a</sup>, line 28. For "I. 347," read "II. 347."
- p. 167, line 10. Dele "near the same place." Dervac's stone is in Brecknockshire, and is probably not Christian. It is figured in Jones's *Brecknockshire*.
- p. 205, line 28. For "W. Williams," read "ed. Williams."
- p. 372, line 13. For "XIV., XV.," read "XV., XVI."
- pp. 389, 390. For "Llewellyn," throughout, read "Llywelyn."
- p. 390, line 21. The plan for transferring S. Asaph to Rhuddlan should have been dated in A.D. 1281.
- p. 413, line 4 from bottom. For "July 22-26," read "July 23-27:" and line 3 from bottom, for "July 28," read "July 29."
- p. 415, line 15. For "July 22," read "July 23."
- p. 453, line 17, margin. For "legate's," read "Papal envoy's."
- p. 529, line 18, note <sup>a</sup>, and col. For "July 28," read "August 28."
- p. 547, lines 1, 18. For "Pembroke," read "Pembridge" (in Herefordshire).
- p. 603, line 9. For "Prior," read "Priory."





**COUNCILS**  
**OF**  
**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.**

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**I.**  
**BRITISH CHURCH DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD,**  
**A. D. 200-450.**

**VOL. I.**

Illa tamen proferre conabor in medium quæ temporibus Imperatorum Romanorum passa est [Britannia]; ... quantum tamen potuero, ... non tam ex scripturis patriæ scriptorumve monumentis, quippe quæ, vel si qua fuerint, aut ignibus hostium \* exusta aut civium exilii classe longius deportata non compareant, quam transmarina relatione, quæ crebris irrupta intercapedinibus non satis claret.—GILDAS, Hist. II.

\* *Scil. Saxonum.*

# BRITISH CHURCH

## DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD,

A. D. 200-450.

c. A. D. 200. Earliest record of Christians in Britain.

British Church follows the course of that of Gaul,—

1. A. D. 304. in comparative freedom from the Diocletian Persecution.
2. A. D. 314. in condemning Donatists at the Council of Arles.
3. A. D. 325-381, in freedom, although with a temporary hesitation, from Arianism.
- A. D. 401. Extension of the Church to northern Britain beyond the Forth, under S. Ninias of Whithern, in connection with the Gallic Bishop, S. Martin.
- A. D. 429-447. Pelagianism introduced, but crushed by the aid of Gallic Bishops.
- c. A. D. 440. Mission of S. Patrick to Ireland, in connection also with Gaul.
- After c. A. D. 450. British Church practically cut off for about a century from Churches of southern Europe.

A. D. 200-300. *Christians in Britain throughout the Century<sup>a</sup>.*

TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Jud. vii.* [c. A. D. 208.]—In quem enim alium universæ gentes crediderunt nisi in Christum, Qui jam venit? Cui enim et aliæ gentes crediderunt? Parthi [et cet., as in Acts ii. 9, 10], ...Gætulorum varietates, et Maurorum multi fines, Hispaniarum omnes termini, et Galliarum diversæ nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca<sup>b</sup>, Christo vero subdita, ...in quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen Qui jam venit regnat; ...utpote in quibus omnibus locis populus nominis Christi inhabitet...Christi autem regnum et nomen ubique porrigitur, ubique creditur, ab omnibus gentibus supra enumeratis colitur, etc. (*Page 189, Ven. 1744.*)

ORIGEN, *Homil. IV. in Ezek. Hieron. interpr.* [A. D. 239.]—Quando enim terra Britannix ante adventum Christi in Unius Dei consensit religionem? Quando terra Maurorum? Quando totus semel orbis? Nunc vero propter Ecclesias, quæ mundi limites tenent, universa terra cum lætitia clamat ad Dominum Israel, &c. (III. 370, *Delarue.*)

ID., *Homil. VI. in Luc. i. 24. eodem interpr.* [Anno incerto.]—Virtus

Domini Salvatoris et cum his est qui ab orbe nostro in Britannia dividuntur, et cum his qui in Mauritania, et cum universis qui sub sole in nomine Ejus crediderunt. Vide ergo magnitudinem Salvatoris, quomodo in toto orbe diffusa sit. (III. 939, *Delarue*.)

*On the other hand,—*

ORIGEN, *Homil. XXVIII. in Matt. xxiv, sec. Vet. Interpr.* [A.D. 246.]—Non enim fertur prædicatum esse Evangelium apud omnes Æthiopas, ...quid autem dicamus de Britannis aut Germanis qui sunt circa Oceanum, vel apud Barbaros, Dacos, et Sarmatas, et Scythas, quorum plurimi nondum audiverunt Evangelii verbum, audituri sunt autem in ipsa sæculi consummatione? (III. 858, *Delarue*.)

\* Mello, a Briton, is said to have been Bishop of Rouen A.D. 256–314.—Jo. Timm. and Capgrave, in Vit. S. Mellon., and see Gall. Chr. xi. 6.

b Then in revolt against Severus.—Dio Cass. lxxvi pp. 865, 866, ed. 1606; Herodian. III. p. 536, Francof. 1590.

A.D. 300, and onwards. *A Christian Church in Britain.*

SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl. I. 6.* [c. A. D. 443.]—Διωκομένων γὰρ τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην Ἐκκλησιῶν<sup>a</sup>, μόνος Κωνσταντῖος ὁ Κωνσταντίνου πατὴρ ἀδεῶς θρησκεύειν συνεχώρησε τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς· ἀμέλει τοιούτῃ τι θαυμαστὸν καὶ συγγραφῆς ἄξιον ἔργον εἰργάσθαι αὐτῷ· δοκιμάσαι θέλων τίνες τῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις<sup>b</sup> Χριστιανῶν ἄνδρες εἰσὶ καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί, συγκαλέσας πάντας, προηγόρευσεν, εἰ μὲν ἔλοιτο θύειν καὶ θρησκεύειν ὁμοίως, ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μένειν ἁγίας· εἰ δὲ παραιτήσαιντο, ἐξίεναι τῶν βασιλείων, χάριν ἔχοντας ὅτι μὴ καὶ τιμωρίας προσώφλησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς ἑκάτερον διεκρίθησαν, οἱ μὲν τὴν θρησκείαν προδόντες, οἱ δὲ τῶν παρόντων τὰ θεῖα προτιμήσαντες, ἔγω φίλοις καὶ συμβούλοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸ κρεῖττον πιστοῖς διαμείνασι· τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἀνάνδρους καὶ κοβάλους ἀπεστράφη, καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλίας ἀπεώσατο· λογισάμενος μὴ ποτε ἔσεσθαι περὶ βασιλεία εὖνους, τοὺς ὦδε ἐτοιμοὺς προδότας Θεοῦ γεγενημένους. Ἐντεῦθεν εἰκότως, ἔτι Κωνσταντίνου περιόντος, οὐκ ἐδόκει παράνομον Χριστιανίζειν τοὺς Ἰταλῶν ἐπέκεινα, Γαλάταις τε καὶ Βρεττανοῖς<sup>1</sup>, καὶ ὅσοι τὸ Πυρρηαῖον ὄρος οἰκοῦσι, μέχρι τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέραν Ὠκεανοῦ. (407, 408, *Vales*. The anecdote is also in Euseb. *Vit. Const. I. xvi.* 415, *Vales*. [*Soz. H. E. II. 6. 1.* does not allude to Britain.]

Id., *ibid. I. 5.*—Γαλάταις καὶ Βρεττανοῖς καὶ τοῖς τῇδε κατοικοῦσι, παρ' οἷς συνωμολόγηται τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας μετασχεῖν Κωνσταντίνων, πρὶν ἐπὶ Μαξέντιον στρατεῦσαι καὶ παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην καὶ Ἰταλούς· καὶ μάρτυρες πάλιν τούτου οἱ χρόνοι, καὶ οἱ νόμοι οὓς ὑπὲρ τῆς θρησκείας ἔθετο. (406, *Vales*.)

<sup>1</sup> Γαλάτας τε καὶ Βρεττανούς.—Hussey in *notis*, *c. conjed.*

EUSEBIUS, *Dem. Evang.* III. 5. [c. A. D. 315.]—Τίνας δὲ ἤδη [τῶν μαθητῶν] καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐλθεῖν τὰ ἄκρα, ... καὶ ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὁκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους, ταῦτα οὐκ ἔτ' ἔγωγε ἡγοῦμαι κατ' ἀνθρώπον εἶναι. (112, *Paris* 1628.)

Id., *Vit. Constantini* II. 28. [A. D. 337 × 340.]—Τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπηρεσίαν πρὸς τὴν Ἐαυτοῦ βούλησιν ἐπιτηδείαν ἐζήτησέ τε (ὁ Κρείττων) καὶ ἔκρινεν· ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Βρεττανοῖς ἐκείνης θαλάσσης ἀρξάμενος, καὶ τῶν μερῶν ἐνθα δύεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον ἀνάγκη τινὶ τέτακται, κρείττονί τινι δυνάμει ἀπωθούμενος καὶ διασκεδαννὸς τὰ κατέχοντα πάντα δεινὰ· ἵν' ἅμα μὲν ἀνακαλοῖτο τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸν σεμνότατον νόμον θεραπείαν, τῇ πυρ' ἐμοῦ παιδευόμενον ὑπουργίᾳ· ἅμα δ' ἡ μακαριστὴ πίστις αὔξειτο ὑπὸ χειραγωγῇ τῷ Κρείττονι. (457 C, *Vales*.)

Id., *ibid.* IV. 9.—Τούτου τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχων σύμμαχον, ἐκ τῶν περάτων τοῦ Ὁκεανοῦ ἀρξάμενος, πᾶσαν ἐφεξῆς τὴν οἰκουμένην βεβαίοις σωτηρίοις<sup>2</sup> ἐλπίζει διήγειρα. (531 A, *Vales*.)

HILAR. PICTAV., *Tract. in xiv Psalm.* § 3. [A. D. 364 × 367.]—Deinceps Apostoli plurima tabernacula condiderunt, et per omnes orbis terrarum partes, quæcumque adiri possunt, quinetiam in Oceani insulis, habitationes Deo plurimas paraverunt. (1. ; o, *Bened*.)

<sup>a</sup> Diocletian persecution began 303; Constantius died 306; Constantine marched against Maxentius 312.

<sup>b</sup> Hardly at York (v. Euseb. V. C. I. xvi. 415, *Vales*.—Eutrop. x. 1. Havercamp), where Constantius died in 306. Rather in France, where

Constantine is said to have joined his father at Boulogne (Excerpt. de Constantio, Constantino, &c., ignoto auctore, ad fin. Ammian. Marcell. 656, 657, *Vales*.), in 306, shortly before his death (see Clinton F. R.). But the anecdote proves the existence of Christians in Constantius's court.

A. D. 304. *Diocletian Persecution*<sup>a</sup>.—S. Alban, Aaron, Julius.

CONSTANTIUS, *Vit. Germani* I. 25. [A. D. 473 × 492.]—Compressa itaque perversitate damnabili<sup>3</sup>, ... sacerdotes ad B. Albanum martyrem, auctori Deo per ipsum gratias acturi, properabant; ubi Germanus, omnium Apostolorum diversorumque martyrum reliquias secum habens, facta oratione jussit revelli sepulchrum, pretiosa ibidem munera conditurus. ... Quibus depositis honorifice, atque sociatis, de loco ipso, ubi beati martyris effusus fuerat sanguis, massam pulveris secum portaturus abstulit; in qua apparebat, cruore servato, rubere martyrum cædem, persecutore pallente. (*Surv. III. Jul.* 31. p. 364, *Col. Agripp.* 1618.)

GILDAS, *Hist. VIII.* [A. D. 560].—Supradicto ut cognoscimus [*al.* conijcimus] persecutionis tempore...clarissimas lampades sanctorum martyrum nobis accendit [Deus], quorum nunc corporum sepulturæ et passionum loca, si non lugubri divortione barbarorum, quamplurima

<sup>2</sup> σωτηρίας.—*Vales*. in notis, & conject.

<sup>3</sup> See of the Pelagians in Britain, A. D. 429.

ob scelera nostra, civibus adimerentur, non minimum intuentium mentibus ardorem Divinæ charitatis incuterent, sanctum Albanum Verolamiensem, Aaron et Julium Legionum urbis cives, et cæteros utriusque sexûs diversis in locis summa magnanimitate in acie Christi perstantes dico. (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 8.)

VENANT. FORTUNATUS, *Poem. VIII. iv.* 155 [c. A. D. 580.]:

Egregium Albanum foecunda Britannia profert.

(190, *Brower.*)

*On the other hand,—*

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccl. VIII. xiii.* 12. [c. A. D. 325.]—Κωνσταντίος... τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν [Χριστιανῶν] πόλεμον μηδαμῶς ἐπικονωνήσας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεοσεβεῖς ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρέδστους φυλάξας, καὶ μήτε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοὺς οἴκους καθελὼν, μήθ' ἑτερόν τι καθ' ἡμῶν καινουργήσας. (*II.* 574, *Burton.*)

ID., *De Mart. Palest. xiii.* 10, 11. [c. A. D. 325.]—Τὰ γὰρ τοι ἐπέκεινα τῶν δεδηλωμένων, Ἰταλία πᾶσα καὶ Σικελία, Γαλλία τε καὶ ὅσα κατὰ δυνάμενον ἥλιον ἐπὶ Σπανίαν Μαυριτανίαν τε καὶ Ἀφρικὴν, οὐδ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι δυσὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ διωγμοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπομείναντα, ταχίστης ἡξιώθησαν ἐπισκοπῆς τε Θεοῦ καὶ εἰρήνης..... Εἰρήνης δὲ ἀπολαύουσιν οἱ ἐν θατέρῳ μέρει τῷ προδεδηλωμένῳ κατοικοῦντες ἀδελφοί. (*II.* 639, 640, *Burton.*)

SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl. I.* 6. [as quoted above.]

LACTANTIUS, *De Mort. Persecut. XV, XVI.* [c. A. D. 313.]—Constantius, ne dissentire a majorum<sup>1</sup> præceptis videretur, conventicula, id est, parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est; verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit. Vexabatur ergo universa terra, et præter Gallias ab oriente usque ad occasum tres acerbissimæ bestię sæviebant. (864, *Ox.* 1684.)

\* Gildas's *general* statement respecting this persecution, rests (as usual with him) upon an unauthorised transference to the particular case of Britain, of language of Eusebius (H. E. VIII. ii.) relating to the persecution in general; and is conclusively contradicted by Eusebius himself, and by Sozomen and Lactantius. The *individual* case of Albanus however rests upon a local tradition, traceable apparently up to 429, the date of S. Germanus's first visit to Britain; and perhaps the general assertions of Eusebius and the others may leave room for it, and for one or two other martyrdoms. That S. Alban's martyrdom, however, happened in the Diocletian persecution, rests only upon the knowledge, or (according to another reading) the guess, of Gildas himself. And the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and the Lib. Landavensis,

although the latter still attributes it to that persecution, date it in 286. (See Alford's Ch. Hist. on the one side, and on the other, Smith ad Bæd. App. IV.) All that seems certain, is, that within 125 years after the last persecution, a belief existed at Verolamium that a martyr named Albanus lay buried near that town. Respecting Julius and Aaron there is no similar local tradition recorded (unless in Gildas) earlier than perhaps the ninth century (charter, of that date (?), in Lib. Landav. p. 215); repeated and amplified by Girald. Cambrensis (Itin. Cambr. l. 5) and Geoffrey of Monmouth (V. 5, IX. 12) in the twelfth.

If the persecution was that of Diocletian, the date must have been 304, that persecution beginning with the first edict of Diocletian in February 303, but extending to laymen (such as Albanus

<sup>1</sup> Sc. *Augustorum*, i. e. Diocletian and Maximian; who, with Galerius, are the "tres bestię" mentioned further on.

is represented to have been) only with his fourth edict in 304, and ceasing altogether in Britain upon his resignation in 305.

Bede (H. E. I. 6, 7), writing in 731, testifies that in the church of S. Alban, "usque ad hanc

diem curatio infirmorum et frequentium operatio virtutum celebrari non desinit."—although the localities had, it should seem, been forgotten before Offa built his monastery, c. A. D. 793. (Mart. Paris, Vit. Off., Wats 9.)

#### A. D. 314. *British Bishops at the Council of Arles.*

*Nomina Episcoporum*, cum clericis suis, quinam et ex quibus provinciis ad Arelatensem Synodum convenerunt<sup>a</sup>. (*Labb. I.* 1430, *e Cod. Corbeiensis*: *Mansi II.* 466, 467.)

[Towards the latter part of the signatures, and included among those of the Bishops of Gaul,]—

Eborius Episcopus de civitate Eboracensi provincia Britannia.

Restitutus Episcopus de civitate Londinensi provincia superscripta.

Adelfius<sup>b</sup> Episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium<sup>c</sup>.

Exinde Sacerdos presbyter; Arminius diaconus<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> These names stand thus in Isidorus Mercator,—

Ex provincia Britania Eburius Episcopus; ex civitate Culinia Adelfius.

In Crabbe thus,—

Ex provincia Britannia, civitate Londinensi Restitutus Episcopus.

Ex provincia Byzacena, civitate Tubernicensi, Eburius Episcopus.

Ex eadem provincia, civitate Culcitana, Adelfius.

The Corbey MS., besides other internal evidence of superiority, harmonizes with the circular of Constantine (Euseb. H. E. X. v) in adding two of the inferior clergy, agrees with the probable adjustment of British bishoprics to the Roman provinces in Britain and their capitals, and with the special period of Constantine in placing York first.

<sup>b</sup> Adelfius joins in the Synodal Letter to Pope Sylvester (Mansi II. 469) but without mention of his see. Hibernius in the same letter is conjecturally identified by Tillemont with Eborius. And for the name of Ebur, Ibarus, or Ywor, as of

British or Irish Bishops in later times, see Iolo MSS. 514, 539; and Ann. Cambr. and Ann. Tigernach. in an. 501.

<sup>c</sup> Read, probably, *Legioensium* = Caerleon-on-Usk.

<sup>d</sup> The British Bishops must have consented to the following canons among others.—*Conc. Arel. Can. I.* (Mansi II. 471)—*Primo loco de observatione Paschæ Dominici, ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur, et juxta consuetudinem literarum ad omnes tu [Episcopos Romanos] dirigas.*

*Ib. Can. X.* (ib. 472)—*De his qui conjuges suas in adulterio deprehendunt, et iidem sunt adolescentes fideles, et prohibentur nubere, placuit in quantum possit consilium eis detur, ne viventibus uxoribus suis, licet adulteris, alias accipiant.*

*Ib. Can. XX.* (ib. 473)—*De his qui usurpent sibi quod soli debeant Episcopos ordinare, placuit ut nullus hoc sibi præsumat nisi assumptis secum aliis septem Episcopis; si non potuerit septem, infra tres non audeat ordinare.*

#### A. D. 325. *British Church assents<sup>a</sup> to the Council of Nice respecting Arianism<sup>b</sup> and Easter<sup>c</sup>.*

ATHANASIUS, *Ad Jovian. Imp.* [Synod. Epist. of Ch. of Alexandria in A. D. 363].—*Ταύτην δὲ (πίστιν) οἱ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντες ὁμολόγησαν πατέρες καὶ ταύτῃ σύμφηφοι τυγχάνουσι πᾶσαι αἱ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τόπον Ἐκκλησίαι· αἱ τε κατὰ τὴν Σπανίαν καὶ Βρετανίαν καὶ Γαλλίας, ... καὶ αἱ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς Ἐκκλησίαι, πάρεφ ὀλίγων τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντων. Ἀπάντων*



γὰρ τῶν προειρημένων καὶ πείρα ἐγνώκαμεν τὴν γνώμην καὶ γράμματα ἔχομεν. (Opp. I. 781, Paris. 1698.)

CONSTANTINUS, *Epist. ad Eccles. ap. Euseb. Vit. Const. III. xvii.* [A. D. 325.]—'ΑΛΛ' ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ' οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν ἀκλιῆ καὶ βεβαίαν τάξιν λαβεῖν, εἴ μὴ εἰς ταῦτό πάντων ὁμοῦ, ἢ τῶν γούν πλείονων ἐπισκόπων συνελθόντων, ... τοῦτου ἕνεκεν πλείστων ὄσων συναθροισθέντων, κ. τ. λ. (491 D, Vales.)

Id., *ib. xix.*—Καλῶς ἔχουν ἅπαντες ἡγήσαντο, ... ἵν' ὅπερ δ' ἂν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν τε, καὶ Ἀφρικὴν, Ἰταλίαν τε ἄσασαν, Αἴγυπτον, Σπανίαν, Γαλλίας, Βρεττανίας, ... μὴ καὶ συμφώνῳ φυλάττεται γνώμη, ἀσμένως τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα προσδέξεται σύνεσις. ... ἵνα δὲ τὸ κεφαλαιωδέστερον συντόμως εἴπω, κοινῇ πάντων ἤρесе κρίσει τὴν ἀγιοτάτην τοῦ Πάσχα ἑορτὴν μὴ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ συντελεῖσθαι. (493 D, 494 A.)

\* Existing lists of Bishops present at Nicæa are incomplete and untrustworthy (Selden ad Eutych., Mansi tom. II., Pitra in Spicil. Solesm. II. 516, 529, B. H. Cowper in Anal. Nicæn.). One Bishop from Gaul is mentioned in some of them. And that in Cowper from the Syriac, containing only 220 names out of the traditional 318, explains the deficiency by stating that "the names of the Western Bishops were not written." Constantine, himself connected with Britain, invited *ἀπανταχόθεν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους γράμμασι τιμητικοῖς*, and paid expenses (Euseb., V. C., III. vi, vii), and desired the presence of *all* the Bishops of the Church. British Bishops also were at Arles, and Ariminum, and possibly at Sardica. On the other hand, the decrees of the Council are said to have been sent to the West (including Britain) by Hosius through Vito (or Victor) and Vincentius, the Roman presbyters (Gelas. Cyclic. II. 27, 36, ap. Mansi II. 881, 928): and Eusebius (loc. cit.), speaking of *τὴν Εὐρώπην ἅσασαν λιθὴν τε καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν*, specifies Spain as the western extreme, and mentions neither Gaul nor Britain. It is possible therefore that British Bishops were at the Council, but there is no evidence sufficient either to prove or to negative their presence there.

<sup>b</sup> S. Athanasius, speaking of Britain by name, with respect to the years 325, 347, and 363, S. Hilary with respect to 358, and S. Chrysostom and S. Jerome with respect to the latter part of the century (all quoted here under their dates);

Sozomen, repeatedly asserting the general orthodoxy of the West with specified and trifling exceptions (in Milan and Pannonia) from 325 to 381 (H. E. III. vii. 2, xiii. 2, V. xiii. 7, 8, VI. xi. 4, xii. 3, xxii. 4, xxiii. 3, VII. iv. 4): and lastly the Synod of Aquileia in 381,—*"Et quidem per occidentales partes duobus in angulis tantum, hoc est in latere Daciæ Ripensis ac Mœsiæ, fidei obstrepi videbatur; per omnes autem tractus atque regiones, a Suecorum claustris usque ad Oceanum, manet interemerata fidelium atque una communio"* (Mansi III. 623).—conclusively negative the assertion of Gildas, Hist. ix (M. H. B. 9), founded on an unauthorised misapplication of general words of Eusebius, respecting the prevalence of Arianism in Britain.

<sup>c</sup> *"Ἐδῆξε . . . οὕτως ἔγειν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, ὡς ἔγοντο Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες, πρὸς τὸ πάντας ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμορῶνως ἀναπέμψιν τὰς εὐχὰς τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Πάσχα* (Decret. Nicæn. de Pasch. ap. Pitra, Spicil. Solesm. IV. 541, sq.). That Alexandria was to determine the day and to signify it to the West through Rome, as well as to the East, see the Festal Epistles of S. Athanasius (Syr. ed. Cureton, Latin. ap. Mai PP. Nov. Bibl. VI, Engl. Oxf. 1854), and especially Epist. XVIII. p. 120. Engl. See also Leon. M. Epist. CIX. Opp. I. pp. 659, 660. Quesnel, dated July 28, 454, and fixing Easter 455 to April 24, for Gaul and Spain.

A. D. 347. *British Bishops possibly present at the Council of Sardica, but certainly join that Council in acquitting S. Athanasius* <sup>a</sup>.

ATHANASIUS, *Apol. Cont. Arian.* [c. A. D. 350.]—Καὶ τρίτον ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν Σαρδίκῃ συναχθείσῃ κατὰ πρόσταξιν τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων βασιλέων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Κώνσταντος· ἐν ᾗ καὶ οἱ καθ' ἡμῶν γενομένοι

καθηρέθησαν ὡς συκοφάνται, τοῖς δὲ κριθεῖσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν συνεψηφίσαντο μὲν ἐπίσκοποι πλείους τριακοσίων, ἐξ ἐπαρχιῶν Αἰγύπτου,.....Γαλλιῶν, Βρεττανιῶν. (Opp. I. 123.)

ATHANASIUS, *Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* [A. D. 358.]—Εἴτα βλέποντες τὴν πρὸς Ἀθανάσιον τῶν ἐπισκόπων συμφωνίαν τε καὶ εἰρήνην, πλείους δὲ ἦσαν ὅ, ἀπὸ τε τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης,....τούς τε ἀπὸ Γαλλιῶν, καὶ Βρεττανίας, ...ταῦτα βλέποντες ἐκείνοι φθόνῳ καὶ φόβῳ συνεσχέθησαν. (Ib. 360.)

\* The list of Bishops at this Council in S. Hilary. Pictav. (II. 631), containing 59 names, that in Mansi from a MS. at Verona, containing 97, and that in S. Athanasius himself (Apol. I. 168), containing 284, specify none from Britain. And the larger total, of "over 300," or "400," of which S. Athanasius speaks (as above quoted),

includes Bishops not present, but who sent in their adhesion.

A Restitutus mentioned in S. Athanasius and by Mansi, but without his see, is conjecturally identified by Selden (ad Eutychn.) with the Restitutus of London in 314. The name however was a not uncommon one.

A. D. 358. *British Bishops orthodox<sup>a</sup>, although hesitating about the term Ὀμοούσιος.*

HILAR. PICTAV.<sup>b</sup>, *De Synodis, Prolog. et § 2.* [A. D. 358, while in exile in Phrygia.]—Dilectissimis et beatissimis fratribus et co-episcopis provinciae Germaniae Primae,.....et ex Narbonensi plebibus et clericis Tolosanis, et provinciarum Britanniarum Episcopis, Hilarius servus Christi in Deo et Domino nostro æternam salutem.....Beatæ fidei vestræ literis sumptis (quarum lentitudinem ac raritatem de exsilii mei et longitudine et secreto intelligo constitisse), gratulatus sum in Domino incontaminatos vos et illæsos ab omni contagio detestandæ hæreseos perstitisse. (II. 457, 459. *Bened.*)

\* The 'hesitation' appears from S. Hilary's tract itself.—There is no evidence beside the number of Bishops present there (above 300), that any British Bishops took part in the Western Council of Milan in 355, which, with five excep-

tions, ἡ δέει ἡ ἀνάρτη ἡ ἀγνοία (Sozom. H. E. IV. ix. 2). condemned the person of S. Athanasius.

<sup>b</sup> Venantius Fortunatus, Poem. VI. vii. 219, 220, and VIII. i. 15-18 (pp. 151, 183, Brower), speaking of S. Hilary,—

Thrax, Italus, Scythia, Persa, Indus, Geta, Dacia, Britannus,  
Hujus in eloquio spem bibit, arma capit :

and,—

Eloquii currente rota penetravit ad Indos,  
Ingeniumque potens ultima Thyle colit,  
Perfundens cunctas, vice solis, lumine terras :  
Cujus dona Sacæ, Persa, Britannus habet.

See also the legends of Kebius or Cybi (Lives of Cambro-British Saints, p. 183), and of S. Fridolin

(Act. SS. March 6, and Colgan i. 481) and O'Connor, Rer. Hibern. Scriptt. I. lxxx.

A. D. 359. *British Bishops (of whom three accept the Imperial allowance) are at the Council of Ariminum, which was deceived and terrified into giving up the terms Οὐσία and Ὀμοούσιος.*

SULPICIOUS SEVERUS, *Hist. Sac. II. 41.* [c. A. D. 400.]—Igitur apud Ariminum, urbem Italix, synodum congregari jubet (Constantius);

idque Tauro præfecto imperat, ut collectos in unum non ante dimitteret quam in unam fidem consentirent: promisso eidem consulatu, si rem effectui tradidisset. Ita missis per Illyricum, Italiam, Africam, Hispanias, Galliasque<sup>a</sup>, magistris officialibus, acciti aut macti<sup>1</sup> quadringenti et aliquanto amplius occidentales Episcopi, Ariminum convenere; quibus omnibus annonas et cellaria dare imperator præceperat: sed id nostris (id est, Aquitanis), Gallis, ac Britannis, indecens visum; repudiatis fiscalibus, propriis sumtibus vivere maluerunt. Tres tantum ex Britannia, inopia proprii, publico usi sunt, cum oblatam a cæteris collationem respuissent; sanctius putantes fiscum gravare, quam singulos. Hoc ego Gavidium Episcopum nostrum, quasi obtrectantem, referre solitum audiui: sed longe aliter senserim, laudique attribuo Episcopis tam pauperes fuisse, ut nihil proprium haberent, neque ab aliis potius quam fisco sumerent, ubi neminem gravabant; ita in utrisque egregium exemplum. (*Galland. VIII. 388.*)

<sup>a</sup> "Gallie" here, as in Lactantius above quoted (p. 6), includes Britain.

Not later than A. D. 363. *British Churches signify by letter to S. Athanasius their adhesion to the Nicene Faith.*

ATHANASIUS, as quoted under A. D. 325.

A. D. 386-400. *A settled Church in Britain, with churches, altars, Scriptures, discipline, holding the Catholic Faith, and having intercourse both with Rome and Palestine.*

CHRYSOSTOM, *Cont. Judæos*. [c. A. D. 387.]—Καὶ γὰρ αἱ Βρεττανικαὶ νῆσοι, αἱ τῆς θαλάττης ἐκτὸς κείμεναι ταύτης, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσαι τῷ Ὁκεανῷ, τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Ῥήματος ἤνθοντο· καὶ γὰρ κακεῖ ἐκκλησίαι, καὶ θυσιαστήρια πεπήγασι. (*Opp. I. 575, Montfauc.*)

ID., *Serm. de Util. Lect. Script.* [A. D. 386 × 398.]—Κὰν εἰς τὸν Ὁκεανὸν ἀπέλθης, κὰν πρὸς τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νήσους ἐκείνας, κὰν εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πλεύσης πόντον, κὰν πρὸς τὰ νότια ἀπέλθης μέρη, πάντων ἀκούση πανταχοῦ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Γραφῆς φιλοσοφούντων, φωνῇ μὲν ἑτέρῃ, πίστει δὲ οὐχ ἑτέρῃ, καὶ γλώσσῃ μὲν διαφόρῃ, διανοίᾳ δὲ συμφώνῃ. (*Ib. III. 71.*)

ID., *In Epist. II. ad Cor. xii. Homil. xxviii.* [A. D. 386 × 398.]—Ὅπου περ ἂν εἰσέλθης εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, κὰν ἐν τῇ Μαύρῳν. κὰν ἐν τῇ Πέρσῳν, κὰν πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νήσους, ἀκούεις βοῶντος Ἰωάννου, Οὐκ ἔξεστὶ σοι ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. (*Ib. X. 638.*)

ID., *In Matth. Homil. lxxx.* [A. D. 390 × 398.]—Καὶ ἡ μνήμη τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> *L.g. coacti.*

γεγομένου<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ἐμαράνθη· ἀλλὰ καὶ Πέρσαι, καὶ Ἰνδοί, καὶ Σκύθαι, καὶ Θράκες, καὶ Σαυρομάται, καὶ τὸ τῶν Μαύρων γένος, καὶ οἱ τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νήσους οἰκοῦντες, τὸ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ γενόμενον λάθρα ἐν οἰκίᾳ παρὰ γυναῖκας πεπορευμένης περιφέρουσι. (VII. 767, *Montfauc.*)

CHRYSOSTOM, *Serm. I. in Pentecost.* [A. D. 395 × 407, inter spuria.]—"Οπου δ' ἂν ἀπέλθης, εἰς Ἰνδοὺς, εἰς Μαύρους, εἰς Βρεττανοὺς, εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, εὐρήσεις, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ βίον ἐνάρτεον.—And *ibid.* [a little further on, in the old Latin translation:]—Ante hoc autem quoties in Britannia humanis vescebantur carnibus, nunc jejuniis reficiunt animam suam. (*Ib. III. 791.*)

HIERONYMUS, *Orthod. et Lucif. Dialog.* [A. D. 378.]—Si Ecclesiam non habet Christus, aut si in Sardinia tantum habet, nimium pauper factus est. Et si Britannias, Gallias, Orientem, Indorum populos, barbaras nationes, et totum semel mundum, possidet Satanas; quomodo ad angulum universæ terræ Crucis trophæa collata sunt? (*Opp. IV. ii. 298, Bened.*)

ID., *Epist. xlv. ad Paulam.* [After A. D. 388.]—Divisus ab orbe nostro Britannus, si in religione processerit, occiduo sole dimisso, querit locum<sup>3</sup>, fama sibi tantum et Scripturarum relatione cognitum. (*IV. ii. 551.*)

ID., *Epist. xlix. ad Paulinum.* [A. D. 395.]—Cæterum qui dicunt, Templum Domini, Templum Domini, audiant ab apostolo, Vos estis Templum Domini, et Spiritus Sanctus habitat in vobis. Et de Jerusalemis et de Britannia æqualiter patet aula celestis; regnum enim Dei intra vos est. (*IV. ii. 564.*)

ID., *Epist. xxxv. ad Heliodorum.* [A. D. 396.]—Adde quod ante resurrectionem Christi notus tantum in Judæa erat Deus.....Ubi tunc totius orbis homines ab India usque ad Britanniam?.....Piscium ritu ac locustarum, et velut muscæ et culices, conterebantur.....Nunc passionem Christi et resurrectionem Ejus cunctarum gentium et voces et literæ sonant. (*IV. ii. 267, 268.*)

ID., *Epist. lxxxiv. ad Oceanum.* [A. D. 400.]—Xenodochium in portu Romano situm<sup>4</sup> totus pariter mundus audivit. Sub una æstate didicit Britannia, quod Ægyptus et Parthus noverant vere. (*IV. ii. 662.*)

ID., *Epist. ci. ad Evangel.* [anno incerto.]—Nec altera Romanæ urbis Ecclesia, altera totius orbis existimanda est. Et Galliæ et Britanniæ et Africa et Persis et Oriens et India, et omnes barbaræ nationes, unum Christum adorant, unam observant regulam veritatis. (*IV. ii. 803.*)

<sup>2</sup> S. Matt. xxvi. 6-13, and parallel passages.

<sup>3</sup> Sc. Jerusalem.

<sup>4</sup> Founded there by the Christian charity of Pammachius and Fabiola.

SOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 13. [c. A. D. 443.]—'Εν τούτῳ δὲ<sup>1</sup> Μάξιμος [ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας] πλείστην ἀγέλας στρατιὰν Βρεττανῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων Γαλατῶν καὶ Κελτῶν καὶ τῶν τῆδε ἔθνων, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦει· πρόφασιν μὲν, ὡς οὐκ ἀνεξόμενος νεώτερόν τι γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν πάτριον πίστιν, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τάξιν· τὸ δὲ ἀληθές, τυράννου δόξης ἑαυτὸν καθαίρων. (721, *Vales.*)

A. D. 395 (?)<sup>2</sup>. *S. Patrick's birth near Alclwyd (Dumbarton).*

PATRICIUS, *Confessio*. [some time before A.D. 493 (?).]—Ego Patricius peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium, et contemptibilissimus apud plurimos, patrem habui Calpornium Diaconum, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit in vico Banavan Taberniæ; villulam enim prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi. Annorum eram tum fere xvi, etc. And again,—In Britanniis eram cum parentibus meis. (*O'Conor, Rev. Hib. Scriptt. I. cvii, cxi.*)

<sup>1</sup> That S. Patrick was probably born about this year, or a little later, and in the British principality of Strathelwyd, and carried captive from Armorica, see Todd's Life of S. Patrick, 355 sq.; see also

O'Conor. II. 78; and Usher, Primord. c. xvii: and, for the rest of S. Patrick's history, below, under the Irish Church. His mission to Ireland was 30 years after his boyhood (*Confess. ap. O'Conor, ib. cxii.*)

A. D. 400–423. *General references to the British Church or to Christians in Britain.*

PRUDENTIUS, *Περὶ Στεφάνων*, xiii. 103. [c. A. D. 405.] (S. Cyprian, by his writings)—Gallos fovet, imbuit Britannos. (*Galland. VIII. 467.*)

OROSIUS, *Hist. vii.* 40. [c. A. D. 417.]—Adversus hos Constantinus<sup>2</sup> Constantem filium suum, proh dolor! ex monacho Cæsarem factum,..... misit. (577, *Lug. Bat.* 1738.)

SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl. vii.* 12. [c. A. D. 440.]—Χρύσανθος καθεικκύσθη εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν<sup>3</sup>,..... βικάριος τῶν Βρεττανικῶν νήσων καταστάς. (348, *Vales.*)

PORPHYRIUS, *ap. Hieronymum, Ad Ctesiph. adv. Pelag.* xliii. [c. A. D. 415.]—Neque enim Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, et Scotticæ gentes, omnesque usque ad Oceanum per circuitum barbaræ nationes, Moysen prophetasque cognoverant. (*Hieron. Opp. IV. ii.* 481.)

AUGUSTINUS, *Enarr. in Psalm. xcvi.* [c. A. D. 415.]—Est quidem, quia verbum Dei non in sola continenti terra prædicatum est, sed etiam in insulis quæ constitutæ sunt in medio mari; et ipsæ plenæ Christianis, plenæ sunt servis Dei. (*Opp. IV.* 1043. *A, Bened.*)

ID., *Epist. cxcix. Ad Hesychium.* [c. A. D. 419.]—Hinc ostendens quam nulla relinquitur terrarum, ubi non sit Ecclesia, quando nulla

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 387.

<sup>2</sup> The Briton usurper of the Empire, A. D. 407.

<sup>3</sup> Of the Novatians at Constantinople, A. D. 407.

relinquitur insularum, quarum nonnullæ etiam in Oceano sunt constitutæ, et quasdam earum Evangelium jam suscepisse didicimus. Atque ita et in insulis singulis quibusque impletur quod dictum est, "Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare," quo unaquæque insula cingitur; sicut in universo orbe terrarum, quæ tamquam omnium quodammodo maxima est insula, quia et ipsam cingit Oceanus: ad cujus litora in occidentalibus partibus Ecclesiam pervenisse jam novimus; et quocunque litorum nondum pervenit, perventura est utique fructificando et crescendo. (II. 758. E, F, *Bened.*)

THEODORET., *Græc. Affect. Curat.* IX. [c. A. D. 423.]-Οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι ἀλιεῖς καὶ οἱ τελῶναι καὶ ὁ σκυτοτόμος<sup>4</sup> ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις τοὺς εὐαγγελικοὺς προσενηνόχασιν νόμους, καὶ οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτοις τελούοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Σκυθικὰ καὶ τὰ Σαυροματικὰ ἔθνη, . . . καὶ Βρεττανούς, . . . καὶ ἀπαφπλῶς πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων, δέξασθαι τοῦ Σταυρωθέντος τοὺς νόμους ἀνέπεισαν. (*Opp.* IV. 928, 929, *Schulz.*)

A. D. 400-461. *Intercourse of British and Gallic Churches*<sup>5</sup>.

VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS, *Poem.* X. x. 8. [c. A. D. 580, but writing (at Poitiers) of S. Martin of Tours<sup>b</sup>, ob. A. D. 397 x 401]:

Quem Hispanus, Maurus, Persa, Britannus amat.

(248, *Brower.*)

ALDHELM, *Epist. ad Geruntium*. [after A. D. 706<sup>c</sup>.]-Porro isti [Britones] secundum decennem novennemque Anatolii computatum, aut potius juxta Sulpicii Severi regulam, qui lxxxiv annorum cursum descripsit, decima quarta luna cum Judæis paschale sacramentum celebrant. (*Opp.* 90, *Migne.*)

PATRICIUS, *Confessio*. [some time before A. D. 493 (?), but writing of about the middle of the century.]-Unde autem etsi voluero amittere illas<sup>5</sup>, et ut pergens in Britannias, et libentissime paratus eram, quasi ad patriam et parentes; non id solum, sed eram usque Gallias visitare fratres, et ut viderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei. Scit Deus quod ego valde optabam, sed alligatus Spiritu, etc. (*O'Connor*, I. cxiv; and so also "*Gallici fratres*," *ib.* cx; and the "*Consuetudo Gallorum Christianorum*" is referred to, *Epist. ad Coroticum*, *ib.* cxvii.

ANON., *De Septem Ordin. Eccl.*<sup>d</sup> [c. A. D. 450.]-Hæc scribo, . . . ut presbyteri hoc in ecclesiis suis faciant, quod Romæ, sive quod in Oriente, quod in Italia, . . . quod in Britannia, quod etiam ex parte per Gallias . . . fit. (*Hieron. Opp.* V. 105, *Bened.*)

ARNOBIUS JUNIOR, *In Psalm. cxlvii.*<sup>e</sup> [c. A. D. 461.]-Tam velociter

<sup>4</sup> Sc. S. Paul.

<sup>5</sup> Sc. Irish Christian virgins, his converts.

currit sermo Ejus, ut cum per tot millia annorum in sola Judæa notus fuerit Deus, nunc intra paucos annos nec ipsos Indos lateat a parte Orientis, nec ipsos Britones a parte occidentis. Ubique cucurrit velociter sermo Ejus. (*V. iii. 316. E, Bibl. PP. 1618.*)

<sup>a</sup> For Brittany, see below in its place.

<sup>b</sup> For the connection of S. Martin with Britain, see *Bæd. H. E. I. 26, III. 4*; *Neunius xxii*; *Greg. Tur., De Mirac. S. Martini IV. 46*; *Sulpic. Severus, V. Martin xxiii.*, and *Dialog. II. 7*; *Ailred. Rieval., Vit. S. Ninian.*; and with Ireland, *Colgan in Vitis Patricii*; *Ann. Ulton. an. 691*; *Ann. Buell. p. 2*; *Jonas, Vit. S. Columbani*; and other references in *O'Connor, I. 95, 142, 151*; *II. 121*. For S. Germanus, see below.

<sup>c</sup> The Paschal Cycle of Sulpicius Severus,

S. Martin's disciple, which the Britons followed, was drawn up in Gaul about A. D. 410. That of Victorius Aquitanus, also Gallic, with which they were unacquainted, dates from about A. D. 457. See, besides Bucherius and Usher, *Van der Hagen, Observ. in Prosp. Chron. 293, 336* (*Amstelod. 1733*), and *De Rossi, Inscr. Christianæ, I. lxxv, lxxvi.*

<sup>d</sup> Addressed to Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne, A. D. 440-454 (?).

<sup>e</sup> Addressed to the same Rusticus, and to Leontius, bishop of Arles.

A. D. 400, 423. *Pilgrimages of British Christians to the Holy Land and to Syria.*

PALLADIUS, *Hist. Lausiæ. cxviii.* [A. D. 420, but writing of the years before 410.]—Τούτο δὲ οὐκ ἐμόν ἐστι διηγήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τὴν Περσίδα καὶ Βρεττανίας καὶ τὰς πάσας οἰκούντων νήσους· τῶν γὰρ εὐποιῶν καὶ ἐπιδόσεων τῆς ἀθανάτου ταύτης<sup>1</sup>, οὐ δύσις, οὐκ ἀνατολή, οὐκ ἄρκτος, οὔτε μεσημβρία ἡστόχησε. (135, *Méurs.*)

THEODORET., *Philoth. xxvi.* [c. A. D. 440, but speaking probably of A. D. 423.]—'Αφίκοντο<sup>2</sup> δὲ πολλοὶ τὰς τῆς ἐσπέρας οἰκούντες ἐσχατίας, Σπάνοι τε καὶ Βρεττανοὶ, καὶ Γαλάται οἱ τὸ μέσον τούτων κατέχοντες. (III. 1272.)

After A. D. 401 (?)<sup>a</sup>. *Ninias, Bishop of Candida Casa in Valentia<sup>b</sup>, converts the Southern Picts, dwelling between the Grampians and the Forth.*

BÆDA, *Hist. Eccl. III. 4.* [A. D. 731.]—Ipsi australes Picti,...multo ante tempore<sup>3</sup>, ut perhibent, relicto errore idolatriæ fidem veritatis acceperant, prædicante eis verbum Nynia Episcopo reverentissimo et sanctissimo viro de natione Brittonum, qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem et mysteria veritatis edoctus: cujus sedem episcopalem sancti Martini Episcopi nomine et ecclesia insignem, ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit, jam nunc Anglorum gens obrinet. Qui locus ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens vulgo vocatur Ad Candidam Casam, eo quod ibi ecclesia de lapide insolito Brittonibus more fecerit. (*M. H. B. 175, 176.*)

<sup>a</sup> The visit of S. Ninias to S. Martin at Tours, Whithorn or Candida Casa to S. Martin upon and his subsequent dedication of the church of hearing of the latter's death (*Ailred. Rieval.*,

<sup>1</sup> Sc. Melania the elder, in her hospitality to pilgrims at Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. to Tolanissus near Antioch, to visit Symeon Stylites.

<sup>3</sup> Sc. long before A. D. 563.

Vit. S. Nin. in Pinkerton's *Vitæ Sanctæ Scotiæ*), afford the only indications for the date. S. Martin died either in 397 or 400 (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl. x.*) or 401 (see O'Connor, *Rer. Hibern. Script. II.* 83).

<sup>b</sup> Alba in Valentia, the alleged metropolitan see of that province in the traditionary and

blundering list of the five metropolitan sees of the five British provinces in Giraldu Cambrensis (*De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl.*, A. S. II. 542), confounded by Giraldu with S. Andrew's, most probably refers to Candida Casa (*v. Grub's Ch. Hist. of Scotland*, I. 21.)

A. D. 413, 420, 429. *Pelagius the Briton first teaches his heresy at Rome. —Fastidius, a Semi-Pelagian British Bishop. —Pelagianism introduced into Britain itself by Agricola.*

OROSIUS, *De Arbit. Lib.* [c. A. D. 415.]—Britannicus noster [Pelagius] etc. (598, *Lugd. Bat.* 1738.)

AUGUSTINUS, *Epist. clxxxvi. ad Paulin.* [A. D. 417.]—Pelagium, quem credimus, ut ab illo distingueretur qui Pelagius Tarenti dicitur, Britonem fuisse cognominatum. (*II.* 663. *F. Bened.*)

MARIUS MERCATOR, *Adv. Pelag.* [c. A. D. 418.]—Hanc ineptam et non minus inimicam rectæ fidei quæstionem sub sanctæ recordationis Anastasio Romanæ Ecclesiæ summo pontifice<sup>4</sup>, Rufinus quondam natione Syrus Romam primus invexit; et...per se proferre non ausus, Pelagium gente Brittanum monachum tunc decepit, eumque ad prædictam apprimè imbuit atque instituit impiam vanitatem. (*Galland. VIII.* 615.)

PROSPER AQUITAN., *Chron.* [after A. D. 455.]—Luciano viro clarissimo consule<sup>5</sup>;... hac tempestate Pelagius Brito dogma nominis sui contra gratiam Christi, Cælestio et Juliano adjutoribus, exeruit. (*Opp. I.* 399, *Bassani*, 1782.)

*Id.*, *ib.*—Florentio et Dionysio Coss.<sup>6</sup>;... Agricola Pelagianus<sup>a</sup>, Severiani Pelagiani Episcopi filius, Ecclesiæ Britannicæ dogmatis sui insinuatione corruptit. (*Ib.* 400, 401.)

*Id.*, *In Obiect. August.* [c. A. D. 430]:

Aut hunc [Pelagium] fruge sua æquorei pavere Britanni.

(*Ib.* 111.)

*Id.*, *De Ingratis IV.* 1, 2. [c. A. D. 430]:

Dogma quod antiqui satiatur felle draconis  
Pestifero vomuit coluber sermone Britannus, etc.

(*Ib.* 69, 70.)

*Id.*, *ibid.* vv. 692, 693:

I procul, insana impietas, artesque malignas  
Aufer, et auctorem comitare exclusa Britannum.

(*Ib.* 96.)

<sup>4</sup> A. D. 398-402.

<sup>5</sup> A. D. 413.

<sup>6</sup> A. D. 429.



GENNADIUS, *De Illustr. Viris*.<sup>1</sup> [c. A. D. 458.]—Pelagius Britto hæresiarchis etc. (*Hieron. Opp. V. 57, Bened.*)

Id., *ibid.*—Fastidius<sup>b</sup> Britanniarum Episcopus scripsit ad Fatalem quendam de Vita Christiana librum unum, et alium de viduitate servanda, sana et Deo digna doctrina. (*Hieron. Opp. V. 39, Bened.*)

GILDAS, *Hist. IX*. [A. D. 56c.]—Ac sic quasi via facta trans Oceanum, omnes omnino bestię ferę, mortiferum cujuslibet hæresios virus horrido ore vibrantes, letalia dentium vulnera patrię, novi semper aliquid audire volenti et nihil certe stabiliter obtinenti, infigebant<sup>c</sup>. (*M. H. B. 9.*)

<sup>a</sup> Possibly banished from Gaul. under the law of Valentinian of A. D. 425. (Cod. Theod. Append. p. 16. Paris. 1631.) as a Pelagian, Britain being no longer under Roman authority (see Baron. an. 429. § 10); but that he was a Briton by birth, is rendered probable by Prosper, *Cont. Collat.*, as quoted below.

<sup>b</sup> That Fastidius was possibly not a Bishop,—wrote one book, not two,—and to a widow Fatalia,—and that he inclined to Semi-pelagianism,—see Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl. art. S. Germain*, and the book itself of Fastidius in the *Bibl. PP.*

<sup>c</sup> The context refers this to Pelagianism.

A. D. 429<sup>a</sup>. *Germanus Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus Bishop of Troyes, confute the Pelagians at Verulamium.*

PROSPER AQUITAN., *Cont. Collat. xxi*. [c. A. D. 432.]—Nec vero segniori cura [pontifex Cælestinus] ab hoc eodem morbo Britannias liberavit, quando quosdam inimicos gratię solum suę originis occupantes etiam ab illo secreto exclusit Oceani; et ordinato Scotis Episcopo<sup>2</sup>, dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam. (*Opp. I. 197.*)

Id., *Cbron.* [after A. D. 455.]—Florentio et Dionysio Coss.<sup>3</sup>;... ad actionem Palladii diaconi Papa Cælestinus Germanum Antisiodorensē<sup>4</sup> Episcopum vice sua mittit, et deturbatis hæreticis<sup>5</sup> Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigit. (*Ib. 401.*)

CONSTANTIUS, *De Vita Germani I. 19, 23*. [A. D. 473 × 492.]—Eodem tempore ex Britanniiis directa legatio Gallicanis Episcopis nunciavit, Pelagianam perversitatem in locis suis latē populos occupasse, et quamprimum fidei catholicę debere succurri. Ob quam causam synodus<sup>b</sup> numerosa collecta est; omniumque judicio duo præclara religionis lumina universorum precibus ambiuntur, Germanus et Lupus, apostolici sacerdotes, terram corporibus, cælum meritis possidentes.....Britannorum insulam quę inter omnes est vel prima vel maxima, sacerdotes apostolici raptim opinione, prædicatione, virtutibus impleverunt. Et cum quotidie irruente frequentia stiparentur,

<sup>1</sup> In MS. Corbeiensi.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. Palladius, sent A. D. 431.

<sup>3</sup> A. D. 429.

<sup>4</sup> Leg. Autisiodorensē.

<sup>5</sup> Sc. Agricola and his disciples.

divinus sermo non solum in ecclesiis verum etiam per trivia, per rura, per devia diffundebatur; ut passim et fide Catholici firmarentur, et depravati viam correctionis agnoscerent. Erat in illis apostolorum instar gloria, et autoritas per conscientiam, doctrina per literas, virtutes ex meritis; accedebat præterea tantis authoribus assertio veritatis. Itaque regionis universitas in eorum sententiam prompta transierat. Latebant abditi sinistræ persuasionis authores, et more maligni spiritus gemeabant perire sibi populos evadentes. Ad extremum diuturna meditatione concepta præsumunt inire conflictum. Procedunt conspicui divitiis, veste fulgentes, circumdati assentatione multorum; contentionisque subire aleam maluerunt, quam in populo, quem subverterant, pudorem taciturnitatis incurrere: ne viderentur se ipsi silentio damnavisse. Illic plane immensæ multitudinis numerositas etiam cum conjugibus ac liberis excita convenerat. Aderat populus spectator futurus et iudex. Adstabant partes, dispari conditione dissimiles. Hinc divina autoritas, inde humana præsumptio; hinc fides, inde perfidia; hinc Christus, inde Pelagius author. Primo in loco beatissimi sacerdotes præbuerunt adversariis copiam disputandi, quæ sola verborum nuditate diu inaniter et aures occupavit et tempora. Deinde antistites venerandi torrentes eloquii sui cum apostolicis et evangelicis tonitruis profuderunt. Miscebatur sermo proprius cum divino, et assertiones violentissimas lectionum testimonia sequebantur. Convincitur vanitas, perfidia confutatur; ita ut ad singulas verborum objectiones reos se, dum respondere nequeunt, faterentur. Populus arbiter vix manus continet; iudicium cum clamore testatur<sup>c</sup>. (*Sur. III. Jul. 31, pp. 363, 364, Col. Agripp. 1618.*)

MARTYROL. BÆDÆ, IV. Kal. (*August.*)...Eodem die depositio S. Lupi Episcopi de Trecas: qui cum Germano venit Britanniam. (*pp. 399, 400, Smith.*)

(See also the *Vita Lupi*, c. iii. *ap. Sur. III. Jul. 29, p. 348*; and the *Vita S. Genovevæ*<sup>d</sup>, cc. i. ii.; *ap. Sur. I. Jan. 3, p. 55*.)

<sup>a</sup> Prosper, a professed chronicler giving a definite date, a native of Aquitaine, himself in Rome A. D. 431 on a mission to Pope Celestine, subsequently secretary to Pope Leo the Great, and writing shortly after 455, is certainly the best evidence for the date. 429. of Germanus' first visit to Britain. That given by Matt. Westm. after Siebert, and adopted by Wilkins, 446, rests upon Constantius and Bede, giving a vague and general date, and upon an inference groundlessly drawn from the mention of Saxons as well as Picts in Constantius' account of the Hallelujah battle fought in Britain under the leading of Germanus. On the other hand, Constantius, a presbyter of

Lyons, and a correspondent of Sidonius Apollinaris, addressing his Life of Germanus to Censurius (died A. D. 500—Le Cointe), a successor of Germanus (who died 448, according to Tillemont) in the see of Auxerre (Heiric. in V. Germani), who had not yet written his work in 470—473, but was at that time "grandis ætate, infirmiate fragilis" (Sid. Apoll. Ep. III. 1). and who therefore must have been a contemporary of Germanus many years, and have written his life not more than from 25 to 50 years after his death, is quite as good evidence for what happened in Gaul on the subject, as Prosper is for what happened in Rome. Each indeed appears to represent the case from his own

point of view exclusively. And Prosper, as he evidently in his Cont. Collat. exaggerates the temporal, so it may fairly be supposed in his Chronicle exaggerates the spiritual, power of the Popes at that time in Britain.

According to the V. Lupi, the two bishops crossed into England in the winter. And the legend of the Hallelujah battle (which also represents a large portion of the British army as unbaptized until immediately previous to it) dates

the end of this first visit as just after the subsequent Easter.

<sup>b</sup> Nothing else is known of this council: v. Sirmond. Conc. Gallic.

<sup>c</sup> Germanus' visit, immediately after this conference, to the relics of S. Alban, indicates Verulamium as the place where it was held. See above, p. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Professed as a virgin by S. Germanus at Nanterre, near Paris, on his way to Britain.

*Shortly after A. D. 431. Palladius, the Roman missionary to Ireland, comes from Ireland to Britain, and dies in the country of the Picts<sup>a</sup>.*

VITA PRIMA S. PATRICII<sup>b</sup> (Before 11th century).—Non fuit [Palladius] bene ab illis [Hibernis] exceptus, sed coactus circuire oras Hiberniæ versus aquilonem, donec tandem, tempestate magna pulsus, venerit ad extremam partem Modhaidh versus austrum; ubi fundavit ecclesiam Fordun<sup>25</sup>; et Pledi est nomen ejus ibi. (*Colgan, Trias Th. p. 5.* So also the Irish *Nennius*, p. 106.)

NENNIUS, *Hist. Brit.* (9th century), *Cap. LV.*—Profectus est ille Palladius de Hibernia, pervenitque ad Britanniam, et ibi defunctus est in terra Pictorum. (*M.H.B. 71.*)

<sup>a</sup> These, and the other (both earlier and later) Irish traditional evidence, with the Aberdeen and other Scottish traditions, are collected and discussed in Todd's S. Patrick, pp. 287-304. S. Patrick

undertook the mission on learning Palladius' death, which must plainly have occurred more than one year after 431.

<sup>b</sup> Scil. Vet. Scholiastæ Schol. in Hymn. S. Fieci.

A. D. 440 × 460. *S. Patrick's mission to Ireland from Britain.*

[v. Todd's S. Patrick, 391 sq.]

A. D. 447<sup>a</sup>. *Second visit of Germanus to Britain, accompanied by Severus Bishop of Treves, for the purpose of repressing Pelagianism.*

CONSTANTIUS, *De V. Germani*, II. 1-4.—Interea ex Britanniis nunciatur Pelagianam perversitatem iterato, paucis authoribus, dilatari. Rursumque ad beatissimum Germanum preces omnium deferuntur, ut causam Dei, quam prius obtinuerat, tutaretur. Quorum petitioni festinus occurrit; dum et laboribus delectatur, et Christo se gratanter impendit. Cessit tandem inimici invidia, victa virtutibus; nec tentare ausus est, quem Dei amicum esse jam senserat. Adjuncto igitur Severo Episcopo, ... qui tunc Treviris ordinatus Episcopus gentibus Primæ Germaniæ verbum vitæ prædicabat, ..... mare, Christo auctore, conscendit. Ad itineris tranquillitatem elementa consentiunt; navigium venti, fluctus aera prosequuntur. Interea sinistri spiritus, pervolantes per totam insulam, Germanum venire invitis vaticinationibus nunciabant; in tantum ut Elaphius quidam regionis

<sup>25</sup> Sc. at Fordun in the Mearns, in (modern) Scotland.

illius primus in occursum sanctorum sine ulla manifesti nuncii relatione properaverit, exhibens secum filium, quem in ipso flore adolescentiæ debilitas dolenda damnaverat; erat enim arescentibus nervis contracto poplite, cui per siccitatem cruris usus negabatur vestigii. Hunc Elaphium provincia tota subsequitur. Veniunt sacerdotes, occurrit inscia multitudo. Confestim benedictio et sermonis divini doctrina profunditur. Recognoscit populum in ea quam reliquerat credulitate durantem; intelligunt culpam esse paucorum; inquirunt authores, inventosque condemnant: cum subito Elaphius manibus advolvitur sacerdotum, offerens filium, cuius necessitatem ætas et debilitas etiam sine precibus allegabant. Fit communis omnium dolor, præcipue sacerdotum, qui conceptam misericordiam ad divinam clementiam contulerunt. Statimque adolescentem beatus Germanus sedere compulit, attrectat poplitem debilitate curvatum, et per tota infirmitatis spatia medicabilis dextra percurrit. Salubrem tactum sanitas festina subsequitur; ariditas succum, nervi officia receperunt; et in conspectu omnium filio incolumitas, patri filius reformatur. Implentur populi stupore miraculi, et in pectoribus omnium fides Catholica firmabatur. Prædicatio deinde ad plebem de prævaricationis emendatione convertitur; omniumque sententia pravitatis authores expulsi ab insula, sacerdotibus adducuntur, ad mediterranea deferendi<sup>b</sup>; ut et regio absolutione et illi emendatione fruerentur. Quod in tantum salubriter factum est, ut in illis locis etiam nunc fides intemerata perduret. Itaque compositis omnibus beatissimi sacerdotes, ea qua venerunt prosperitate, reversi sunt. (*Sur. III. Jul. 31, p. 366.*)

MARTYROL. BÆDÆ. *Kal. (August.)*...Altissiodoro Germani Episcopi, qui multis virtutibus doctrina et continentia clarus, etiam Britonum fidem per duas vices a Pelagiana hæresi defendit. (*p. 401, Smith.*)

<sup>a</sup> The death of Germanus, probably in 448 (Tillemont), and very shortly after his return from Britain (Constant. V. Germani), fixes this date. (See also O'Connor, *Rer. Hibern. Scriptt.* II. 92.) Compare the celebrated application of the Britons

to Aetius in 446.—Aetio ter consuli gemitus Britonum (Gildas, xvii.)

<sup>b</sup> See the (Roman) law quoted above, p. 16, note <sup>a</sup>.

*British Legends of the Ninth and later Centuries connect Germanus with Vertigern, and with Wales, and prolong his stay in Britain. They are inconsistent, however, with the contemporary statements of Constantius, and are mixed up with evident fiction.*

NENNIUS, *Hist. Brit.* (9th century).—*Cap. XXX.* In tempore illius<sup>26</sup> venit S. Germanus, Autisiodorensium urbis Episcopus, ad prædicandum

<sup>26</sup> Sc. Guortigerni.

in Britannia: et claruit apud illos in multis virtutibus; et multi per eum salvi facti sunt; increduli perierunt. Aliquanta miracula, quæ per illum Dominus fecit, scribenda decrevi. (*M.H.B. p. 63.*)

*Cap. XXXI.* Primum miraculum de miraculis ejus. Erat quidam rex valde iniquus etc. etc. (*M.H.B. p. 63.*)

*Cap. XXXIX.* Et super hæc omnia mala adjiciens, Guorthigernus accepit filiam suam propriam in uxorem sibi, quæ peperit ei filium. Hoc autem cum compertum esset a S. Germano, venit corripere regem cum omni clero Britonum. Et dum conventa esset magna synodus clericorum ac laicorum in uno consilio, ipse rex præmonuit filiam suam, ut exiret ad conventum, et ut daret filium suum in sinu Germani, diceretque quod ipse erat pater ejus. Ac ipsa fecit sicut edocta erat. S. Germanus eum benigne accepit; et dicere cœpit: 'Pater tibi ero; nec te permittam, nisi mihi novacula cum forpice pectineque detur, et ad patrem tuum carnalem tibi dare liceat.' Mox ut audivit puer, obedivit verbo senioris sancti, et ad avum suum patremque carnalem Guorthigernum perrexit, et dixit illi: 'Pater meus es tu, caput meum tonde, et comam capitis mei pecte.' Ille autem siluit, et puero respondere noluit; sed surrexit, iratusque est vehementer, et ut a facie S. Germani fugeret quærebat: et maledictus est, et damnatus, a B. Germano et omni consilio Britonum<sup>27</sup>. (*M.H.B. p. 66.*)

*Cap. XLVI.* Iste Guorthemir filius Guorthigirni, in synodo habita apud Guartherniaun<sup>28</sup>, postquam nefandus rex, ob incestum quem cum filia commiserat, a facie Germani et clericorum Britanniae in fugam iret, patris nequitiae consentire noluit: sed rediens ad S. Germanum, ad pedes ejus cecidit veniam postulans, atque pro illata a patre suo et sorore S. Germano calumnia, terram ipsam, in qua prædictus Episcopus obprobrium tale sustinuit, in æternum suam fieri sanxivit. Unde et in memoriam S. Germani Guarenniaun nomen accepit, quod Latine sonat, 'calumnia juste retorta;' quoniam cum Episcopum vituperare putaverat, semet ipsum vituperio afficit. (*M.H.B. p. 68.*)

*Cap. LV.* Beatus vero Germanus reversus est post mortem Guorthigirni ad patriam suam. (*M.H.B. p. 71.*)

Gildas knows nothing of S. Germanus.

A Cornish *Missa S. Germani*<sup>29</sup> (probably 9th century) claims S. Ger-

<sup>27</sup> The "pater adoptivus sive spiritualis," it seems, became so, "acceptis pueri crinibus, a genitore mox abscindendis;" v. Anastas. in Benedicto II. *Muratori, III. t. 146.*—*M.H.B.* in loc.

<sup>28</sup> Near Bult in Radnorshire.—*M.H.B.*

<sup>29</sup> Fragment.—Printed from MS. Bodl. 572, in Hardy's Descript. Catal. &c. I. 48, 49; and further on, in its place, in this work.

manus' preaching and relics for Cornwall, and attributes his mission to Pope Gregory. It contains also a reference to the "vesania" etc. of Vortigern.

A Gallican *Missa S. Germani*, viz. of Auxerre (*ap. Mabill. De Liturg. Gallic. III. 330*), affirms that "Germanus Episcopus...per totas Gallias, Roma, inectalia<sup>30</sup>, in Brettania, annis triginta corpore afflictus, Januis<sup>31</sup>, jugiter in Tuo (Christi) nomine prædicavit, hæreses abstulit, adduxit populum ad plenam et integram fidem, ejecit dæmones, etc."

Later Welsh tradition (e.g. *Lib. Landav.*, pp. 66, 81; 12th century) lengthens the life of Dubricius (ob. 612, *Ann. Camb.*, and so also the *Lib. Landav.* itself) in order to make him consecrated by S. Germanus<sup>2</sup>.

\* For the equally unhistorical legend connecting S. Germanus with the colleges of Llanarvan and Llanilthyd, see Rees, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 122-124. And for the passage foisted into Asser, connecting him with Oxford, see M.H.B. p. 490, and notes.

Respecting liturgies said (but without ground) to have been introduced by S. Germanus into Britain, see the fragmentary document of the 8th century, emanating evidently from a Scoto-Irish monk on the continent, printed in Spelman, I. 176 sq., and Wilkins, IV. App. 741, 742; and further on in this work, in its place.

The Hymn of S. Fiacc (Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* p. 1), besides later tradition, both Irish and British

(e.g. Nennius), connects S. Patrick personally with S. Germanus. And the Scholiast on that Hymn brings him with S. Germanus to Britain. The Confessio of S. Patrick himself is (conclusively) silent upon the subject. Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, pp. 314-317) explains by supposing a confusion between S. Patrick and Palladius, the latter of whom was certainly connected with S. Germanus. Possibly the statement may be merely a way of stating the almost certain fact, that S. Patrick drew his teaching and his ordination from the Gallic Church.

Churches dedicated to S. Germanus are in Cornwall and Wales; and two in Glamorganshire to S. Bleiddian = S. Lupus (*Rees, Welsh Saints*, pp. 126, 131).

<sup>30</sup> *Leg. in Italia.*

<sup>31</sup> *i. e. Genue.*

## APPENDIX A.

### DATE OF INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO BRITAIN.

I. Statements respecting—(a) British Christians at Rome, (β) British Christians in Britain, (γ) Apostles or Apostolic men preaching in Britain, in the FIRST CENTURY;—rest upon either guess, mistake, or fable.

a. 1. *Claudia*, mentioned in the same verse with Pudens, 2 Tim. iv. 21 (c. A.D. 68), as Christians, is conjectured to be the same with Claudia ("peregrina," and "edita Britannis"), the newly married wife of Pudens, mentioned by *Martial*, IV. 13, XI. 53 (c. A.D. 90—100). And the same Pudens has been identified with the (imperfect)<sup>1</sup> name of the giver of a site for a heathen temple in an inscription found at Chichester (*Gale, ap. Horsley, Brit. Rom.* 336.) *Martial* IV. 13, however, *may* have been written, although not published, as early as A. D. 68.

2. *Pomponia Græcina*, accused and acquitted, A. D. 57, before her husband, Aulus Plautius, "qui ovans se de Britanniis retulit," of an "externa superstitio" (*Tacit. A. XIII.* 32), is assumed to have been both a Christian and a Briton.

β. *Bran*, the father of Caradog or Caractacus (followed by others down to the time assigned to Lucius), is alleged by the *Triads* and other still later Welsh documents, to have been converted to Christianity when captive at Rome, A. D. 51 × 58, and to have introduced the Gospel into his native country on his return. The story is inconsistent with *Tacit., A. XII.* 17, 35, 36, *H. III.* 45; and *Dio Cass., lib. LX.* 20; and the earliest witness to it is posterior in date by probably a thousand years (*Stephens, Liter. of Cymry, III.* 4).

γ. 1. *S. Paul* is said by *S. Clem. Rom. (Ep. ad Cor. i. 5.)* to have preached ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, and to have taught ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς δύσεως. Similarly vague statements are in *S. Basil. Seleuc. (Orat. XXXIX. p. 218, Paris 1621)*, saying of *S. Paul*, that πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης κηρύξαι,—and in *S. Jerome (Comm. in Amos V. Opp. III. 1412)*, that "usque ad Hispanias tenderet (Paulus), et mari rubro, imo ab Oceano usque ad Oceanum, curreret,"—and in *S. Chrysostom (Hom. in Rom. I. 2, IX. 432. Montfaucon; and*

<sup>1</sup> *ente* are all the letters remaining.

see also *Hom. de Captio Eutrop.* 14, *ib.* III. 399), that from Illyricum S. Paul went *eis autēs tēs γῆς ἑσχατίας*—and in *Eusebius (Demonst. Evang.* III. 5, quoted above under A. D. 300)—and in *Theodoret (Græc. Affect. Curat.* IX., quoted above under A. D. 400–423): the two latter however specifying Britain, but only as Christianized before their own time by some disciples unspecified. *Theodoret* in another passage (*in Psalm. cxvi.* 2; *Opp.* I. 1425) is more precise;—“Ὑστερον μέντοι καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη (ὁ Παῦλος) καὶ εἰς τὰς Σπανίας ἀφίκετο, καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διακεκμηναῖς νήσοις τὴν ὠφελείαν προσήνεγκε. But the islands here are simply Crete, the authorities for the statement being expressly Rom. xv. 24 and Titus i. 5, and nothing more. See also *Theodoret, ad II Tim.* IV. 17:—Καὶ τὰς Σπανίας κατέλαβε, καὶ εἰς ἕτερα ἔθνη δραμών, τὴν τῆς διδασκαλίας λαμπρά προσήνεγκε (*Opp.* III. 696).—*Venantius Fortunatus* in 580 (*V. S. Martini, III.* 491–494, p. 321, *ed. Brouwer.*) asserts that the teaching of S. Paul (“stylus ille”), passing north and south and everywhere,

Transit et oceanum vel qua facit insula portum,

Quasque Britannus habet terras atque ultima Thyle.

The same *Fortunatus* limits S. Paul's personal travels in distant regions to Illyricum (*Epist. ad Martin. Gallic. Episc. Poem.* V. i. 7. *ib.* p. 119). Lastly, *Sophronius*, Patriarch of Jerusalem (A. D. 629–636), *Serm. de Natal. SS. Petri et Pauli*, is quoted by the Magdeburg Centuriators and others, as bringing S. Paul in person to Britain, but there is nothing to that effect in the printed fragments of *Sophronius* himself. And his authority is worthless, if there were. There is, in short, no authority earlier than the Welsh Triads, some of which are headed with S. Paul's name (*Williams, Antiq. of Cymry*, p. 60), for special respect felt towards S. Paul in Britain, and none whatever for his personal preaching in this island.

2. *S. Peter* is brought to Britain by the anon. *Comment. de SS. Pet. et Paul.*, attributed to *Simeon Metaphrastes*, c. A. D. 900 (*ap. Act. SS.* 29 *Jun.* V. 416). *Innocent I.* (A. D. 402–417, *Epist. ad Decent.*) merely affirms (and that untruly), that Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, “insulasque interjacentes,” were converted by missionaries from S. Peter, or from the see of Rome;—a statement, neither referring to S. Peter personally, nor including Britain.

3. *S. Simon Zelotes* is taken to Britain by the (spurious) *Synops. Dorothei* (6th century), and by *Niceph. Callist.* II. 40, and by the Greek *Menologies* (p. 280. *ed. Pinell. Venet.* 1621; et *ap. Canis., Antiq. Lectt.* III. 429, *Basnage*) *ad Mai.* X. The Roman Martyrology, and Bede's, make him a martyr in Persia.

4. *S. Philip* the Apostle, came to Gaul, and thence sent missionaries to the barbarous nations, bordering on the ocean, according to *Isidorus (De PP. Utriusque Testamenti, A.D.* 595 × 636), from whom the statement is copied by *Freculphus Lexoviensis* (9th century), and from him by *Will. Malm. (Antiq. Glaston., 12th century)*, who adds the history of a mission to Britain.



5. *S. James* the Great, is brought to Britain by the (forged) *Chron. of Flavius Dexter*, p. 77. *Lugd.* 1627.

6. *S. John*, asserted (erroneously) by Bishop Colman at Whitby in 664 (*Bæd. H. E. III.* 25) to have originated the British practice respecting Easter, is supposed to have converted certain Britons at Rome, by the Rev. Mr. Roberts, *Chron. of Kings of Britain*, App. p. 294, *Lond.* 1811. And the certain "island" (*Tertull. Præscr. Hær. XXXVI. Opp.* 215 B.) to which S. John himself was banished, is identified by the same antiquary (*Visit. Sermon*, 1812, as quoted in *Chron. of Anc. Brit. Ch.* p. 15, *Lond.* 1815) with Britain itself.

7. *Aristobulus* in Rom. xvi. 10, is said to have been ordained by S. Paul a Bishop and sent by him into Britain, in the (spurious) *Synops. Dorothei*, and the Greek *Menologies* (*March* 15, p. 231. ed. Pinell.). The tradition seems to have filtered into the Welsh *Triads*, where one Arwystli Hen appears in connection with Bran, etc. There is no real evidence to shew that S. Paul's Aristobulus was a Christian at all, although probably he was of Herod's family, and therefore a Jew (*Tac. A. XIII.* 7; *Joseph. Antiq. XX.* 5). The Aristobulus in the Menologies is called "brother of the Apostle Barnabas."

8. *Joseph of Arimathæa*, as a disciple of S. Philip, and with others, fills a large space in legends of Glastonbury Abbey, which are of post-Norman date (*Ussher*) and first saw light in *Will. Malm. (Antiq. Glaston.,* 12th century).

The general statement made by *Gildas (Hist. VI. M.B.H. 8)* is equally groundless with the above. He simply transfers to the particular case of Britain, with which (as used by his sole authority) it has no connection whatever, language of *Eusebius (Hist. II. 2, 3, interpr. Ruffin., and Chron.)* respecting the general spread of the Gospel in the reign of Tiberius (v. *Schöll, De Eccl. Brit. et Scot. Hist. Fontibus*; and see also *Ussher*).

## II. Evidence alleged for the existence of a Christian Church in Britain during the SECOND CENTURY is similarly unhistorical.

1. There are no other general statements on the subject than that of *Nennius*; who, however, knows of no British Christianity at this time or earlier, except as connected with Lucius, of whom below. *Justin Martyr (Dial. c. Tryph. 117)* merely speaks in a vague and rhetorical tone of the universal spread of the Gospel <sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand,—

S. IRENÆUS, *Adv. Hær. I.* 3. [c. A. D. 176.], enumerating all Churches, and those in the West one by one, knows of none in Britain.—*Καὶ οὕτε αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἰδρυμέναι Ἐκκλησίαι ἀλλως πεπιστεύκασιν ἢ ἀλλως παραδιδάσκιν, οὕτε ἐν*

<sup>2</sup> Even Arnobius, c. A. D. 303 (*Adv. Gent. II.* p. 50, *Lug. Bat.* 1651), in a like passage, speaks only of "omnes insulæ."

ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, οὔτε ἐν Κελταῖς<sup>3</sup>, οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολάς, οὔτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὔτε ἐν Λιβύῃ, οὔτε αἱ κατὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου ἰδρυμέναι. (46, *Grabe*).

And SULPICIUS SEVERUS, *Hist. Sac. II.* 32. [c. A.D. 400],—Sub Aurelio deinde Antonini filio persecutio quinta agitata<sup>4</sup>, ac tum primum intra Gallias martyria visa, serius trans Alpes Dei religione suscepta (*Galland. VIII.* 386),—

and the ACTA SATURNINI (*ap. Ruinart*), quoted by *Greg. Turon. (Hist. I.* 28),—Raras in aliquibus civitatibus Galliæ Ecclesias ante Decii et Grati consulatum,—

postpone the general conversion of Gaul (and therefore *a fortiori* of Britain) to the third century; a few scattered Churches being planted in Gaul, c. A.D. 150—170<sup>5</sup>, of which Lyons was the chief, while the Christianizing of the country as a whole dated only from a great missionary effort in the time of Decius, c. A. D. 250 (*v. Massuet, ad Irenæum, p.* 71).

2. The story of Lucius rests solely upon the later form<sup>6</sup> of the *Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum* (*ap. Acth. SS. April 1, I. xxiii.*) which was written c. A.D. 530, and which adds to the *Vita Eleutheri* (A.D. 171—186 or 179—194)<sup>7</sup> in the earlier Catalogue, among other things, that—

Hic (Eleutherus) accepit epistolam a Lucio Britannæ Rege ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum.

But, i. These words are not in the original *Catalogus*, written shortly after A.D. 353 (*ap. Acth. SS. ib.*), which merely states the name and length of Pontificate.

ii. They were manifestly written in the time and tone of Prosper, with the spirit of whose notices of the missions of Germanus and Palladius in 429 and 431 they precisely tally.

*Beda* copies the Roman account (*H. E., I. 4, V. 24*, and *Chron. in an.* 180), giving however two differing dates, and adding the names of the Emperors, whom he calls Marcus Antoninus Verus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus. *Gildas* (A.D. 560), his usual authority for British Church history, knows nothing of Lucius.

The earliest British testimony to the story is that of *Nennius* (ninth century, c. xviii).—Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis clxiv.<sup>8</sup> Lucius Britanicus Rex cum universis regulis totius Britannæ baptismum susceperunt, missa legatione ab imperatoribus Romanis et a Papa Romano Euaristo: Lucius agnomine Lleuer Maur, id est, Magni-Splendoris, propter fidem quæ in ejus tempore venit. (*M.H.B.* 60.)

The Roman story is copied—with fewer blunders, but equal exaggeration,

<sup>3</sup> Sc. Gallia Lugdunensis, Irenæus' own locality.

<sup>4</sup> Sc. A. D. 166—177.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the details of the persecution of 166—177, for which see Tillemont, and which speak of no Church further north than Langres.

<sup>6</sup> V. Schelstrate, *Dis. de Antiq. Pontif. Catalog.* prefixed to Anastasius in Muratori III. 1.

<sup>7</sup> A. D. 171—185. Clinton.

<sup>8</sup> clxvii., and clxiv., in other MSS.

and fresh details—by the *Liber Landavensis* (12th century, p. 65).—Anno ab Incarnatione Domini clv<sup>to</sup> Lucius Britannorum Rex ad Eleutherium duodecimum apostolicæ sedis Papam legatos suos<sup>9</sup> misit, implorantes juxta ejus admonitionem ut Christianus fieret, quod ab eo impetravit, etc. etc.—To which *Will. Malm. (Antiq. Glaston.)* adds, that “venerunt ergo, Eleutherio mittente, prædicatores Britanniam duo viri sanctissimi, Phaganus scilicet atque Deruvianus (prout carta Sancti Patricii gestaue Britonum testantur):” whom also he brings to Glastonbury. And *Geoffrey of Monmouth* adds many still more circumstantial details.—And, thirdly, the *Triads* connect the story directly with Llandaff, where “Lleirwg made the first church, which was the first in the Isle of Britain,” and “first gave lands and civil privileges to such as first embraced the faith in Christ” (*Williams, Antiq. of Cymry*, p. 69). There are also churches in the see of Llandaff dedicated to Lleirwg, Ddyfan, Ffagan, and Medwy (*Rees, Welsh Saints*).

Finally, the fictitious letter of Eleutherus (*ap. Spelman, I. 31*, and *Wilkins, IV. App. 703*) occurs among other plainly fabulous legends relating to Wales in certain spurious additions to the laws of Edward the Confessor, in the *Liber Custumarum* (pp. 632, 633, *ed. Riley, 1860*) belonging to the Guildhall of London, a compilation (according to Mr. Riley) of the latter part of the reign of Edward II., from which it was first made public by Harrison and Stow, and then by Lambard, Ἀρχαιονομ. pp. 142, 143 (*Cantab. 1644*). And some person has thought it worth while also to forge two coins of Lucius, gold and silver respectively (see *Ussher*), of which the former is still preserved in the British Museum.

It would seem, therefore, that the bare story of the conversion of a British prince *temp. Eleutheri* originated in Rome during the fifth or sixth centuries, almost 300 or more years after the date assigned to the story itself;—that Bede, in the eighth century, introduced it into England, and that by the ninth century it had grown into the conversion of the whole of Britain;—while the full-fledged fiction, connecting it specially with Wales and with Glastonbury, and entering into details, grew up between centuries nine and twelve.

Another legend, of foreign growth, represents Lucius as baptized by one Marcellus, bishop either of Tongres or of Treves, c. A. D. 286 or later (*Gesta Treverorum, ap. Lappenb. Hist. of Anglo-Saxon Kings, I. 275, tr. Thorpe*, and see *Ussher, Primord. c. iv.*): and another, that one Timotheus was sent by Eleutherus to baptize him (so e. g. *Nolker., Martyrol.*, as quoted below, p. 32; and see *Ussher, ib.*)

<sup>9</sup> Sc. Elvinum et Medunnum.

## APPENDIX B.

ANCIENT MARTYROLOGIES AND CALENDARS ATTRIBUTE THE FOLLOWING  
SAINTS TO BRITAIN, INSULAR OR CONTINENTAL<sup>1</sup>.

*Ex Martyrolog. (Pseudo) Hieronymi (ap. D'Achery, Spicil. II. ed. Baluz. etc. Paris. 1723.)*

*VII Idus Febr.*—In Britannijs, civitate Augusta, natalis Auguli Episcopi, Anatolij, Andreæ, Ammonis, Statiani, Nepotiani, Saturnini, Lucij, Saturnæ.

*XIV. Kal. Mart.*—In Britannijs, natalis sanctorum Faustini, Joventiæ.

*XVI. Kal. April.*—Depositio Patricii Episcopi et Confessoris<sup>a</sup>.

*XII. Kal. Jun.*—In Britannia, natalis Timothei diaconi.

*X. Kal. Jul.*—In Britannia, Albani martyris, cum alijs nongentis septuaginta et octo.

*XVII. Kal. Decemb.*—Depositio sancti Machuti episcopi<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Italicized by D'Achery as certainly later than S. Jerome. Of the others, Anatolius, and the names following his, have no connection with Britain: Faustinus and Joventia belong to Brixia (v. Baron. Martyr. Rom. ad XIV. Kal. Mart., and App. ad Adon. Martyr. ib. p. 97): and Timotheus belongs

to Mauritania (Baron. Martyr. Rom. ad XII. Kal. Jun.). Omitting SS. Patrick and Machutus, the edit. of the Martyrol. Ps. Hieron. by F. M. Florentinus (Lucæ 1668) differs from the above only in assigning to S. Alban 889 companions.

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*Ex Martyrolog. (Pseudo) Hieron. (ap. Martene et Durand. Thesaur. III. 1547 sq. Paris. 1717).*

*VII. Idus Februarii.* Aguli martyris, Ammonis, Luci, Saturnini.

*XIV. Calendas Martii.* In Britannia Fausti, Jubentia.

*XII. Calendas Junii.* Timothei.

*X. Calendas Julii.* In Britannia Albini martyris cum alijs DCCCIX.

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*Ex Martyrolog. Bædæ, cum Auctario Flori, etc. (ap. Bæd. Opp. ed. Smith).*

*II. Non. (Febr.) Vacat Bæda.*

[A. Fortassis ex Floro, .... Ipso die passio S. Liphardi<sup>a</sup> martyris Cantorbeje Archiepiscopi.]

<sup>1</sup> To avoid repetition, all names connected with Celtic Britain, insular or continental, are here inserted, although all the Breton names (and one or two others) belong to a later date than 450.

VII. *Idus (Febr.)* Britannii in Augusta natale Augusti Episcopi et martyris.

[Addunt V. et C., interposito commate,—et martyris Anatolii. A. T. L.—et sanctorum Stationi et Saturnini.]

XVI. *Kal. (April.)*—In Scotia S. Patricii confessoris.

XVI. *Kal. (Maii.)* *Vacat Bæda.*

[T. L.—In pago Constantiensi depositio S. Paterni<sup>b</sup> Episcopi et confessoris.]

IV. *Kal. (Maii.)*

[A. Eodem die depositio S. Winwaloei confessoris. B. Cornubie nat. S. Guingaloei confessoris.]

*Kal. (Maii.)*

[B. Cornubie natale S. Conriatini<sup>c</sup> confessoris atque pontificis. Et Bricii Episcopi.]

XII. *Kal. (Junii.)* *Vacat Bæda.*

[B. In Britannia natale Timothei<sup>d</sup> diaconi.]

VIII. *Idus (Junii.)* *Vacat Bæda.*

[T. L.—Gandavo depositio S. Guduali Episcopi et confessoris.]

X. *Kal. (Juli.)* In Britannia S. Albani martyris. *Additur in A.*—cum aliis octingentis octoginta octo. Qui tempore Diocletiani Imperatoris in Verolamio civitate post verbera et tormenta acerba capite plexus est; sed illo in terram cadente, oculi ejus qui eum percussit, pariter ceciderunt. *Hactenus A.* Passus est cum illo etiam unus de militibus, eo quod eum ferire jussus noluerit; divino utique perterritus miraculo, quia viderat beatum martyrem sibi, dum ad coronam martyrii properaret, alveum amnis interpositi orando transmeabilem reddidisse.

[*Addunt V. et C.*—Et cum eo alii numero octingenti octoginta novem positi in Cathalacum, quorum nomina scripta sunt in libro vitæ. *At B. præmittit.*]

VIII. *Kal. (Augusti.)*

[A. Ipso die depositio beati Judoci egregii confessoris, cui adstipulatur inter cæteras virtutes, quæ præ multitudine dinumerari non possunt, etiam duos mortuos suscitasse.]

V. *Kal. (Augusti.)* *Vacat Bæda.*

[*Florus in A. T.*...Britannia monasterio Dolo depositio S. Sampsonis Episcopi et confessoris.—V. C. In Britannia S. Sampsonis Episcopi et confessoris.]

XV. *Kal. (Octobris.)*...In Britanniiis [natalis dies] Socratis et Stephani.

VIII. *Idus (Novembr.)* *Vacat Bæda.*

[A. Depositio S. Winnoci abbatis. T. In cella Wormholtvoorta obitus Winoci confessoris Christi.]

XVII. *Kal. (Decembr.)* *Vacat Bæda.*

[A. Eodem die Sancti Machati.]

*Idibus (Decembr.)*

[T. Eodem die depositio S. Judoci confessoris.]

\* Manifestly Luidhard: v. Bed. H. E. I. 25. The legendary life of "Lietphardus," in the Act. SS. Feb. 4, and in Capgrave p. 218, makes him journey to Rome "cum Cadruale filio regis Britanniz," and be murdered near Cambray on his return: whence Molanus (ap. not. Smith. ad loc.) conjectures groundlessly a British bishop in Wales presiding over fugitive Kentish Britons.

<sup>b</sup> Sc. the bishop of Evreux, who was at the

Council of Paris in 556.

<sup>c</sup> Sc. Corentinus, Episc. Corisopitensis (Quimper) in Armorica.

<sup>d</sup> Timothy belonged to Mauritania probably: v. Baron. Martyrol.—The Timothy in Sigebert (Chron. ad an. 428) belonged to Bithynia, not (as in the old editions of Sigebert) to Britain. The MSS. used by Smith after Henschenius are marked by the letters A, B, C, D, L, T, V.

*Ex Roman. Martyrolog. Vetere* (edd. Rosweyde et Dom. Georgius, Paris 1745).

*VII. Idus. (Febr.)*—Feb. 7.—Sancti Moysetis<sup>a</sup>, qui, petente Mauvia Sarcenorum regina, Episcopus genti illius factus est.

*XVI. Kal. (April.)*—Mart. 17.—Sancti Patritii Episcopi, qui primus apud Scotos prædicavit.

*X. Kal. (Juli.)*—Jun. 22.—Albani martyr.

<sup>a</sup> Moses belonged to Syria or Arabia, c. A.D. 375: v. Rufin. H. E. II. 6, Socrat. IV. 36, Sozom. VI. 38. The juxtaposition of his name

with that of Angulus misled Notker (see below, p. 32) into assigning him to Britain.

*Ex Martyrol. Rhabani* (ap. Canis. Antiq. Lectt. tom. ii, P. ii. ed. Basnage.) A.D. 855.

*Feb., VII. Iduum.* In Britannis in civitate Augusta, nativitas Auguli Episcopi et martyr.

*Mart., XVI. Cal. (April.)* In Scotia natalis Patricii Episcopi, qui in Hybernia insula Scotis primum prædicavit nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

*Jun., X. Cal. (Jul.)*. In Britannia S. Albani martyr, qui tempore Diocletiani in Verolamio civitate post verbera et tormenta acerba capite plexus est: sed illo in terram cadente, oculi ejus qui eum percussit, pariter ceciderunt: passus est cum illo etiam unus de militibus, eo quod eum ferire noluerit jussus, divino utique perterritus miraculo, quia viderat beatum martyrem sibi, dum ad coronam martyrii prope-  
raret, alveum amnis interpositi orando transmeabilem reddidisse.

*Sept., XV. Cal. (Octobr.)* In Britannia Socratis et Stephani.

*Ex Martyrolog. Adonis Archiepisc. Vienn.* (edd. Rosweyde et Dom. Georgius, Paris 1745). A.D. 858.

*VII. Id. Febr.* In Britannis civitate Augusta natalis sancti Auguli, Episcopi et martyr. Item S. Moysetis<sup>a</sup> venerabilis Episcopi, qui primo quidem in eremo vitam solitariam ducens, meritis ac virtutibus et signis quæ faciebat per illum Deus, magnifice innotuerat. Qui

postremo, dum, petente Mauvia Saracenorum regina Episcopus gentis illius factus, fidei catholicæ custodivit intemerata consortia, et gentem cui datus fuerat Episcopus, ex grandi parte ad fidem Christi convertit. Sicque perfectus in virtutibus in pace quievit.

*XVI. Kal. April.* In Scotia natale Sancti Patricii, Episcopi et confessoris, qui primus ibidem Christum evangelizavit.

*X. Kal. Julii.* In Britannia natale S. Albini martyris, qui tempore Diocletiani in Verelamio civitate post verbera et tormenta acerba capite plexus est, sed illo in terram cadente, oculi ejus qui eum percussit, pariter in terram ceciderunt. Passus est cum eo etiam unus de militibus, eo quod eum ferire jussus noluerit; divino utique perterritus miraculo, quia viderat beatum martyrem sibi, dum ad coronam martyrii properaret, alveum amnis interpositi orando transmeabilem reddidisse. Quo in tempore persecutio crudelis, Oceani limbum transgressa, etiam Aaron et Julium Britanniae, cum aliis pluribus viris ac feminis, felici cruore damnavit.

*XV. Kal. Octobris.* In Britanniis, sanctorum Socratis et Stephani.

*XVII. Kal. Decembr.* [Ipso die apud Britanniam Aletis urbem, natalis beati Machutii, Episcopi et confessoris; qui a primævo ætatis suæ tyrocinio innumerabilibus miraculis splendide enituit, uno scilicet eodemque die vitreum de lapide calicem, valde coruscum vinum de aqua, hominemque vivum de morte mirabiliter redintegrans.]

\* See note \* on p. 29.

*Ex Martyrolog. Usuardi* (ed. *Molanus, Antv.* 1583.) A. D. 875.

[*Id. Jan.* In Scotia sancti Kentigerni, Episcopi Glascoënsis, et confessoris (add. *Molan.*).]

[*IV. Cal. Febr.* In Britannia, Gildæ abbatis et confessoris (add. *Molan.*).]

*VII. Id. Febr.* In Britanniis, civitate Augusta, natalis beati Auguli Episcopi, qui cursum temporis per martyrium explens, æterna meruit suscipere præmia. Item, sancti Moysetis Episcopi\*: hic primum in heremo vitam solitariam ducens, signis ac virtutibus magnifice innotuerat, post vero gentem Saracenorum, cui Episcopus fuerat factus, grandi ex parte ad fidem Christi convertit, sicque gloriosus meritis quievit in pace.

[*Cal. Mart.* In Britannia, beati David, Menevensis Archiepiscopi et confessoris (add. *Molan.*).]

*XVI. Cal. April.* In Scotia, natalis sancti Patricii, Episcopi et confessoris, qui primus ibidem Christum evangelizavit.

[*XVI. Cal. Maii.* Coloniae, translatio sancti Albini martyris. Hujus Deo digni martyris reliquiae de Britannia per beatum Germanum Episcopum Antissiodorensem primo Romam, deinde per augustam Theophaniam, Othonis Secundi uxorem, Coloniam translatae, positae sunt in monasterio sanctissimi Pantaleonis martyris; ubi cunctis pie quaerentibus opem conferunt salutarem (add. Molan.).]

[*Cal. Maii.* In Britannia, sancti Chorentini, Episcopi civitatis Aquilae. In minori Britannia, sanctissimi Brioci Episcopi et confessoris (add. Molan.).]

[*XIV. Cal. Jun.* In Britannia minori, Trecorensi diocesi, sancti Ivonis, presbyteri et confessoris<sup>b</sup>, qui pro Christi amore causas pupillorum, viduarum, ac pauperum, defendere non desistebat (add. Molan.).]

[*VIII. Id. Jun.* In Blandinio Sancti Gudevali, Archiepiscopi et confessoris (add. Molan.).]

*X. Cal. Julii.* In Britannia sancti Albani martyris, qui tempore Dioclitiani in Verolamio civitate post verbera et tormenta acerba capite plexus est. Passus est etiam cum illo unus de militibus, eo quod eum jussus ferire noluerit. [Quo in tempore persecutio crudelis Oceani littus transgressa, etiam Aaron et Julium Brytanniae cum aliis pluribus viris ac feminis felici morte damnavit (add. Molan.).]

*III. Id. Julii.* In Britannia minori, sancti Turiani, Episcopi et confessoris, mirae simplicitatis et innocentiae viri.

*V. Cal. August.* In Britannia minori, Dolo monasterio, sancti Samsonis, Episcopi et confessoris.

*[XVI. Cal. Octobr.* In Scotia, Niniani, Episcopi Candidae Casae et confessoris (add. Molan.).]

*XV. Cal. Octobr.* In Britanniiis, sanctorum Socratis et Stephani.

[*IX. Cal. Nov.* Ipso die, in Britannia, transitus beati Maglorii, Episcopi et confessoris, cujus corpus honoratur et colitur in coenobio divi Maglorii civitate Parisiis (add. Molan.).]

[*XVII. Cal. Dec.* Ipso die, Santonas civitate, depositio sancti Macloui, Episcopi et confessoris, in Britannia, urbe Alethis; qui a primævo ætatis tirocinio innumerabilibus miraculis splendide emicuit (add. Molan.).]

[*Idus Decembr.* In pago Pontino, sancti Judoci confessoris, filii regis Britonum, peregrini (add. Molan.).]

\* See note \* on p. 29.

<sup>b</sup> [The Ivo of Britain proper is another person, and indeed is a pure fiction. "Anno DC. Doctor apostolicus et vere cæli nuntius Ivo, præsul inclitus, migravit ad Dominum. Qui in Perside, ut orientale sidus, ortus, finibus occiduis Britanniz a Domino est destinatus" (Flor. Wig., M.H.B.

526). The chapter of the *Historia Ramesiensis* (c. lxviii, Gale ii. 431), headed "Quomodo sanctus Ivo sit inventus," shews the 11th century origin of this Ivo. See also the legendary *Vita Ivonis*, in *Act. SS. Jun.* 10. II. 288, and Capgrave, fol. 199 sq.]



*Ex Martyrolog. Notkeri* (ap. *Canis. Antiq. Lecth. tom. II. P. iii, ed. Basnage*).  
A. D. 894.

*VII. Id. Febr.* In Britanniiis sancti Moyseis vel Moysis venerabilis Episcopi<sup>a</sup>; qui primo quidem in eremo vitam solitariam ducens, meritis et virtutibus ac signis quæ faciebat per illum Dominus, magnifice innotuerat: quique postea, petente Mauvia Saracenorum regina, Episcopus illius gentis factus, fidei Catholicæ custodivit intemerata consortia, et gentem cui datus fuerat Episcopus, ex grandi parte ad fidem Christi convertit. Sicque in pace perfectus in virtutibus quievit.

*XVI. Cal. April.* In Scotia nativitas sancti Patricii Episcopi natione Britanni, qui in Hybernia insula Scotis primum evangelizavit nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et eos per miraculorum ostensionem ad fidem veram convertit.

*XII. Cal. Junii.* In Britannia Timothei diaconi<sup>b</sup>.

*VIII. Cal. Junii.* Item Romæ Eleutherii papæ, qui ... accepit epistolas a Lucio Britannorum rege, ut per ejus mandatum fieret Christianus. Quod et factum refertur per Timotheum virum sanctum, ita ut idem Lucius, spretis omnibus mundialibus rebus, nudus et expeditus peregrinatione suscepta, partem Bajoariorum et totam Rhetiam inter Alpes sitam miraculis et prædicationibus ad fidem Christi convertisse credatur. Cujus sepulchrum, id est, qui in Rhetia requiescit, sive Rex quondam ille, sive quicunque servus Dei fuerit, creberrimis virtutibus illustratur.

*X. Cal. Julii.* In Britannia sancti Albani martyris: qui tempore Diocletiani in Verolamio civitate post verbera et tormenta acerba capite plexus est. Sed illo in terram cadente, oculi ejus, qui eum percussit, pariter ceciderunt. Passus est cum illo etiam unus de militibus, eo quod eum ferire jussus noluerit; divino utique perterritus miraculo, quia viderat beatum martyrem sibi, dum ad coronam martyrii properaret, alveum amnis interpositi orando transmeabilem reddidisse. Quo in tempore persecutio crudelissima Oceani limbum in Britannia transgressa, etiam Aaron et Julium cum aliis octingentis octoginta novem felici cruore damnavit.

*XV. Cal. Octobr.* In Britanniiis Socratis et Stephani.

<sup>a</sup> See note \* on p. 29.

<sup>b</sup> See note \* on p. 7.

*Ex Martyrolog. Gallie. Antiq. (ap. M. ... collect. VI. 658 sq.) c.*

A. D. 1000.

*Febr., VII. ... Valer., in Brita ... ali episcopi, Anatholi,*

Amion

*Febr.*, XIV. Cal. Mart., in Britannii, Faustini, Viventiae<sup>a</sup>. \*

*Jun.*, X. Cal. Julii, in Britannii, Albini martyris, cum aliis DCCCLXXXVII.

<sup>a</sup> See note <sup>a</sup> on p. 27.

*Ex Calendario Anglicano (ap. Martene, Ampl. Coll. VI. 651 sq.) c. A.D. 1000.*

*Mart.*, XVI. Kal. (April.), sancti Patricii Episcopi.

*Jun.*, II. Nonas, sancti Petroci confessoris.

*Jun.*, X. Kal. (Julii), sancti Albani martyris.

*Jul.*, VI. Kal. (Aug.), sancti Samsonis Episcopi.

*Dec.*, Idus, sancti Judoci confessoris.

*Ex Martyrolog. Roman. ed. Baronius (Paris, 1645).*

*VII. Id. Feb.* Augustæ in Britannia natalis beati Auguli Episcopi, qui ætatis cursum per martyrium explens, æterna præmia suscipere meruit.

*XVI. Kal. April.* ... In Hibernia natalis sancti Patricii, Episcopi et confessoris, qui primus ibidem Christum evangelizavit, et maximis miraculis et virtutibus claruit.

*XVI. Kal. Maii.* Eodem die sancti Paterni Episcopi Abricensis.

*XIV. Kal. Junii.* In Britannia minori sancti Ivonis presbyteri et confessoris, qui pro Christi amore causas pupillorum, viduarum, ac pauperum defendebat<sup>a</sup>.

*X. Kal. Julii.* Verolamii in Britannia sancti Albani martyris, qui tempore Diocletiani pro clerico hospite quem susceperat, seipsum tradens, post verbera et acerba tormenta capite plexus est. Passus est etiam cum illo unus de militibus, qui eum ducebat ad supplicium, qui in via conversus ad Christum sanguine meruit baptizari.

*Kal. Julii.* In Britannia sanctorum martyrum Julii et Aaron, qui post sanctum Albanum in persecutione Diocletiani passi sunt: quo tempore ibidem quam plurimi, diversis cruciatibus torti, et sævissime lacerati, ad supernæ civitatis gaudia consummato agone pervenerunt.

*III. Id. Julii.* In Britannia minori sancti Turiani Episcopi et confessoris, miræ simplicitatis et innocentiae viri.

*V. Kal. August.* In Britannia minori sancti Sampsonis Episcopi et confessoris.

*XVI. Kal. Octobr.* In Scotia sancti Niniani Episcopi et confessoris.

*XV. Kal. Octobr.* In Britannia sanctorum martyrum Socratis et Stephani.

*IX. Kal. Novembr.* In Britannia minori transitus sancti Maglorii Episcopi, cujus corpus Lutetiæ Parisiorum requiescit.

D

*XVII. Kal. Decembr.* In Britannia natalis sancti Machuti Episcopi, qui a primævo ætatis suæ tyrocinio miraculis emicuit.

*III. Non. Decembr.* Curia in Germania sancti Lucii Britannorum regis, qui primus ex iis regibus Christi fidem suscepit, tempore Eleutherii Papæ.

*Idus Decembr.* In pago Pontino<sup>b</sup> sancti Judoci confessoris.

<sup>a</sup> See note <sup>b</sup> on p. 31.

<sup>b</sup> Pontivo, æc. Ponthieu.

Of other and minor MARTYROLOGIES, the *M. Gellonense* (ap. *D'Achery, Spicil. II.* 25. Baluz.) c. A.D. 804, and the *M. Wandelberti* (ib. 39) A.D. 842, and of those in the *Actt. SS. Jun. tom. VII.*, the *MM. Richenoviense, Augustanum, Labbeanum*, and *Reg. Sueciæ*, commemorate Augulus (Agulus *M. G.*, Augulius *M. Aug.*, Agabus *M. L.*) VII. Id. Febr., S. Patrick XVI. Kal. April., and S. Alban (Alpinæ, *M. R.*<sup>a</sup>) X. Kal. Jul. The *MM. Gellon. and Labb.* also add Samson on V. Kal. August. And the *M. Rich.*, "XII. Kal. Jun., in Brittanica Timothei diaconi." The *M. Corbeïense* (*Actt. SS.* as above), and the *M. Corbeïense* and *M. Morbacense* in Martene and Durand (*Thesaur. III.* 1563 sq.), commemorate Augulus (Aygulus *M. M.*) and S. Patrick on the usual days; but the first two add also Faustinus XIV. Kal. Mart., and Timotheus diaconus XII. Kal. Jun., both as in Britain; and the *M. Morb.* adds, "V. (Cal. Aug.) Britannia Sansonis." Of the Martyrologies printed by Georgius in his edit. of Ado (Paris 1745), the *M. Fuldense* and the *M. Ottobonianum*,—and the *Kalend. Monastico-Necrologicum ex MS. Murensi*, 11th century, in Gerbert (*Monum. Vet. Lit. Alemann. II.* 492),—commemorate Augulus, S. Patrick, and S. Alban, on the usual days; but *M. Ottob.* adds, "V. Kal. Aug., in Britannia nat. sancti Samson," and, "XV. Kal. Oct., in Britannia Socratis et Stephani;" and *M. Fuld.* has also Moyses VII. Id. Febr., in addition to Augulus. The *M. Autissiodorensis* (Martene et Durand. *Ampl. Coll. VI.* 685), c. 12th century, has Augulus, S. Alban, S. Samson, and Socrates and Stephanus, on the usual days, S. Patrick XIV. Cal. April., and "III. Id. Julii, in Britannia minori natale S. Thuriavi Episcopi et confessoris." The *Martyrol. Rhenaug.* "supplet. ex SanGallensi sec. X. circ." (Gerbert, as above, p. 455), and the *Kalendaria* (six in *fin. Adon.* ed. Georg., and *K. Verdinense* in Martene et Durand. *Ampl. Coll. VI.* 679, one from Corbey in *D'Achery, Spicil. II.* 64. c. A.D. 826, and a *Kalendarium* of the 9th century in Gerbert as above, p. 469), mention generally SS. Patrick or Alban only, but the *K. Palatino-Vatic.* (in *fin. Adon.*) has also Augulus; while both of the documents in Gerbert, and four of the other six which mention him, assign S. Alban to XI. Kal. Jul. instead of X. Kal. Jul., and one of the *Kalendars* also antedates S. Patrick to XVII. Kal. April. The *Kalend. Lyrense* (Mart. et Durand. *Thesaur. III.* 1605) has S. "Augulius" on the usual day, and "XI.

Kal. (Julii) S. Albani<sup>b</sup> martyris, X. Kal. (Julii) S. Albini confessoris." S. Alban (Albinus) is commemorated X. Kal. Jul. in the fragment of the *M. Turo-nense* (Mart. et Durand. *Thesaur.* ib. 1587); and S. Patrick, XVI. Kal. April., is in both the entire and the fragmentary Kalendars of the abbey of Corbey in the same collection (*ib.* 1592, 1597); the former of which has also S. Winoc, VIII. Id. Nov. Lastly, the *Libellus Annalis Dom. Bedæ Presbyt.* (Mart. et Durand. *Ampl. Coll.* VI. 637) has, "Feb., VII. Idus, Natale S. Auguli Episcopi et martyris," "Mart., XVI. Cal. (April.), Natale S. Patricii Episcopi," "Jun., XI. Cal. (Jul.), Natale S. Albini Martyris," and, "X. Cal. (Jul.) S. Albani Martyris."

Of Saxon Calendars, one, c. A.D. 940 (*Bodl. Jun.* 27), contains Patrick and (last day of January, apparently) Gildas; another, 11th cent. (*Bodl. Jun.* 99), has Patrick, Petroc, Alban, and Judoc; two copies of the first of the three in *Hampson's Med. Ævi Kalend.* (I. 398. Lond. 1841), 10th or 11th cent., have Patrick only, and the third also Gildas, the latter on Jan. 29; the second Calendar of the three (*ib.* 421) has Patrick, Petroc, and Alban; the third (*ib.* 434), Alban only: all on the usual days.

<sup>a</sup> "Cum DCCCCLXXXVIII." *M. Aug.*—  
"Cum octingentis octoginta octo." *M. Gell., M.*  
*Labb., and M. Autissiod.* But "DCCCLXXXIX,"  
*M. Wand.* And the usual account of his death

is added in *M. Reg. Sueoic.*

<sup>b</sup> S. Alban of Mentz; see *Usaker*, V. 179.  
Ehington.

LEGENDARY LIVES are extant of the following British saints A. D. 200—450<sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 200—300. Vita *S. Mellonis*, Episcopi et confessoris [Bishop of Rouen]: Capgrave, *Nova Leg. Angl.* fol. 229. See *Orderic Vital., Hist. Eccl.* V. 8, 9. II. 334—336. ed. Le Prevost.

A.D. 300—400. Vita *S. Albani*, martyris, auct. Gulielmo Monacho Albanensi (end of 12th century): *Actt. SS.* Jun. 22. IV. 149, abbrev. in Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 6:—founded upon Bæda, whose authorities are i. Gildas, ii. certain *Acta* otherwise unknown. The story in Matt. Paris. (*Vitz Abbat. S. Alban.*, in *Vita Eadmar.*, p. 994. Wats) of a British Life of S. Alban, discovered at S. Alban's, and decyphered by a monk Unwona, refers itself to the 10th century, but will not bear examination. Other Lives, later than that by William of S. Alban's, are catalogued by Hardy, *Descript. Catal.* I. 4—34.

Vita *S. Amphibali*, martyris: Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 13. The Acts of S. Amphibalus, who owes his name to Geoffrey of Monmouth, are usually mixed up with those of S. Alban. He has been supposed to have been invented out of S. Alban's cloak (amphibalus).

A.D. 400—450. CUMBRIA. Vita *S. Ninie* vel *Niniani*, Episcopi, auct.

Ailred. Rieval. (12th century): ap. Pinkerton, *VV. SS. Scotiæ*, 1; abridged in Capgr. *N.L.A.* fol. 241.

Vitæ *S. Patricii* (ap. Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* etc., and see Todd's *S. Patrick*, Hardy's *Descript. Catal. I.* 62—84, and below under the Irish Church): containing also the legendary accounts of *S. Palladius*.

DAMNONIA. Vita *S. Meliori* vel *Melori*, martyris (among already Christian Cornish, A.D. 411): Capgr. *N.L.A.*, fol. 229; *Actt. SS.* Jan. 3. I. 136,—an Ambresbury legend of the 11th century, "incertum" even to Will. Malm. (*G. P. II.*).

Acta *S. Fingar*is vel *Guigneri*, *S. Piale* virginis, et Sociorum, martyrum in Britannia, auct. S. Anselm. Cantuar. (spurious): Irish disciples of S. Patrick, martyred in still Pagan Cornwall, A.D. 450 Bolland., 460 Ussher: *Actt. SS. Mart.* 23. III. 456; Migne, *Patrol.* clix. 326.

WALES. Vita *S. Carantoci* (Carannog or Cernach), confessoris (hermit in Ceredigion, who followed S. Patrick to Ireland): Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 56; *Actt. SS.* Mai. 16. III. 585; *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 97.

Vita *S. Clitauci*, regis et martyris (c. A.D. 450): Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 59; *Actt. SS.* Aug. 19. III. 733. See also *Lib. Landav.* 183—188.

\* The Empress *Helena* (Life by Jocelin of Furness, and another in Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 173) was not a Briton. *S. Kely* belongs to the 6th century, his connection with S. Hilary being a manifest fiction. *S. Gudwal* (*Actt. SS.* Jun. 6. I. 728, and Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 167), attributed sometimes to the middle of the 4th (Smith ad *Martyrol. Bæd.*), must have belonged, if he had

ever existed, to the 7th or 8th century. The fable of *Ursula* and the 11,000 Virgins (Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 316) hardly deserves notice. It is referred by Sigebert to A.D. 453.

The MSS. authorities for all the above legendary Lives are catalogued by Hardy, *Descriptive Catal. &c.* Lond. 1863.

## APPENDIX C.

### MONUMENTAL REMAINS OF THE BRITISH CHURCH DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD.

1. CHURCHES.—[*Gildas* XVIII.—Renovant (Britones) ecclesias<sup>1</sup> ad solum usque destructas; basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt, ac velut victricia signa passim propalant:—a passage borrowed from Eusebius, but testifying at least to the general existence of churches in later Roman Britain. On the other hand, these churches were commonly of a perishable kind<sup>2</sup>.—Ecclesiam, ...more Scottorum, non de lapide sed de robore secto totam composuit<sup>3</sup> (*Bæd. H. E. III. 25*). And, Ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brittonibus more, fecerit Nynia<sup>4</sup> (*Id. ib. 4*; and see *Ib. II. 14*, and *III. 23*). And so also the traditional account of the original church at Glastonbury,—Quandam capellam, inferius per circuitum virgis torquatis muros perficientes, consummaverunt (*Will. Malm., Antiq. Glaston.*).]

a. Churches recorded to have existed.

i. At *Canterbury*.—*S. Martin's*—Erat autem prope ipsam civitatem ad orientem ecclesia in honorem Sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Britanniam incolerent (*Bæd. H. E. I. 26*,—writing of A. D. 597). The church may have been dedicated to S. Martin if built after A. D. 400.

ii. Also at *Canterbury*.—*S. Saviour's* (now the Cathedral)—Recuperavit (Augustinus) in ea (regia civitate Doruvern) ecclesiam, quam inibi antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam fuisse didicerat, et eam in nomine Sancti Salvatoris Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi sacravit (*Bæd. H. E. I. 33*).

iii. Near *Verulam*, over S. Alban's grave, destroyed before the time of Bede.—Postea redeunte temporum Christianorum serenitate ecclesia est mirandi operis atque ejus martyris condigna exstructa (*Bæd. H. E. I. 7*).

iv. At *Caerleon*, two, dedicated respectively to Julius and Aaron, and a third, the "metropolitana totius Cambriæ" (*Girald, Cambr., Itin. Cambr. I. 5*). The last is identified by Geoffrey of Monmouth (*IX. 12*) with that dedicated to Aaron. Their existence is extremely questionable: but the *Lib. Landav. p. 215* seems to indicate that there was a "territorium martyrum Julii et Aron" at Caerleon during the ninth century.

v. At *Bangor Yscoed*, near Chester.—Sunt certe adhuc (12th cent.) ibi tot semirutii parietes ecclesiarum, tantæ turbæ ruinarum, quantæ vix alibi (*Will. Malm., G. P. IV.*; and similarly, *G. R. I. 3*): confounding however, pos-

<sup>1</sup> Sc. after the Diocletian Persecution.  
The Briton church at Landevennec was "lignea" (*Vita Ildæ S. Winivaldei*, in *Act. SS. Mart. 3. I. 255*).

<sup>2</sup> Sc. Aldanus in 652.

<sup>3</sup> See however Petrie, *Round Towers*, I. 138-157.  
<sup>4</sup> c. A. D. 401.

sibly, the ruins of a Roman town (Bovium—so *Smith, ad loc. Bard.*) with those of a Britanno-Roman monastery, and certainly Bangor near Chester with Bangor the Bishop's see. Leland (*Itin. V.* 32) testifies that the ruins of Bangor Yscoed were partially visible in his time.

vi. At *Glastonbury*.—The story of the “vetusta ecclesia,” at first “vergea;” then covered by Paulinus of Rochester “ligneo tabulatu” and “plumbo a summo usque deorsum,” and finally supplanted by the “major ecclesia” of King Ina (*Will. Malm., Antiq. Glaston.*), is sufficient evidence that the Saxons found a British church there when refounding the monastery. The West Saxons conquered the district A.D. 652 × 658 (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*), being already Christians; and the monastery apparently was never destroyed.

vii. At *Whitherne* in *Galloway*.—See above, under A.D. 401, S. Ninias.

viii. Near *Evesham*.—Tradition, in the time of bishop Ecgwin (beginning of the 8th century), described the site of his monastery as “ecclesiolam ab antiquo habentem ex opere forsitan Britannorum” (*Will. Malm., G. P. IV.*)

### β. Churches of which traces still exist.

ix. At *Dover*, in the Castle, probably of fourth or fifth century (see *Puckle's Church and Fortress of Dover Castle*, 1864).

x. At *Richborough*, in Kent, in the Roman camp, a ruin in the form of a cross on a platform of Roman work (*Gough's Camden, I.* 342; *Roach Smith, Antiq. of Richborough, Reculver, and Lympne*, pp. 43 sq. 1850), possibly the base of a chapel.

xi. At *Reculver*, in Kent, an old chapel with Roman bricks (*Nichols, Bibl. Topogr. Brit., I.* 170); a Christian church in very early Saxon times, and probably also under the Britons (see *Roach Smith, ib.* p. 199).

xii. At *Lympne* in Kent, between Doruvernium (Canterbury) and Portus Lemanis (Lympne).—“There is great probability that a Christian church existed on the site of the present building (the church) in the Roman period. The Roman foundations discoverable at the south-east angle of the chancel, and under that part of the wall of the churchyard corresponding with it, and which, together with the remarkable half arch that intervenes, mark the site of the *aquilonalis porticus*,—the title of *Basilica* already given to it in the seventh century,—and the fact that a Roman legion was regularly stationed at Lympne,—give weight to this probability.” And again,—“The Roman wall which was discovered while these sheets were in the press, has since been exposed, so far as it can be traced; disclosing the foundations of an apsidal building having an outer and inner wall, the (modern) church resting upon a portion of the former:.....remains of Roman work abound in the present church.” *Jenkins, Hist. of Ch. of Lympne*, 1859.

xiii. At *Brixworth* in Northamptonshire.—“There seems little doubt that this church was originally a Roman basilica, probably of the fourth or fifth

century, of which the outer walls have been destroyed, and the arches walled up....The aisles are divided by cross walls, as if they had been originally divided into small chambers or chapels. The western porch has Roman arches or doorways on the north, south, and west sides; the Anglo-Saxon belfry has been built upon this Roman porch, probably in the 11th century. ...The original Roman apse at the east end has been destroyed in order to carry out a longer church." (*Rickman's Architect. in England*, ed. Parker, p. 74, Oxf. 1862). There was a Saxon church at Brixworth before the end of the 7th century (*Hugo Candidus*, p. 9, ed. Sparkes). And see *Arch. Assoc. Journal* for 1863, pp. 285 sq.

## 2. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS.

i. An inscription in Latin, obscure but plainly Christian, is carved upon the upper part of a Roman pagan monument, now let into the (Norman) tower of the church of *S. Mary le Wigford, Lincoln* (*Stukeley, Itin. II. Pl. lxiv*; *Nichols, Biblioth. Topogr. Brit. III. 70, Pl. iii. fig. 12*), which appears to have been once headed with the symbol of the cross (*Trollope, in Archæol. Journ. March, 1860*).

ii. At *Caerleon*, a sepulchral stone, upon which remains part of a "rough scoring" resembling "the rude representation of a palm branch, which generally denotes the tomb of a Christian Roman" (*Lee, Isca Silurum*, p. 3). The pagan D. M., which appears to have been also on the stone, was, as is well known, retained for several centuries, irrespective of its meaning.

iii. A Britanno-Roman sarcophagus, supposed to be Christian, found at *Barming in Kent* (*Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua, I. 184*). But see Mr. Smith's remark, *ib. p. 204*.

iv. A stone found at *Bath* (*Horsley, Brit. Rom., Somerset. no. iv. and p. 327*), with some figures conjectured to represent Christian symbols (*McCaul, Brit. Rom. Inscriptions*, pp. 181, 182, Lond. 1863), but combined with an inscription beginning with the Pagan D. M.

## 3. MISCELLANEOUS.

i. Pieces of pottery stamped with parts of a cross and the monogram, found at *Padstow in Cornwall* (*Haslam, Archæol. Journal*, vol. iv. p. 307. 1847).

ii. A fragment of Samian ware marked with Christian symbols, found at *Catterick in Yorkshire* (*Archæol. Journal*, vol. vi. p. 81. 1849).

iii. A silver cup found on the right bank of the Tyne, near *Corbridge in Northumberland*, in 1736, with six different compartments, in each of which is the monogram (*Hodgson's Northumb. III. ii. 246*).

iv. A cross on a Roman pavement found at *Harpole, Northamptonshire* (figured in *Archæol. Association Journal* for 1850, p. 126).

<sup>2</sup> For post-Roman inscriptions in Wales, Cornwall, &c., see below, under the respective churches of Wales, Cornwall, &c. It is possible that one or two of these, or of crosses that exist without inscriptions, belong to the close of the Britanno-Roman period.



postremo, dum, petente Mauvia Saracenorum regina Episcopus gentis illius factus, fidei catholicæ custodivit intemerata consortia, et gentem cui datus fuerat Episcopus, ex grandi parte ad fidem Christi convertit. Sicque perfectus in virtutibus in pace quievit.

*XVI. Kal. April.* In Scotia natale Sancti Patricii, Episcopi et confessoris, qui primus ibidem Christum evangelizavit.

*X. Kal. Julii.* In Britannia natale S. Albini martyris, qui tempore Diocletiani in Verelamio civitate post verbera et tormenta acerba capite plexus est, sed illo in terram cadente, oculi ejus qui eum percussit, pariter in terram ceciderunt. Passus est cum eo etiam unus de militibus, eo quod eum ferire jussus noluerit; divino utique perterritus miraculo, quia viderat beatum martyrem sibi, dum ad coronam martyrii properaret, alveum amnis interpositi orando transmeabilem reddidisse. Quo in tempore persecutio crudelis, Oceani limbum transgressa, etiam Aaron et Julium Britannix, cum aliis pluribus viris ac feminis, felici cruore damnavit.

*XV. Kal. Octobris.* In Britanniiis, sanctorum Socratis et Stephani.

*XVII. Kal. Decembr.* [Ipso die apud Britanniam Aletis urbem, natalis beati Machutii, Episcopi et confessoris; qui a primævo ætatis suæ tyrocinio innumerabilibus miraculis splendide enituit, uno scilicet eodemque die vitreum de lapide calicem, valde coruscum vinum de aqua, hominemque vivum de morte mirabiliter redintegrans.]

\* See note \* on p. 29.

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*Ex Martyrolog. Usuardi* (ed. *Molanus, Antv.* 1583.) A. D. 875.

[*Id. Jan.* In Scotia sancti Kentigerni, Episcopi Glascoënsis, et confessoris (add. *Molan.*).]

[*IV. Cal. Febr.* In Britannia, Gildæ abbatis et confessoris (add. *Molan.*).]

*VII. Id. Febr.* In Britanniiis, civitate Augusta, natalis beati Auguli Episcopi, qui cursum temporis per martyrium explens, æterna meruit suscipere præmia. Item, sancti Moysetis Episcopi\*: hic primum in heremo vitam solitariam ducens, signis ac virtutibus magnifice innotuerat, post vero gentem Saracenorum, cui Episcopus fuerat factus, grandi ex parte ad fidem Christi convertit, sicque gloriosus meritis quievit in pace.

[*Cal. Mart.* In Britannia, beati David, Menevensis Archiepiscopi et confessoris (add. *Molan.*).]

*XVI. Cal. April.* In Scotia, natalis sancti Patricii, Episcopi et confessoris, qui primus ibidem Christum evangelizavit.

[*XVI. Cal. Maii.* Coloniae, translatio sancti Albini martyris. Hujus Deo digni martyris reliquiae de Britannia per beatum Germanum Episcopum Antissiodorensem primo Romam, deinde per augustam Theophaniam, Othonis Secundi uxorem, Coloniam translatae, positae sunt in monasterio sanctissimi Pantaleonis martyris; ubi cunctis pie quaerentibus opem conferunt salutarem (add. Molan.).]

[*Cal. Maii.* In Britannia, sancti Chorentini, Episcopi civitatis Aquilae. In minori Britannia, sanctissimi Brioci Episcopi et confessoris (add. Molan.).]

[*XIV. Cal. Jun.* In Britannia minori, Trecorensi diocesi, sancti Ivonis, presbyteri et confessoris<sup>b</sup>, qui pro Christi amore causas pupillorum, viduarum, ac pauperum, defendere non desistebat (add. Molan.).]

[*VIII. Id. Jun.* In Blandinio Sancti Gudevali, Archiepiscopi et confessoris (add. Molan.).]

*X. Cal. Julii.* In Britannia sancti Albani martyris, qui tempore Dioclitiani in Verolamio civitate post verbera et tormenta acerba capite plexus est. Passus est etiam cum illo unus de militibus, eo quod eum jussus ferire noluerit. [Quo in tempore persecutio crudelis Oceani littus transgressa, etiam Aaron et Julium Brytanniae cum aliis pluribus viris ac feminis felici morte damnavit (add. Molan.).]

*III. Id. Julii.* In Britannia minori, sancti Turiani, Episcopi et confessoris, mirae simplicitatis et innocentiae viri.

*V. Cal. August.* In Britannia minori, Dolo monasterio, sancti Samsonis, Episcopi et confessoris.

† [*XVI. Cal. Octobr.* In Scotia, Niniani, Episcopi Candidae Casae et confessoris (add. Molan.).]

*XV. Cal. Octobr.* In Britannia, sanctorum Socratis et Stephani.

[*IX. Cal. Nov.* Ipso die, in Britannia, transitus beati Maglorii, Episcopi et confessoris, cujus corpus honoratur et colitur in coenobio divi Maglorii civitate Parisiis (add. Molan.).]

[*XVII. Cal. Dec.* Ipso die, Santonas civitate, depositio sancti Macloui, Episcopi et confessoris, in Britannia, urbe Alethis; qui a primaevo aetatis tirocinio innumerabilibus miraculis splendide emicuit (add. Molan.).]

[*Idus Decembr.* In pago Pontino, sancti Judoci confessoris, filii regis Britonum, peregrini (add. Molan.).]

<sup>a</sup> See note <sup>a</sup> on p. 29.

<sup>b</sup> [The Ivo of Britain proper is another person, and indeed is a pure fiction. "Anno DC. Doctor apostolicus et vere caeli nuntius Ivo, praesul inclitus, migravit ad Dominum. Qui in Perside, ut orientale sidus, ortus, finibus occiduis Britanniae a Domino est destinatus" (Flor. Wig., M.H.B.

526). The chapter of the *Historia Ramesiensis* (c. lxviii, Gale ii. 431), headed "Quomodo sanctus Ivo sit inventus," shews the 11th century origin of this Ivo. See also the legendary *Vita Ivonis*, in *Act. SS.* Jun. 10. II. 288, and Capgrave, fol. 199 sq.]

*Ex Martyrolog. Notkeri* (ap. *Canis. Antiq. Lectt. tom. II. P. iii, ed. Basnage*).  
A. D. 894.

*VII. Id. Febr.* In Britanniiis sancti Moyseis vel Moysis venerabilis Episcopi<sup>a</sup>; qui primo quidem in eremo vitam solitariam ducens, meritis et virtutibus ac signis quæ faciebat per illum Dominus, magnifice innotuerat: quique postea, petente Mauvia Saracenorum regina, Episcopus illius gentis factus, fidei Catholicæ custodivit intemerata consortia, et gentem cui datus fuerat Episcopus, ex grandi parte ad fidem Christi convertit. Sicque in pace perfectus in virtutibus quievit.

*XVI. Cal. April.* In Scotia nativitas sancti Patricii Episcopi natione Britanni, qui in Hybernia insula Scotis primum evangelizavit nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et eos per miraculorum ostensionem ad fidem veram convertit.

*XII. Cal. Junii.* In Britannia Timothei diaconi<sup>b</sup>.

*VIII. Cal. Junii.* Item Romæ Eleutherii papæ, qui ... accepit epistolas a Lucio Britannorum rege, ut per ejus mandatum fieret Christianus. Quod et factum refertur per Timotheum virum sanctum, ita ut idem Lucius, spretis omnibus mundialibus rebus, nudus et expeditus peregrinatione suscepta, partem Bajoariorum et totam Rhetiam inter Alpes sitam miraculis et prædicationibus ad fidem Christi convertisse credatur. Cujus sepulchrum, id est, qui in Rhetia requiescit, sive Rex quondam ille, sive quicunque servus Dei fuerit, creberrimis virtutibus illustratur.

*X. Cal. Julii.* In Britannia sancti Albani martyris: qui tempore Diocletiani in Verolamio civitate post verbera et tormenta acerba capite plexus est. Sed illo in terram cadente, oculi ejus, qui eum percussit, pariter ceciderunt. Passus est cum illo etiam unus de militibus, eo quod eum ferire jussus noluerit; divino utique perterritus miraculo, quia viderat beatum martyrem sibi, dum ad coronam martyrii properaret, alveum amnis interpositi orando transmeabilem reddidisse. Quo in tempore persecutio crudelissima Oceani limbum in Britannia transgressa, etiam Aaron et Julium cum aliis octingentis octoginta novem felici cruore damnavit.

*XV. Cal. Octobr.* In Britanniiis Socratis et Stephani.

<sup>a</sup> See note \* on p. 29.

<sup>b</sup> See note \* on p. 7.

*Ex Martyrolog. Gallic. Antiq. (ap. Martene, Ampl. Collect. VI. 658 sq.) c.*  
A. D. 1000.

*Febr., VII. Idus Febr.,* in Britannis, natale Aguli episcopi, Anatholi, Amonis<sup>a</sup>.

*Febr.*, XIV. Cal. Mart., in Britannii, Faustini, Viventiae<sup>a</sup>.

*Jun.*, X. Cal. Julii, in Britannii, Albini martyris, cum aliis  
DCCCLXXXVII.

<sup>a</sup> See note <sup>a</sup> on p. 27.

*Ex Calendario Anglicano (ap. Martene, Ampl. Coll. VI. 651 sq.) c. A.D. 1000.*

*Mart.*, XVI. Kal. (April.), sancti Patricii Episcopi.

*Jun.*, II. Nonas, sancti Petroci confessoris.

*Jun.*, X. Kal. (Julii), sancti Albani martyris.

*Jul.*, VI. Kal. (Aug.), sancti Samsonis Episcopi.

*Dec.*, Idus, sancti Judoci confessoris.

*Ex Martyrolog. Roman. ed. Baronius (Paris, 1645).*

*VII. Id. Feb.* Augustæ in Britannia natalis beati Auguli Episcopi, qui ætatis cursum per martyrium explens, æterna præmia suscipere meruit.

*XVI. Kal. April.* ... In Hibernia natalis sancti Patricii, Episcopi et confessoris, qui primus ibidem Christum evangelizavit, et maximis miraculis et virtutibus claruit.

*XVI. Kal. Maii.* Eodem die sancti Paterni Episcopi Abricensis.

*XIV. Kal. Junii.* In Britannia minori sancti Ivonis presbyteri et confessoris, qui pro Christi amore causas pupillorum, viduarum, ac pauperum defendebat<sup>a</sup>.

*X. Kal. Julii.* Verolamii in Britannia sancti Albani martyris, qui tempore Diocletiani pro clerico hospite quem susceperat, seipsum tradens, post verbera et acerba tormenta capite plexus est. Passus est etiam cum illo unus de militibus, qui eum ducebat ad supplicium, qui in via conversus ad Christum sanguine meruit baptizari.

*Kal. Julii.* In Britannia sanctorum martyrum Julii et Aaron, qui post sanctum Albanum in persecutione Diocletiani passi sunt: quo tempore ibidem quam plurimi, diversis cruciatibus torti, et sævissime lacerati, ad supernæ civitatis gaudia consummato agone pervenerunt.

*III. Id. Julii.* In Britannia minori sancti Turiani Episcopi et confessoris, miræ simplicitatis et innocentie viri.

*V. Kal. August.* In Britannia minori sancti Sampsonis Episcopi et confessoris.

*XVI. Kal. Octobr.* In Scotia sancti Niniani Episcopi et confessoris.

*XV. Kal. Octobr.* In Britannia sanctorum martyrum Socratis et Stephani.

*IX. Kal. Novembr.* In Britannia minori transitus sancti Maglorii Episcopi, cujus corpus Lutetiæ Parisiorum requiescit.

D

*XVI. Kal. Decembr.* In Britannia natalis sancti Machuti Episcopi, qui a primævo ætatis suæ tyrocinio miraculis emicuit.

*III. Non. Decembr.* Curia in Germania sancti Lucii Britannorum regis, qui primus ex iis regibus Christi fidem suscepit, tempore Eleutherii Papæ.

*Idus Decembr.* In pago Pontino<sup>b</sup> sancti Judoci confessoris.

<sup>a</sup> See note <sup>b</sup> on p. 31.

<sup>b</sup> Pontivo, sc. Ponthieu.

Of other and minor MARTYROLOGIES, the *M. Gellonense* (ap. D'Achery, *Spicil. II.* 25. Baluz.) c. A.D. 804, and the *M. Wandelberti* (ib. 39) A.D. 842, and of those in the *Actt. SS.* Jun. tom. VII., the *MM. Richenoviense*, *Augustanum*, *Labbeanum*, and *Reg. Sueciae*, commemorate Augulus (Agulus *M. G.*, Augulus *M. Aug.*, Agabus *M. L.*) VII. Id. Febr., S. Patrick XVI. Kal. April., and S. Alban (Alpinæ, *M. R.*<sup>a</sup>) X. Kal. Jul. The *MM. Gellon.* and *Labb.* also add Samson on V. Kal. August. And the *M. Rich.*, "XII. Kal. Jun., in Brittaniam Timothei diaconi." The *M. Corbeienne* (*Actt. SS.* as above), and the *M. Corbeienne* and *M. Morbacense* in Martene and Durand (*Thesaur. III.* 1563 sq.), commemorate Augulus (Aygulus *M. M.*) and S. Patrick on the usual days; but the first two add also Faustinus XIV. Kal. Mart., and Timotheus diaconus XII. Kal. Jun., both as in Britain; and the *M. Morb.* adds, "V. (Cal. Aug.) Britannia Sansonis." Of the Martyrologies printed by Georgius in his edit. of Ado (Paris 1745), the *M. Fuldense* and the *M. Otlobonianum*,—and the *Kalend. Monastico-Necrologicum ex MS. Murensi*, 11th century, in Gerbert (*Monum. Vet. Lit. Alemann. II.* 492),—commemorate Augulus, S. Patrick, and S. Alban, on the usual days; but *M. Otlob.* adds, "V. Kal. Aug., in Britannia nat. sancti Samson," and, "XV. Kal. Oct., in Britannia Socratis et Stephani;" and *M. Fuld.* has also Moyses VII. Id. Febr., in addition to Augulus. The *M. Autissiodorensis* (Martene et Durand. *Ampl. Coll. VI.* 685), c. 12th century, has Augulus, S. Alban, S. Samson, and Socrates and Stephanus, on the usual days, S. Patrick XIV. Cal. April., and "III. Id. Julii, in Britannia minori natale S. Thuriavi Episcopi et confessoris." The *Martyrol. Rhenaug.* "*supplet. ex SanGallensi sec. X. circ.*" (Gerbert, as above, p. 455), and the *Kalendaria* (six in *fin. Adon.* ed. Georg., and *K. Verdinense* in Martene et Durand. *Ampl. Coll. VI.* 679, one from Corbey in D'Achery, *Spicil. II.* 64. c. A.D. 826, and a *Kalendarium* of the 9th century in Gerbert as above, p. 469), mention generally SS. Patrick or Alban only, but the *K. Palatino-Vatic.* (in *fin. Adon.*) has also Augulus; while both of the documents in Gerbert, and four of the other six which mention him, assign S. Alban to XI. Kal. Jul. instead of X. Kal. Jul., and one of the Kalendars also antedates S. Patrick to XVII. Kal. April. The *Kalend. Lyrense* (Mart. et Durand. *Thesaur. III.* 1605) has S. "Augulus" on the usual day, and "XI.

Kal. (Julii) S. Albani<sup>b</sup> martyris, X. Kal. (Julii) S. Albini confessoris." S. Alban (Albinus) is commemorated X. Kal. Jul. in the fragment of the *M. Turo-nense* (Mart. et Durand. *Thesaur.* ib. 1587); and S. Patrick, XVI. Kal. April., is in both the entire and the fragmentary Kalendars of the abbey of Corbey in the same collection (*ib.* 1592, 1597); the former of which has also S. Winoc, VIII. Id. Nov. Lastly, the *Libellus Annalis Dom. Bedæ Presbyt.* (Mart. et Durand. *Ampl. Coll.* VI. 637) has, "Feb., VII. Idus, Natale S. Auguli Episcopi et martyris," "Mart., XVI. Cal. (April.), Natale S. Patricii Episcopi," "Jun., XI. Cal. (Jul.), Natale S. Albini Martyris," and, "X. Cal. (Jul.) S. Albani Martyris."

Of Saxon Calendars, one, c. A.D. 940 (*Bodl. Jun.* 27), contains Patrick and (last day of January, apparently) Gildas; another, 11th cent. (*Bodl. Jun.* 99), has Patrick, Petroc, Alban, and Judoc; two copies of the first of the three in *Hampson's Med. Ævi Kalend.* (I. 398. Lond. 1841), 10th or 11th cent., have Patrick only, and the third also Gildas, the latter on Jan. 29; the second Calendar of the three (*ib.* 421) has Patrick, Petroc, and Alban; the third (*ib.* 434), Alban only: all on the usual days.

<sup>a</sup> "Cum DCCCCLXXXVIII." *M. Aug.*—  
"Cum octingentis octoginta octo." *M. Gell.*, *M.*  
*Lebb.*, and *M. Autissiod.* But "DCCCLXXIX,"  
*M. Wand.* And the usual account of his death

is added in *M. Reg. Suecie.*

<sup>b</sup> S. Alban of Mentz; see *Usher*, V. 179.  
Elkington.

LEGENDARY LIVES are extant of the following British saints A. D. 200—450<sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 200—300. Vita *S. Mellonis*, Episcopi et confessoris [Bishop of Rouen]: Capgrave, *Nova Leg. Angl.* fol. 229. See *Orderic Vital.*, *Hist. Eccl.* V. 8, 9. II. 334—336. ed. Le Prevost.

A.D. 300—400. Vita *S. Albani*, martyris, auct. Gulielmo Monacho Albanensi (end of 12th century): *Acth. SS.* Jun. 22. IV. 149, abbrev. in Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 6:—founded upon Bæda, whose authorities are i. Gildas, ii. certain *Acta* otherwise unknown. The story in *Matt. Paris.* (*Vitæ Abbat. S. Alban.*, in *Vita Eadmar.*, p. 994. Wats) of a British Life of S. Alban, discovered at S. Alban's, and decyphered by a monk Unwona, refers itself to the 10th century, but will not bear examination. Other Lives, later than that by William of S. Alban's, are catalogued by Hardy, *Descript. Catal.* I. 4—34.

Vita *S. Amphibali*, martyris: Capgr., *N. L. A.*, fol. 13. The Acts of S. Amphibalus, who owes his name to Geoffrey of Monmouth, are usually mixed up with those of S. Alban. He has been supposed to have been invented out of S. Alban's cloak (amphibalus).

A.D. 400—450. CUMBRIA. Vita *S. Ninie* vel *Niniani*, Episcopi, auct.

Ailred. Rieval. (12th century): ap. Pinkerton, *VV. SS. Scotiæ*, 1; abridged in Capgr. *N.L.A.* fol. 241.

Vitæ *S. Patricii* (ap. Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* etc., and see Todd's *S. Patrick*, Hardy's *Descript. Catal. I.* 62—84, and below under the Irish Church): containing also the legendary accounts of *S. Palladius*.

DAMNONIA. Vita *S. Meliori* vel *Melori*, martyris (among already Christian Cornish, A.D. 411): Capgr. *N.L.A.*, fol. 229; *Actt. SS.* Jan. 3. I. 136,—an Ambresbury legend of the 11th century, "incertum" even to Will. Malm. (*G. P. II.*).

Acta *S. Fingaris* vel *Guigneri*, *S. Pialæ* virginis, et Sociorum, martyrum in Britannia, auct. S. Anselm. Cantuar. (spurious): Irish disciples of S. Patrick, martyred in still Pagan Cornwall, A.D. 450 Bolland., 460 Ussher: *Actt. SS.* Mart. 23. III. 456; Migne, *Patrol.* clx. 326.

WALES. Vita *S. Carantoci* (Carannog or Cernach), confessoris (hermit in Ceredigion, who followed S. Patrick to Ireland): Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 56; *Actt. SS.* Mai. 16. III. 585; *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 97.

Vita *S. Chitauri*, regis et martyris (c. A.D. 450): Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 59; *Actt. SS.* Aug. 19. III. 733. See also *Lib. Landav.* 183—188.

\* The Empress *Helena* (Life by Jocelin of Furness, and another in Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 173) was not a Briton. *S. Koby* belongs to the 6th century, his connection with S. Hilary being a manifest fiction. *S. Gudwal* (*Actt. SS.* Jun. 6. I. 728, and Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 167), attributed sometimes to the middle of the 4th (Smith ad *Martyrol. Bæd.*), must have belonged, if he had

ever existed, to the 7th or 8th century. The fable of *Urrula* and the 11,000 Virgins (Capgr., *N.L.A.*, fol. 316) hardly deserves notice. It is referred by Sigebert to A.D. 453.

The MSS. authorities for all the above legendary Lives are catalogued by Hardy, *Descriptive Catal. &c.* Lond. 1863.

## APPENDIX C.

### MONUMENTAL REMAINS OF THE BRITISH CHURCH DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD.

1. CHURCHES.—[*Gildas* XVIII.—Renovant (Britones) ecclesias<sup>1</sup> ad solum usque destructas; basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt, ac velut victricia signa passim propalant:—a passage borrowed from Eusebius, but testifying at least to the general existence of churches in later Roman Britain. On the other hand, these churches were commonly of a perishable kind<sup>2</sup>.—Ecclesiam, . . . more Scottorum, non de lapide sed de robore secto totam composuit<sup>3</sup> (*Bæd. H. E. III. 25*). And, Ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brittonibus more, fecerit Nynia<sup>4</sup> (*Id. ib. 4*; and see *Id. II. 14*, and *III. 23*). And so also the traditional account of the original church at Glastonbury,—Quandam capellam, inferius per circuitum virgis torquatis muros perficientes, consummaverunt (*Will. Malm., Antiq. Glaston.*.)]

a. Churches recorded to have existed.

i. At *Canterbury*.—*S. Martin's*—Erat autem prope ipsam civitatem ad orientem ecclesia in honorem Sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Britanniam incolerent (*Bæd. H. E. I. 26*,—writing of A. D. 597). The church may have been dedicated to S. Martin if built after A. D. 400.

ii. Also at *Canterbury*.—*S. Saviour's* (now the Cathedral)—Recuperavit (Augustinus) in ea (regia civitate Doruvern) ecclesiam, quam inibi antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam fuisse didicerat, et eam in nomine Sancti Salvatoris Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi sacravit (*Bæd. H. E. I. 33*).

iii. Near *Verulam*, over S. Alban's grave, destroyed before the time of Bede.—Postea redeunte temporum Christianorum serenitate ecclesia est mirandi operis atque ejus martyris condigna exstructa (*Bæd. H. E. I. 7*).

iv. At *Caerleon*, two, dedicated respectively to Julius and Aaron, and a third, the "metropolitana totius Cambriæ" (*Girald. Cambr., Itin. Cambr. I. 5*). The last is identified by Geoffrey of Monmouth (*IX. 12*) with that dedicated to Aaron. Their existence is extremely questionable: but the *Lib. Landav. p. 215* seems to indicate that there was a "territorium martyrum Julii et Aron" at Caerleon during the ninth century.

v. At *Bangor Yscoed*, near Chester.—Sunt certe adhuc (12th cent.) ibi tot semirutri parietes ecclesiarum, tantæ turbæ ruinarum, quantæ vix alibi (*Will. Malm., G. P. IV.*; and similarly, *G. R. I. 3*): confounding however, pos-

<sup>1</sup> See after the Diocletian Persecution. The British church at Landevennec was "lignea" (*Vita Ilda S. Winivaldei*, in *Act. SS. Mart. 3. I. 255*).

<sup>2</sup> See Aldanus in 652.

<sup>3</sup> See however Petrie, *Round Towers*, I. 138-157. <sup>4</sup> c. A. D. 401.



sibly, the ruins of a Roman town (Bovium—so *Smith, ad loc. Bæd.*) with those of a Britanno-Roman monastery, and certainly Bangor near Chester with Bangor the Bishop's see. Leland (*Itin. V. 32*) testifies that the ruins of Bangor Yscoed were partially visible in his time.

vi. At *Glastonbury*.—The story of the “*vetusta ecclesia*,” at first “*vergea* ;” then covered by Paulinus of Rochester “*ligneo tabulatu*” and “*plumbo a summo usque deorsum*,” and finally supplanted by the “*major ecclesia*” of King Ina (*Will. Malm., Antiq. Glaston.*), is sufficient evidence that the Saxons found a British church there when refounding the monastery. The West Saxons conquered the district A.D. 652 × 658 (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*), being already Christians ; and the monastery apparently was never destroyed.

vii. At *Whitherne in Galloway*.—See above, under A.D. 401, S. Ninias.

viii. Near *Evesham*.—Tradition, in the time of bishop Ecgwin (beginning of the 8th century), described the site of his monastery as “*ecclesiolam ab antiquo habentem ex opere forsitan Britannorum*” (*Will. Malm., G. P. IV.*)

#### β. Churches of which traces still exist.

ix. At *Dover*, in the Castle, probably of fourth or fifth century (see *Puckle's Church and Fortress of Dover Castle*, 1864).

x. At *Richborough*, in Kent, in the Roman camp, a ruin in the form of a cross on a platform of Roman work (*Gough's Camden, I. 342* ; *Roach Smith, Antiq. of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, pp. 43 sq. 1850), possibly the base of a chapel.

xi. At *Reculver*, in Kent, an old chapel with Roman bricks (*Nichols, Bibl. Topogr. Brit., I. 170*) ; a Christian church in very early Saxon times, and probably also under the Britons (see *Roach Smith, ib. p. 199*).

xii. At *Lyminge* in Kent, between Doruvernium (Canterbury) and Portus Lemanis (Lymne).—“There is great probability that a Christian church existed on the site of the present building (the church) in the Roman period. The Roman foundations discoverable at the south-east angle of the chancel, and under that part of the wall of the churchyard corresponding with it, and which, together with the remarkable half arch that intervenes, mark the site of the *aquilonalis porticus*,—the title of *Basilica* already given to it in the seventh century,—and the fact that a Roman legion was regularly stationed at Lympe, —give weight to this probability.” And again,—“The Roman wall which was discovered while these sheets were in the press, has since been exposed, so far as it can be traced ; disclosing the foundations of an apsidal building having an outer and inner wall, the (modern) church resting upon a portion of the former :.....remains of Roman work abound in the present church.” *Jenkins, Hist. of Ch. of Lyminge*, 1859.

xiii. At *Brixworth* in Northamptonshire.—“There seems little doubt that this church was originally a Roman basilica, probably of the fourth or fifth

century, of which the outer walls have been destroyed, and the arches walled up.... The aisles are divided by cross walls, as if they had been originally divided into small chambers or chapels. The western porch has Roman arches or doorways on the north, south, and west sides; the Anglo-Saxon belfry has been built upon this Roman porch, probably in the 11th century. ... The original Roman apse at the east end has been destroyed in order to carry out a longer church." (*Rickman's Architect. in England*, ed. Parker, p. 74, Oxf. 1862). There was a Saxon church at Brixworth before the end of the 7th century (*Hugo Candidus*, p. 9, ed. Sparkes). And see *Arch. Assoc. Journal* for 1863, pp. 285 sq.

## 2. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS<sup>5</sup>.

i. An inscription in Latin, obscure but plainly Christian, is carved upon the upper part of a Roman pagan monument, now let into the (Norman) tower of the church of *S. Mary le Wigford, Lincoln* (*Stukeley, Itin. II. Pl. lxiv*; *Nichols, Biblioth. Topogr. Brit. III. 70, Pl. iii. fig. 12*), which appears to have been once headed with the symbol of the cross (*Trollope, in Archæol. Journ. March, 1860*).

ii. At *Caerleon*, a sepulchral stone, upon which remains part of a "rough scoring" resembling "the rude representation of a palm branch, which generally denotes the tomb of a Christian Roman" (*Lee, Isca Silurum*, p. 3). The pagan D. M., which appears to have been also on the stone, was, as is well known, retained for several centuries, irrespective of its meaning.

iii. A Britanno-Roman sarcophagus, supposed to be Christian, found at *Barming in Kent* (*Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua, I. 184*). But see Mr. Smith's remark, *ib. p. 204*.

iv. A stone found at *Bath* (*Horsley, Brit. Rom., Somerset. no. iv. and p. 327*), with some figures conjectured to represent Christian symbols (*McCaul, Brit. Rom. Inscriptions*, pp. 181, 182, Lond. 1863), but combined with an inscription beginning with the Pagan D. M.

## 3. MISCELLANEOUS.

i. Pieces of pottery stamped with parts of a cross and the monogram, found at *Padstow in Cornwall* (*Haslam, Archæol. Journal*, vol. iv. p. 307. 1847).

ii. A fragment of Samian ware marked with Christian symbols, found at *Catterick in Yorkshire* (*Archæol. Journal*, vol. vi. p. 81. 1849).

iii. A silver cup found on the right bank of the *Tyne*, near *Corbridge in Northumberland*, in 1736, with six different compartments, in each of which is the monogram (*Hodgson's Northumb. III. ii. 246*).

iv. A cross on a Roman pavement found at *Harpole, Northamptonshire* (figured in *Archæol. Association Journal* for 1850, p. 126).

<sup>5</sup> For post-Roman inscriptions in Wales, Cornwall, &c., see below, under the respective churches of Wales, Cornwall, &c. It is possible that one or two of these, or of crosses that exist without inscriptions, belong to the close of the Britanno-Roman period.

v. A pavement in a Roman villa at Frampton in Dorsetshire, with the monogram, intermixed however with pagan figures and symbols (figured in *Lysons' Reliq. Britannico-Rom.*, No. III. Plate 5, Lond. 1801).

vi. A pavement in a Roman villa at Horkstow in Lincolnshire, with Greek crosses at each angle, but similarly intermixed with pagan symbols (figured in *Lysons*, ib. No. I, Plate 6).

vii. Two tiles with the monogram, found in 1864 in a Roman villa at Chedworth in Gloucestershire (*Rev. S. Lysons, jun., Archæol. Journ. for 1864*).

viii. A brass coin of Decentius, brother of Magnentius, A.D. 350-353, on the reverse of which is the monogram between the letters  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$ <sup>6</sup> (*Buckman and Newmarch, Illustr. of Roman Art in Cirencester*, 1850, p. 153). So also some of Magnentius' own coins. See *Banduri*, II. 400, 411; and *Eckhel*, VIII. 121.

ix. A stamped brick, supposed to represent Samson and the foxes, found in Mark Lane, London, about A.D. 1675 (figured in *Leland, Collect. I. Pref. lxxi.*).

x. Pins in bronze used in fastening the dress, some of them with ornamented heads, two of which are cruciform; and on a third is a medal with a figure looking at a cross (*Roach Smith, Catalogue of Mus. of London Antiquities*, p. 63. 1854).

xi. At Ilkley in Yorkshire, a human figure with a glory round the head (*Richardson, in Hearne's Leland's Itinerary*, I. 144).

xii. Two metal stamps with the monogram, and the name "Syagrius," and on the one the word "Spes," on the other the  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$ , found in the Thames (*Proceed. of Antiq. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 235, 236. 2nd Series, March 26, 1863).

[An altar found at Rutchester on Hadrian's wall (*Hodgson's Northumb.*, as above, 178) has been alleged to bear Christian marks; but the supposed monogram is merely an obliterated letter (*Bruce, Roman Wall*, p. 405, ed. 1858). There is no Christian monument among the hundreds of heathen ones found along the wall (*Bruce*, ib. p. 404). Neither did Horsley at his earlier date know of any in any part of England: see a striking passage from a sermon of his, ap. *Bruce*, ib. There are, however, monuments along the wall with no distinctive pagan symbols. On the other hand, the cross, and still less a garland, are not necessarily Christian symbols: see *Roach Smith, Antiq. of Richborough*, etc. And such monuments, therefore, as e. g. the two in *Horsley*, nos. xiv. xv. of Scotland, supposed by *Whitaker (Anc. Cathedr. of Cornwall*, I. 87, 88) to be Christian, have no claim to be such.<sup>7</sup>]

<sup>6</sup> This is given here as showing that the brother of Magnentius,  $\delta\varsigma \epsilon\kappa \pi\alpha\rho\delta\varsigma \mu\epsilon\nu \gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon$  (*Zonar.*, Ann., XIII. 6: tom. II. p. 10, in *Corp. Byzant.*), was a Christian.

<sup>7</sup> A gold Basilidian talisman, with an inscription, partly in Greek letters, partly in astral or magical characters, the former portion containing the words  $\Lambda\Delta\Omega\text{NAI}$ ,  $\epsilon\Lambda\Omega\text{AI}$ ,  $\epsilon\Lambda\Delta\text{ION}$ ,  $\text{IA}\Omega$ , found shortly before A.D. 1828, at Llanbeblig, in Caernarvonshire, about twenty yards from the old Roman wall of Segontium (*Palgrave*, in *Quart. Review* for 1828, p. 488; *Westwood*, in *Arch. Camb.* III. 362), proves that semi-Christian heresies had found their way into Roman Britain, possibly as early as the second century, at which date they apparently existed in Gaul (*Tren.*, *Adv. Her.*).

**COUNCILS**  
**OF**  
**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.**

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**II.**  
**BRITISH CHURCH DURING THE PERIOD OF**  
**SAXON CONQUEST,**  
**A. D. 450-681.**

Insulani, quasi extra orbem positi, emergentibus paganorum infestationibus, canonum erant ignari.—*Vil. S. Kentigerni, auct. Joscelino.* [*Pinkerton's Vikæ Antiquæ SS. Scotiæ, p. 223.*]

# BRITISH CHURCH

## DURING THE PERIOD OF SAXON CONQUEST,

A. D. 450-681.

*[The following (probable) dates mark the gradual breaking up of the British Church by Saxon conquest.]*

1. A.D. 450-516. District south of the Thames and of the forest of Anderida, and westward from Kent to the Acon on the borders of Wilts and Dorset, becomes gradually Saxon: scil. Kent, 450-473; Sussex, 477-490; Wessex, 495-516 or 520 (*Angl. Sax. Chron.*, *Ann. Camb.*, *Gildas*; and *Guest's Early Engl. Settlements*, in *Arch. Inst.* 1849, 1859). But the British victory at the Moes Badonicus (A.D. 516 or 520) stops Saxon progress in this quarter for some fifty years.—Invasions only, of eastern coast, north of the Humber or Wash before 450 (*Lappenb.* from *Nennius*), as far as Stamford (*Hen. Hunt. II.*); and A.D. 500 x 516, on river Glen (?) in Lincolnshire or Leven (?) in Cumberland (*Nennius*). Also about the latter date, on the Douglas (?) in Lancashire, and at Caerleon or Chester, and other north-western localities (*Nennius*).
2. A.D. 516-577. Eastern side of Britain Saxonized: scil. East Anglia, before 519 (*Will. Malm. G. R.*, and see *Palgrave*), or about 527 (*Hen. Hunt.*), including S. Albans before 560 (*Gildas, Hist.*), but not as far west as Bedford in 571 (*Angl. Sax. Chron.*); and Northumbria, 547 and onwards, from Humber to Forth; but Elmet, Loidis, and Cumbrian Britons from Lancashire to the Clyde, west of "the Desert," still independent (*Nennius, Ann. Camb. a. 616, Bada H.E. IV. 23*; and see *Robertson, Scotl. under Early Kings, I. 4*).
3. A.D. 577-635. Wessex pushed on to the Severn (577, 584, *Angl. Sax. Chron.*, and *Guest*), so as to separate Welsh principalities from *Dyfnaint* and *Cernau* (Damnonia), i. e. Somerset, Devon, Cornwall.—*Mercia*, founded from Northumbria in 584 (*Hen. Hunt.*), but not extending over the centre of Britain until 626 (*Flor. Wig.*—Britons at Wanborough near Swindon 592 and at Bampton 614, *Angl. Sax. Chron.* and *Guest*), and reaching as far as Wessex (at Cirencester) only in 628 (*Angl. Sax. Chron.*); and the final boundary between Angles and Welsh, Offa's Dyke, dating so late as 784 (*Asser, Brut y Tywysog.*) or 777 (*Palgrave*).—Northumbria, conquering at Caerleon or Chester in 613 (*Ann. Camb., Ann. Tigern. a. 607, Angl. Sax. Chron.*), and Barwick in Elmet in 616 (*Nennius, Ann. Camb.*), and thus separating Wales from Cumbria (Westmere, Cumberland, Strathclyd).
4. A.D. 635-681. Death of Ceadwalla at the battle of Hefenfelth (A.D. 635) closes the contest for Northumbria, and the battle on the Winwad (A.D. 656) for Mercia (*Bada, H. E. III. 1, 2, 6, 24; Nennius, p. 76, M.H.B.; Angl. Sax. Chron. a. 655; Flor. Wig. a. 634; Ann. Tigern. a. 650; Ann. Ulton. a. 649; Ann. Camb. a. 631, 656*). But the Welsh claim to the sovereignty of Britain lingers on to the (supposed) death of Cadwalader in 681 (*Brut y Tywysog.*.)]

A. D. 450–547. (No records\*.)

Not later than A. D. 547 or 550. <sup>1</sup> *Epistola Gildæ* †.

<sup>2</sup> In hac Epistola', quicquid deffendo potius quam declamando, vili licet stylo, tamen benigno, fuero prosecutus, ne quis me, affectu cunctos spernentis, omnibusve melioris, quippe qui commune bono-

<sup>1</sup> desunt B.

<sup>2</sup> In hoc libro Gale.

\* It is impossible to distinguish truth from fiction in the lists of councils and of bishops consecrated to various sees, with which this period (450–600) is filled by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The general tenor of his narrative (obvious fable apart) is in accordance with probability, so far as regards the fortunes and acts of the British Church. Its details are wholly untrustworthy. Silchester, Winchester, Cirencester, York, Aldwyd, Caerleon, and Llandaff, are the localities to which these alleged councils and bishops belong. And the coronation of British kings and consecration of British bishops form the business of the councils.

A list also of British saints has been constructed by Mr. Rees (*Essay on Welsh Saints*, Lond. 1836), by combining the (fairly certain) evidence of the dedications of Welsh churches to the real existence of those saints, and the (very uncertain) evidence of the Welsh genealogies to their approximate dates. The period of native Welsh hagiology thus obtained is limited to A. D. 400–700; and the large majority of the list of names to A. D. 450–600. Some of them, belonging to the sixth century, e. g. Paulinus, Cadfan, Sadwrn, Afan, and others, occur also in inscriptions still remaining; for which see below in Append. F. Others, of a similar date, e. g. Dyfrig, David, Padarn, were founders of bishoprics. No biography of any of them exists of certainly earlier date than the eleventh century (see below in Append. E). And nothing reliable respecting them remains, save the documents in the text and the scanty notices given in the annalists, beyond the general inference of the gradual establishment of churches by their means throughout the whole of Wales, mainly in the sixth century.

Notices of British Christians also, as dwelling in Ireland, Armorica, or Cornwall, and of Irish Christians as dwelling in Wales, during the period A. D. 450–550, may be found in 1. Irish, 2. Welsh, 3. Breton, and 4. Cornish hagiology. E. g. 1. the father, mother, brother, and sisters of S. Patrick (*Schol. in Hymn. S. Floc. ap. Colgan, Trias Thaum.*, and see *Colgan's Append. V. c. 4*, ib. p. 224), connected likewise with Christian Britons both of Strathclyd and of "Letha on the sea of Icht," i. e. Brittany (*id. ib.*).—S. Lomman of Trim, S. Patrick's nephew, with his brothers, Manis and others ("Lummanus Britto," *Bk. of Armagh*, fol. 16, a, b, and see *Colgan, Act. SS. ad Feb. 6*).—S. Docus ("Quies Doci Episcopi sancti, abbas Britonum," *Ann. Ulton. A. D. 472*).—S. Mochta of Louth (*Adamnan., V. S. Columb. Pref.*

II. p. 6. *Reeves, V. S. Mochta*, ap. *Act. SS. Aug. 19*, "Dormitatio S. Mochta" or "Mochta," A. D. 534, *Ann. Ulton. et Tigern.*).—S. Odhran or Oran (the first monk who died at Hi, "monachus Brito," *Adamnan.*, ib. III. 6. p. 202).—S. Mel, S. Patrick's nephew, died A. D. 487 (*Ann. Ulton.*), and S. Melchu, "duo sancti Episcopi ex Britannia venientes" (*S. Ultan's V. S. Brigid. ap. Colgan, Trias Thaum.*, p. 527; and see *Id. Act. SS. ad Feb. 6*).—Rioch and others, brothers of S. Mel (*Colgan, Act. SS. ad Feb. 6*).—and Colgan (*Act. SS.*) will supply other instances.—And so the *Catal. SS. Hibern.* attributed to Tirechanus (ap. *Usheer*, VI. 478, Elrington) describes the Bishops who constitute its first order of Saints, scil. from S. Patrick to A. D. 544, as "de Romanis et Francis et Britonibus et Scotis exorti."—2. Carantoc or Cernach (*Life in Cambro-Brit. SS. 97–99*); and as Irish Christians in Wales, S. Brynach (*Cambro-Brit. SS. 5–12, Cognatio Brachan &c. ib. 272*, and see *Rees, Welsh SS. 156*), S. Tatheus (*Cambro-Brit. SS. 255–264*). Both Brynach and Tatheus, however, rest upon very questionable authority.—3. Gildas in Britanny (*V. Gildæ auct. Monacho Eugensi*, ap. *Mabill. Act. Benedic. sec. I. p. 138*) before A. D. 560 (see *Greg. Tur. IV. 20*), S. Samson and S. Teilo (*Lib. Landav. 21, 107*), and earlier still, S. Brioc (*Act. SS. Mai. 1*), S. Winwaloc (*Act. SS. Mart. 3*).—4. S. Petroc ("natione Cumber," *V. S. Petroc, Capgr. Nov. Leg. Angl. 276*), &c. &c. Coroticus also, to whom S. Patrick addressed his Epistle, supposed to be Ceredig of Cardigan, son of Cunedda Wledig, was nominally a Christian.

† This work has been divided since the time of Gale into two, the *Historia* and the *Epistola*; the former occurring alone in one of the two still existing MSS. (Ff. I. 27. Publ. Libr. Camb.). They form however only one work in the other of these two MSS., mutilated however at the beginning (Dd. I. 17. ib.); nor was the case otherwise, apparently, in the (lost) Cottonian MS. which Polydore Vergil, Josselin, and Gale used. And internal evidence shews them to have been parts of the same work; although it is true, that in what is called the *Historia*, Gildas speaks of himself as writing it forty-four years after the British victory at the Mons Badonicus, and therefore A. D. 560 (564, Guest), while in that which is called the *Epistola*, he inveighs against Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd, who died, according to the *Ann. Camb.*, A. D. 547, according to the *Ann. Tigern.*, A. D. 550. But these dates,

[GILD. EPIST. a. A. D. 547.]

rum dispendium malorumque cumulum lachrymosis quærelis defleam, sed condolentis patriæ incommoditatibus miserisque ejus, ac remediis condelectantis, edictum putet: quia non tam fortissimorum militum enunciare trucidis belli pericula mihi statutum est, quam desidiosorum: silui, fateor, cum immenso cordis dolore [\*et animi compunctione cordisque contritione, et attonito sensu sæpius hæc omnia in animo revolvere, et'] ut mihi renum scrutator testis est Dominus, spatio bilustri [temporis] vel eo amplius prætereuntis, imperitia, sicut et nunc, una cum vilibus me meritis inhibentibus, ne qualemcunque admonitiunculam scriberem. Legebam nihilominus, admirandum legislatorem ob unius verbi dubitationem terram desiderabilem non introiisse: filios sacerdotis alienum admovendo altari ignem cito exitu periisse: populum verborum Dei prævaricatorem sexcentorum milium, duobus exceptis veracibus, et quidem Deo charissimum, quippe cui iter levissime stratum profundi glareæ Maris Rubri, cibus cœlestis panis, potus novus ex rupe viator, acies invicta manuum sola intensa erectio fuerit, bestiis, ferro, igni, per Arabiæ deserta sparsim cecidisse: post ingressum ignotæ acsi Jordanis portæ, urbisque adversa mœnia solis tubarum clangoribus jussu Dei subruta, palliolum aurique parum de anathemate

<sup>2</sup> vero add. Gale. <sup>4</sup> velut A. <sup>5</sup> dolore mentis Gale, and adds et animi, &c. to revolvere et, which are wanting in Joss. and V. <sup>6</sup> renium A. <sup>7</sup> una cum charissimis mei amicis imperantibus ut qualemcunque gentis Britannicæ historiæ adve admonitiunculam scriberem Gale, from A: reliq. om. usque ad demonstravit, p. 48. <sup>8</sup> omnem ad unum V. <sup>9</sup> cum iter levissima V. <sup>10</sup> viatorius V. <sup>11</sup> erectione V. <sup>12</sup> terræ ac fluminis V. <sup>13</sup> portas V. <sup>14</sup> urbis adversaque V.

although all we have to depend upon, are not trustworthy in an argument of this kind.

The prologue, and what is called the *Epistola*, are here printed as contemporary evidence to the condition and complete organisation of the then British Church, and especially of its peculiar version of Holy Scripture.

The edition of Josselin (1568) has been taken as the text, collated however throughout, and occasionally corrected, by that of Gale, and sometimes by that of Polydore Vergil, as the only available way of approximating to the text of the Cottonian MS., which all three profess to follow. P. Vergil however takes so great liberties with his text as to make his readings worth notice only here and there. The various readings are taken from Ff. I. 27. (A) as respects the prologue, from Dd. I. 17. (B. 13th century), and from the fragment in the Life of Gildas in the *Bibliotheca Floriacensis* (Bæc.), as regards the *Epistola*, omitting however the numerous corrections in Dd. I. 17, which are in Josselin's handwriting.

For the peculiarities of the version of Scripture

used by Gildas, see the notes to the text, and below in Appendix G. to this period.

*Hist. Gild.* xxvi. (M.H.B. 15.)—Ad annum obessionis Badonici montis, qui jam et mæz nativitatæ est.—i. e. A.D. 516 (520, Guest).

*Ann. Camb.* (M.H.B. 831.) cxxi. annus.—Navigatio Gildæ in Hybernia.—i. e. A.D. 565.

*Ib.* cxxvi. annus.—Gildas [Britonum sapientissimus, add. MS. B. apud M.H.B.] obiit.—i. e. A.D. 570. So also *Ann. Tigernach*. (O'Connor, ii. 151); but A.D. 569, according to *Ann. Ulton.* (ib. iv. 25.)

<sup>a</sup> Psalm. vii. 9 (10); Rev. ii. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Num. xx. 10-12; Psalm. cvi. 32, 33.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. x. 1, 2. <sup>d</sup> Num. xxvi. 51.

<sup>e</sup> Num. xxvi. 64, 65.

<sup>f</sup> Exod. xiv. 22.

<sup>g</sup> Exod. xvi. 14. <sup>h</sup> Exod. xvii. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Exod. xvii. 11-13. <sup>k</sup> Num. xxi. 6.

<sup>l</sup> Num. xiv. 42-45. <sup>m</sup> Ib. xi. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Num. xxvi. 64. <sup>o</sup> Jos. iii. 16.

<sup>p</sup> Jos. vi. 1. <sup>q</sup> Jos. vi. 20.

<sup>r</sup> Jos. vii. 21-24.

\* Passages marked [ ] are omitted by Pol. Vergil.



[GILD. EPIST. a. A. D. 547.]

præsumptum, multos stravisse: Gabaonitarum<sup>a</sup> irritum fœdus, calliditate licet extortum, nonnullis<sup>14</sup> intulisse exitium: ob peccata hominum querulas sanctorum Prophetarum voces, et maxime Jeremiæ, ruinam civitatis suæ quadruplici<sup>t</sup> plangentis alphabeto. <sup>15</sup> Videbamque etiam nostro tempore, ut ille defleerat, 'Solam<sup>a</sup> sedisse urbem viduam,' antea 'populis plenam, gentium dominam, principem provinciarum, sub tributo fuisse factam,' id est, Ecclesiam: 'obscuratum<sup>x</sup> aurum, coloremque optimum mutatum,' quod est, Verbi Dei splendorem: 'filios<sup>y</sup> Sion,' id est, sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ, 'inclytos, et amictos auro primo,' 'amplexatos<sup>x</sup> fuisse stercora.' Et quod illi intollerabiliter utpote præcipuo, mihi quoque licet abjecto, utcunque ad cumulum doloris crescebat, dum ita eosdem statu prospero viventes egregios luxerat, ut diceret: 'Candidiores<sup>a</sup> Nazaræi ejus nive,' 'rubundiores ebore antiquo, sapphiro pulchriores.' Ista <sup>16</sup> ego et multa alia velut speculum quoddam vitæ nostræ in Scripturis Veteribus intuens, convertebar etiam ad Novas, et ibi legebam clarius, quæ mihi forsitan antea obscura fuerant, cessante umbra, ac veritate firmius illucescente. Legebam, inquam, Dominum dixisse: 'Non<sup>b</sup> veni nisi ad oves perditas domus Israel.' Et e contrario: 'Filii<sup>c</sup> autem regni' hujus 'ejicientur in tenebras exteriores; ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.' Et iterum: 'Non<sup>d</sup> est bonum tollere panem filiorum, et mittere canibus.' <sup>17</sup> Itemque: 'Væ<sup>e</sup> vobis scribæ et Pharisæi, hypocritæ.' Audiebam: 'Multi<sup>f</sup> ab oriente et occidente venient, et recumbent cum Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, in regno cœlorum.' Et e diverso: 'Ets tunc dicam eis, Discedite a Me operarii iniquitatis.' Legebam: 'Beatæ<sup>h</sup> steriles,' 'et ubera quæ non lactaverunt.' Et e contrario: 'Quæ<sup>i</sup> paratæ erant, intraverunt cum Eo ad nuptias,' postea 'venērunt et reliquæ virgines, dicentes, Domine, Domine, aperi nobis.' Quibus responsum fuerat: 'Non<sup>k</sup> novi vos.' Audiebam sane: 'Qui<sup>l</sup> crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit; qui autem non crediderit, condemnabitur.' Legebam Apostoli voce, 'Oleastrum<sup>m</sup> ramum' bonæ olivæ 'insertum fuisse,' sed a 'societate radicis pinguedinis' ejusdem, si non 'timuisset, <sup>18</sup> sed alta saperet, excidendum.' Sciebam miseri-

<sup>14</sup> intulisset F.    <sup>15</sup> videbam F.    <sup>16</sup> enim V.    <sup>17</sup> Item V.    <sup>18</sup> et V.

<sup>a</sup> Jos. ix. 3; 2 Sam. xxi. 1.

<sup>t</sup> scil. Jer. Thren. i-iv.    <sup>y</sup> Thren. i. 1. Vulgate.

<sup>x</sup> Thren. iv. 1. V.    <sup>z</sup> Ib. 2. V.

<sup>a</sup> Thren. iv. 5. V.    <sup>b</sup> Ib. 7. V.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. x. 6, xv. 24. I. = Vers. Antiq. Lat.

<sup>c</sup> Matt. viii. 12. V.

<sup>d</sup> Matt. xv. 26; Marc. vii. 27. I. = S. Aug. Qu. 37. in Jud., Opp. III. i. 606 c, and De Fid. et

Op., ib. VI. 182 c.

<sup>e</sup> Matt. xxiii. 13, &c. I. V.

<sup>f</sup> Matt. viii. 11. I. V.    <sup>g</sup> Ib. vii. 23.

<sup>h</sup> Luc. xxiii. 29. V.    <sup>i</sup> Matt. xxv. 10, 11. V.

<sup>k</sup> Matt. xxv. 12. G. (peculiar to Gildas.)

<sup>l</sup> Marc. xvi. 16. V. "qui vero non."

<sup>m</sup> Rom. xi. 17, 20, 22. I. om. radicis: V. "radicis et pinguedinis."

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cordiam Domini, sed et iudicium timebam. Laudabam gratiam, sed 'redditionem' unicuique secundum opera sua verebar. Oves unius ovilis dissimiles cernens, merito beatissimum dicebam Petrum<sup>o</sup> ob Christi integram confessionem, at Judam<sup>p</sup> infelicissimum propter cupiditatis amorem: Stephanum<sup>q</sup> gloriosum ob martyrii palmam, sed Nicolaum<sup>r</sup> miserum propter immundæ<sup>10</sup> hæresios notam. Legebam certe, 'Erant<sup>s</sup> illis omnia communia:' sed et quod dictum est: 'Quare<sup>t</sup> convenit vobis tentare Spiritum Dei?' Videbam e regione quantum securitatis hominibus nostri temporis, acsi non esset quod timeretur, increverat. Hæc igitur et multo plura, quæ brevitatis causa omittenda decrevimus, cum qualicunque cordis compunctione, attonita mente sæpius volvens: si, inquam, 'peculiari<sup>u</sup> ex omnibus nationibus populo, semini regali, gentique sanctæ,' ad quam dixerat: 'Primogenitus<sup>x</sup> Meus Israel,' ejusque sacerdotibus, prophetis, regibus, per tot secula, Apostolorum ministro, <sup>20</sup>membrisque<sup>2</sup> illius primitivæ Ecclesiæ, Dominus non <sup>21</sup>pepercit cum a recto tramite deviarint; quid tali hujus atramento ætatis facturus est? cui præter illa <sup>22</sup>nefanda immaniaque peccata, quæ communiter cum omnibus mundi sceleratis agit, accidit etiam illud veluti ingenitum quid et indelebile insipientiæ pondus et levitatis ineluctabile. Quid? mihimet <sup>23</sup>aione miser, tibi veluti<sup>3</sup> conspicuo<sup>4</sup> ac summo doctori talis cura committitur ut obstes ictibus tam violenti torrentis, et contra hunc <sup>24</sup>inolidorum scelerum funem, per tot annorum spatia interrupte lateque protractum, serves 'depositum<sup>5</sup>' tibi creditum? Et: Taceas, alioquin hoc est dixisse pedi, Speculare; et <sup>25</sup>manui, Fatere. Habet Britannia rectores, habet speculatores. Quid tu nugando mutire disponis? Habet, inquam, habet, si non ultra, non citra numerum. Sed quia inclinati tanto pondere sunt pressi, idcirco spatium respirandi non habent. Præoccupabant igitur se mutuo talibus objectionibus, vel multo his mordatioribus, veluti condebitoribus, sensus mei. Hi non parvo, ut dixi, tempore, cum legerim 'tempus<sup>b</sup>' esse 'loquendi et tacendi,' <sup>26</sup>et in quadam acsi angusta timoris porticu luctabantur. Obtinuit, vicitque tandem aliquando Creditor: Si non es, inquiens, talis audaciæ, ut

<sup>10</sup> hæresios V.    <sup>20</sup> membris etiam ejus V.    <sup>21</sup> so V.G. peperit Joss., and nefanda V. Joss.  
<sup>22</sup> aio tibi ne miser veluti V.    <sup>23</sup> inolidorum G.    <sup>24</sup> so V.G. manu Joss.    <sup>25</sup> om. V.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xvi. 27; Rom. ii. 6. I. V.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xvi. 16-19.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xxvi. 14, 15, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Act. vii. 57-60.

<sup>5</sup> Act. vi. 5; Apoc. ii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Act. iv. 32. V.

<sup>7</sup> Act. v. 9. I. V. "Quid utique . . . Domini."

<sup>8</sup> Exod. xix. 5, 6; Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2; 1 Pet.

ii. 9.    <sup>9</sup> Exod. iv. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Matt. xxvii. 5; Act. i. 18.

<sup>11</sup> Act. v. 1-10.    <sup>12</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Eccl. iii. 7. I. V.

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[inter veridicas rationalis secundæ a nuntiis derivationis creaturas] non pertimescas libertatis aureæ decenti nota inuri, affectum saltem intelligibilis asinæ<sup>c</sup> eatenus elinguis non refugito Spiritu Dei afflatæ, nolentis se vehiculum fore tiarati magi devoturi populum Dei, quæ in angusto maceræ vinearum resolutum ejus attrivit pedem, ob id licet verbera hostiliter senserit, cuique Angelum cœlestem ensem vacuum vagina habentem, atque contrarium, quem ille cruda stoliditate coecatus non viderat, digito quodammodo, quanquam ingrato ac furibundo, et innoxia ejus latera contra jus fasque <sup>28</sup> cædenti demonstravit. <sup>27</sup> In zelo<sup>d</sup> igitur domus Domini, sacræ legis, seu cogitatum rationibus, vel fratrum religiosiis precibus <sup>29</sup> coactus, nunc persolvo debitum, multo tempore antea exactum, vile quidem, <sup>30</sup> sed fidele, ut puto, et <sup>31</sup> amicale quibusque egregiis Christi tyronibus; grave vero et importabile apostatis insipientibus: quorum priores, ni fallor, cum lachrymis forte quæ ex Dei charitate profluunt, alii <sup>32</sup> cum tristitia, sed quæ de indignatione et pusillanimitate deprehensæ conscientiæ extorquetur, illud excipient <sup>33</sup>.

\* \* \* \* \*

Increpation in  
Reges Britan-  
nicos. <sup>34</sup> Reges habet Britannia', sed tyrannos; iudices habet, sed impios: sæpe prædantes et concutientes, sed innocentes; vindicantes et patrocinant, sed reos et latrones; quam plurimas conjuges habentes, sed <sup>35</sup> scortas et adulterantes; crebro jurantes, <sup>36</sup> sed perjurantes; voventes, et <sup>37</sup> continuo propemodum mentientes; belligerantes, sed civilia et injusta bella agentes; per <sup>38</sup> patriam quidem fures <sup>39</sup> magnopere insectantes, <sup>40</sup> et eos qui secum' ad mensam sedent <sup>41</sup> latrones, non solum amantes, sed <sup>42</sup> et munerantes'; eleemosynas largiter dantes, <sup>43</sup> sed e regione immensum montem scelerum exaggerantes: in sede <sup>44</sup> arbitraturi sedentes, sed raro recti iudicii regulam quærentes; innoxios humilesque despicientes; sanguinarios, superbos, parricidas, <sup>45</sup> commanipulares et' adulteros Dei inimicos, si sors, ut dicitur, tulerit, <sup>46</sup> qui cum ipso nomine <sup>47</sup> certatim

<sup>28</sup> cedenti V. <sup>27</sup> Huc usque om. A. <sup>30</sup> so V.G. conatus Joss. <sup>31</sup> stylo add. G.  
<sup>30</sup> amicum V. <sup>31</sup> enim atque add. A. enim add. V. <sup>32</sup> Habet etenim Britannia reges Bosc.  
reges habent, &c. B. <sup>33</sup> scortantes V. (but om. et adult.) G. scorta B., but with a final letter  
erased. scorta et adulteras Bosc. <sup>34</sup> et Bosc. V. <sup>35</sup> continue B. <sup>36</sup> regionem Bosc.  
<sup>37</sup> magno ope B. <sup>38</sup> eos autem qui Bosc. <sup>39</sup> Add. G. Bosc. deest B. Joss. V. <sup>40</sup> etiam  
remunerantes Bosc. <sup>41</sup> se B. <sup>42</sup> arbitri V. arbitrum Bosc. <sup>43</sup> desunt Bosc. <sup>44</sup> hos  
Bosc. add. <sup>45</sup> deest Bosc.

\* Num. xxii. 22-34.

<sup>d</sup> Psalm. lxi. 9 (lxxviii. 10); John ii. 17.

\* Except the first and last few lines, which are in MS. A., the sole authorities now existing for this prologue are the printed editions of Vergil, Josselin, and Gale; the last placing it, except the few lines in MS. A., at the foot of the page as spurious. We have here omitted the (so called) *Historia*.

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delendi erant, ad sydera prout possunt efferentes; vinctos plures in carceribus habentes, quos "dolo sui' potius quam merito proterunt, catenis onerantes; inter "altaria "jurando demorantes, et hæc eadem "acsi lutulenta paulo post' saxa despicientes.

Incepit in Cujus tam nefandi piaculi non ignarus est immundæ Constantinum. lezæne "Dannoniæ tyrannicus catulus Constantinus. Hoc anno, post horribile "juramenti sacramentum', quo se devinxit nequaquam dolos civibus, Deo primum jureque jurando, sanctorum demum choris et genitrice comitantibus fretis, facturum, in duarum venerandis matrum "sinibus, Ecclesiæ "carnalisque, sub "sancti abbatis amphibalo', latera regionum tenerrima puerorum vel præcordia crudeliter "dum, totidemque nutritorum, quorum brachia nequaquam armis, quæ nullus pene hominum fortius hoc eis tempore tractabat, sed Deo altarique protenta, in die judicii, ad Tuz civitatis portas, Christe, veneranda patientiæ ac fidei suæ vexilla suspendent, inter ipsa, ut dixi, sacrosancta altaria nefando ense hastaque, "pro dentibus', laceravit, ita ut sacrificii coelestis sedem purpurea acsi coagulati cruoris pallia "attingerent. Et hoc ne post laudanda quidem merita egit. Nam multis ante annis, crebris alternatisque fectoribus adulteriorum victus, legitima uxore, contra Christi Magistrique gentium interdictum, "depulsa, dicentium: 'a Quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet:' et, 'b Viri, diligite uxores vestras.' "Amarissimum enim quoddam de "vite Sodomorum in cordis sui infructuosa bono semini gleba, surculamen incredulitatis et insipientiæ plantaverat, "quod vulgatis domesticisque impietatibus velut quibusdam venenatis imbris irrigatum, et ad Dei offensam avidius se erigens, parricidii sacrilegique crimen produxit in medium. Sed nec adhuc "priorum retibus malorum expeditus, priscis recentia auget malis. Age jam, quasi præsentem arguo, quem adhuc superesse non nescio. Quid stupes animæ carnifex propriæ? Quid tibi flammæ inferni voluntarie "accendis nequaquam defecturas? Quid, inimicorum vice, propriis te confodis sponte ensibus, hastis? Anne "ipsa quidem virulenta scelerum acsi pocula pectus tuum "satiare quiverunt? Respice, quæso, et 'veni ad Christum, siquidem laboras, et immenso pondere curvaris: et Ipse te, ut dixit, 'requiescere faciet.'

" dolose Bosc.

" alteraria B.

" intrando Bosc.

" paulo post acsi lutulenta Bosc.

" Damnone B. Damnoniæ V. G.

" sacr. jur. B.

" sinibus B.

" carnalis B.

" que carnalis V.

" sancto abbate Amphibalo V.

" dum B.

" prudentibus B.

" attigerent B. texerunt V.

" repulsa G.

" amarissima B. V.

" so B. vite V. Joss. G.

" quos B.

" prior B.

" accenditis B.

" ipsam B.

" satiaret B.

a Matt. xix. 6; Marc. x. 9. V.

o Matt. xi. 28. G. = S. Cypr., Testim. I. 13,

b Ephes. v. 25; Col. iii. 19. I. V.

III. 119; 24, 91. Fell.

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Veni ad Eum Qui <sup>d</sup> non vult <sup>66</sup> peccatoris mortem, sed ut convertatur et vivat.' <sup>e</sup> 'Dissolve,' secundum Prophetam, 'vincula colli tui fili Syon.' <sup>f</sup> 'Redi, rogo, e longinquis licet peccatorum recessibus ad piissimum Patrem, Qui <sup>g</sup> despicienti porcorum <sup>66</sup> sordidos cibos' ac pertimescenti diræ famis mortem, et revertenti Sibi lætus occidere consuevit <sup>h</sup> vitulum filio saginatum, et proferre primam erranti stolam et regium annulum: <sup>i</sup> et tum' spei cœlestis acsi saporem prægustans, <sup>j</sup> senties quam <sup>k</sup> 'suavis est Dominus.' Nam si hæc contempseris, scias te inextricabilibus tenebrosisque ignium torrentibus jamjamque <sup>l</sup> rotandum urendumque.

Increpatio in Aurelium. Quid tu quoque, ut Prophetam ait, <sup>h</sup> catule <sup>78</sup> leonine Aureli <sup>74</sup> Canine agis? Nonne eodem quo supradictus, si non exciabiliore, parricidiorum, fornicationum, adulteriorumque cœno, velut quibusdam marinis irruentibus tibi <sup>78</sup> voraris feraliter undis? Nonne pacem patriæ, mortiferum <sup>78</sup> ceu serpentem odiens, civiliaque bella et crebras injuste prædas sitiens, animæ tuæ cœlestis portas pacis ac refrigerii præcludis? Relictus, quæso, jam solus, acsi arbor in medio campo arescens, recordare patrum fratrumque tuorum supervacuam <sup>78</sup> phantasiam, juvenilem immaturamque mortem. <sup>78</sup> Num <sup>78</sup> centenis tu ob religiosa merita, vel cœævus Mathusale exceptus <sup>80</sup> pene omni prole servaberis? Nequaquam. Sed, nisi citius, ut Psalmista ait, <sup>i</sup> conversus fueris ad Dominum, ense <sup>81</sup> in te vibrabit in brevi Suum Rex ille, <sup>81</sup> Qui per Prophetam, <sup>k</sup> 'Ego,' inquit, 'occidam, et <sup>81</sup> Ego vivere faciam: percutiam, et Ego sanabo, et non est qui de manu <sup>81</sup> Mea possit eruere.' Quamobrem <sup>l</sup> excutere de' fœtido 'pulvere' tuo, et convertere ad Eum toto corde, Qui creavit te, <sup>84</sup> ut <sup>84</sup> cum exarserit in brevi ira Ejus, beatus sis 'sperans in Eum.' sin alias, æternæ te manebunt poenæ conterendum sæva continue et nequaquam absumendum Tartari <sup>85</sup> fauce.

Increpatio in Vortiporium. Quid tu quoque, pardo similis moribus, et nequitiis discolor, canescente jam capite, in throno dolis pleno, et ab imis vertice tenus diversis parricidiis et adulteriis constuprato, boni regis nequam fili, ut Ezechiae Manasses, Demetarum

<sup>66</sup> mortem peccatorum B. <sup>67</sup> dispicienti B. <sup>68</sup> cib. sord. B. <sup>69</sup> vitulo B.  
<sup>70</sup> et tunc B. ut tunc V. <sup>71</sup> sentiens B. sentret V. <sup>72</sup> inferni B. V. add. <sup>73</sup> leoline G.  
<sup>74</sup> Conane V. G. <sup>75</sup> voraris B. <sup>76</sup> seu B. <sup>77</sup> phantasiam V. B. And so V. commonly.  
<sup>78</sup> Unde B. <sup>79</sup> centennis G. B. <sup>80</sup> ex V. <sup>81</sup> vite B. <sup>82</sup> deest B. <sup>83</sup> deest B.  
<sup>84</sup> et B. <sup>85</sup> falce V.

<sup>d</sup> Ezek. xxxiii. 11. V. "impii . . . impius a via sua et."

<sup>e</sup> Esai. lii. 2. V. "Solve . . . captiva filia."

<sup>f</sup> Luc. xv. 22, 23. I. V.

<sup>g</sup> Psalm. xxxiv. 8. (xxxiii. 9.) I. V.

<sup>h</sup> Gen. xlix. 9.

<sup>i</sup> Psalm. vii. 12, 13. I. V.

<sup>k</sup> Deut. xxxii. 39. V.

<sup>l</sup> Esai. lii. 2. V.  
<sup>m</sup> Psalm. ii. 12. (13.) I. = V. But "sperans in Eum," G.

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tyranne <sup>1</sup>Vortipori stupide <sup>2</sup>riges? Quid tē <sup>3</sup>tam violenti peccatorum gurgites, quos ut vinum optimum sorbes, imo tu ab eis voraris, <sup>4</sup>appropinquante sensim vitæ limite, non satiant? Quid quasi culminis malorum omnium stupro, propria tua amota conjuge, ejusdemque honesta morte <sup>5</sup>impudentis filiæ, <sup>6</sup>quodam ineluctabili <sup>7</sup>pondere miseram animam <sup>8</sup>oneras? <sup>9</sup>Ne consumas, quæso, dierum quod reliquum est in Dei offensam: quia <sup>10</sup>nunc tempus acceptabile et dies salutis<sup>11</sup> vultibus poenitentium <sup>12</sup>lucet, in quo bene operari potes, <sup>13</sup>ne fiat fuga tua hyeme vel sabbato: <sup>14</sup>‘p’diverte,’ secundum Psalmistam, <sup>15</sup>‘a malo, et fac bonum: inquire pacem <sup>16</sup>bonam et sequere eam, quia oculi Domini super te bona agentem, <sup>17</sup>et aures Ejus erunt in preces tuas, et non <sup>18</sup>perdet de terra viventium memoriam’ tuam. <sup>19</sup>‘q’ Clamabis et exaudiet te, et ex omnibus tribulationibus tuis eruet te.’ <sup>20</sup>‘r’ Cor’ siquidem <sup>21</sup>contritum et humiliatum’ timore Ejus nusquam Christus <sup>22</sup>‘spernit.’ Alioquin <sup>23</sup>vermis tortionis tuæ <sup>24</sup>‘non morietur,’ et ignis ustionis tuæ <sup>25</sup>‘non extinguetur.’

Incepit in Ut quid in nequitia tuæ volveris vetusta fæce, et tu, <sup>1</sup>Cuneglasse. ab adolescentiæ annis, urse multorum sessor, aurigæque currus receptaculi ursi, Dei contemptor, <sup>2</sup>sortisque Ejus depressor, Cuneglase, Romana lingua Lanio-fulve? Quare tantum certamen tam <sup>3</sup>hominibus quam Deo’ præstas; hominibus, civibus scilicet, armis <sup>4</sup>specialibus; Deo infinitis sceleribus? Quid præter innumerabiles casus, propria uxore pulsa, furciferam germanam ejus, perpetuam Deo viduitatis castimoniam promittentem, ut poeta ait, summam <sup>5</sup>seu teneritudinem cœlicolarum, tota animi veneratione vel potius hebetudine, nympharum, contra interdictum Apostoli, <sup>6</sup>denegantis posse <sup>7</sup>adulteros regni cœlestis esse municipes, suspicis? Quid gemitus atque suspiria sanctorum, propter te corporaliter <sup>8</sup>versantium, vice immanis <sup>9</sup>leænæ dentium ossa tua quandoque <sup>10</sup>fracturæ, crebris instigas injuriis? <sup>11</sup>‘x’ Desine,’ quæso, ut Propheta ait, <sup>12</sup>‘ab ira, et derelinque’ <sup>13</sup>exitialem, ac temetipsum maceraturum, quem cœlo ac terræ, hoc est, Deo gregique Ejus spiras, <sup>14</sup>‘furorem:’ fac eos

<sup>1</sup> Verte pori, with an erased final letter, B. <sup>2</sup> reges B. <sup>3</sup> causa B. <sup>4</sup> appropriante B. <sup>5</sup> impudentes B. <sup>6</sup> quedam B. <sup>7</sup> ponderi B. <sup>8</sup> ponderas B. <sup>9</sup> Non B. <sup>10</sup> licet B. <sup>11</sup> deest B. <sup>12</sup> fotisque B. <sup>13</sup> Deo q. hom. B. <sup>14</sup> so B. Jos. V. exitialibus G. <sup>15</sup> ceu V. <sup>16</sup> adulteres B. <sup>17</sup> morentium V. G. <sup>18</sup> lene B. <sup>19</sup> so G. fractura V. Jos. B. <sup>20</sup> exitiabilem V. exitiabilem B.

<sup>1</sup> a Cor. vi. 2. V.  
<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxiv. 20. I. and V. Cod. Amiat.  
<sup>3</sup> Psalm. xxxiv. 14-16. (xxxiii. 15-17.) I. but omitting “bonam,” and “viventium,” And “sequere” is from I.  
<sup>4</sup> Psalm. xxxiv. 17. (xxxiii. 18.) I. V. “liberavit” for “eruet.”

<sup>5</sup> Psalm. li. 17. (l. 19.) V. but “spernit,” from I. = S. Aug. In Psalm. l. 19. Opp. IV. 473 f.  
<sup>6</sup> Esai. lxvi. 24; V. om. “tortionis tuæ,” and “ustionis tuæ.”—Marc. ix. 44 (43). 46 (45). I.  
<sup>7</sup> Gal. v. 21.  
<sup>8</sup> Psalm. xxxvii. 8. (xxxvi. 8.) V.

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<sup>6</sup>potius mutatis pro te orare moribus, quibus suppetit <sup>7</sup>supra mundum alligandi cum in mundo reos alligaverint, et solvendi cum poenitentes <sup>8</sup>potestas solverint. Noli, ut ait Apostolus, <sup>9</sup>'superbe sapere, vel sperare in incerto divitiarum, sed in Deo Qui præstat tibi multa abunde,' ut per emendationem morum <sup>10</sup>'thesaurizes tibi fundamentum bonum in futurum,' et <sup>11</sup>habeas <sup>12</sup>'veram vitam,' <sup>13</sup>perennem profecto, non deciduam. <sup>14</sup>Alioquin 'scies, et videbis' etiam in hoc sæculo, quam <sup>15</sup>'malum et amarum est reliquisse te Dominum <sup>16</sup>Deum tuum, et non esse timorem Ejus apud te;' et in futuro, tetro ignium globo æternorum te exuri, nec tamen ullo modo mori. Siquidem tam sceleratorum sint <sup>17</sup>'perpetim immortales igni animæ, quam sanctorum lætitiæ.

Increpatio in  
Maglocunum.

Quid tu etiam, <sup>18</sup>insularis draco, multorum tyrannorum depulsor tam regno quam etiam vita; supradictorum novissime <sup>19</sup>stylo, prime in malo, major multis potentia simulque malitia, largior in dando, profusior in peccato, robuste armis, sed animæ fortior excidiis, Maglocune, in tam vetusto scelerum atramento, veluti <sup>20</sup>'madidus vino' de Sodomitana <sup>21</sup>vite expresso stolide volutaris? Quare tantas peccaminum regiæ cervici sponte, ut ita dicam, ineluctabiles, celsorum <sup>22</sup>seu montium, innectis moles? Quid te non Ei regum omnium Regi, quem cunctis pene Britanniae ducibus tam regno fecit quam status lineamento editiorem, exhibes cæteris moribus meliorem, sed versa vice deteriore? quorum indubitatam æquanimiter convitiis auscultato parumper adstipulationem, omissis domesticis levioribusque, si tamen aliqua sunt levia, <sup>23</sup>'palata solum' longe lateque per auras admissa <sup>24</sup>testaturam. Nonne in primis adolescentiæ tuæ annis avunculum regem cum fortissimis propemodum militibus, quorum vultus non catulorum leonis in acie magnopere dispares <sup>25</sup>visabantur, acerrime ense, hasta, igni oppressisti? parum cogitans propheticum dictum: <sup>26</sup>'Viri,' inquit, <sup>27</sup>'sanguinum et <sup>28</sup>doli non dimidiabunt dies suos.' Quid pro hoc solo retributionis a justo Judice sperares, etsi non talia sequerentur quæ secuta sunt, itidem dicente per Prophetam: <sup>29</sup>'Væ tibi

<sup>6</sup> mutatis potius moribus B. <sup>7</sup> ultra B. <sup>8</sup> solverint potestas G. <sup>9</sup> thesauri tu es B.  
<sup>10</sup> over an erasure, by some very late hand, in B. <sup>11</sup> vitam veram veram B. <sup>12</sup> so V. G. perennem Joss. <sup>13</sup> deest B. <sup>14</sup> so G. perpeti V. Joss. B. In V. also sunt. <sup>15</sup> insulare B.  
<sup>16</sup> in add. G. in nostro add. V. <sup>17</sup> so V. G. vita Joss. deest B. <sup>18</sup> cen V. <sup>19</sup> propalata V.  
<sup>20</sup> testaturum G. <sup>21</sup> videbantur B. <sup>22</sup> dolosi V.

<sup>23</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 17. V. "Sublime sapere:" I. has  
 "abundanter."

<sup>24</sup> Jer. ii. 19. V. <sup>25</sup> Jer. xxiii. 9. V.

<sup>26</sup> Psalm. lv. 23. (liv. 24.) V. "dolosi."

<sup>27</sup> Esai. xxxiii. 1. "Væ . . . prædaberis," V. "et  
 qui . . . cadēs," G.

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qui prædaris, <sup>20</sup>nonne et ipse prædaberis? et qui occidis, nonne et ipse occideris? et cum desiveris prædari, tunc cades.' Nonne postquam tibi ex voto violenti regni phantasia cessit, cupiditate <sup>21</sup>injectus ad viam revertendi rectam, diebusque ac noctibus, id temporis, <sup>22</sup>conscientia forte peccaminum remordente, de deifico tenore monachorumque decretis, sub dente primum multa ruminans, deinde popularis auræ <sup>23</sup>cognitioni <sup>24</sup>proferens, monachum sine ullo <sup>25</sup>infidelitatis, ut aiebas, respectu, coram <sup>26</sup>omnipotente Deo, angelicis vultibus humanisque, ruptis, ut putabatur, capacissimis illis, quibus præcipitanter involvi solent pingues tauri <sup>27</sup>moduli tui retibus; omnis regni, auri, <sup>28</sup>argenti-que, et quod <sup>29</sup>majus est, propriæ voluntatis distentionibus ruptis, perpetuo vovisti, et tete, acsi stridulo <sup>30</sup>cavum lapsu aerem valide secantem, sævosque rapidi harpagones <sup>31</sup>accipitris sinuosis flexibus vitantem, ad sanctorum tibi magnopere fidas speluncas refrigeriaque <sup>32</sup>salubriter rapuisti ex corvo columbam? O quanta Ecclesiæ matri lætitia, si non te cunctorum mortalium hostis de sinu quodammodo ejus lugubriter abstraxisset, foret? O quam profusus spei coelestis fomes desperatorum cordibus, te in bonis permanente, inardesceret? O qualia quantaque animam tuam regni Christi præmia in die judicii manerent, si non lupus callidus ille agnum ex lupo factum te <sup>33</sup>ab ovili Dominico, non vehementer invitum, facturus lupum ex agno, sibi similem rapuisset? O quantam exultationem pio omnium Patri Deo sanctorum tua salus servanda præstaret, si non te cunctorum perditorum infaustus pater, <sup>34</sup>veluti magnarum aquila alarum unguiumque dæmon, infœlici filiorum suorum agmini contra jus fasque rapuisset? Ne multa, tantum gaudii ac suavitatis tum coelo terræque tua ad bonam frugem conversio, quantum nunc mœroris ac luctus ministravit ad horribilem, more <sup>35</sup>molossi ægri, evomitum nefanda reversio. Qua peracta, <sup>36</sup>exhibentur <sup>37</sup>membra arma' iniquitatis peccato' ac diabolo, quæ oportuerat salvo sensu avide 'exhiberi arma justitiæ Deo.' Arrecto aurium auscultantur captu, non Dei laudes, canora Christi tyronum voce suaviter modulante, pneumaque ecclesiasticæ melodiæ, sed propriæ, quæ nihil sunt, <sup>38</sup>furciferorum referto mendaciis simulque spumanti <sup>39</sup>flegmate, proximos quosque <sup>40</sup>trucidaturo, <sup>41</sup>præconum ore, ritu <sup>42</sup>bachancium, <sup>43</sup>concrepate; ita ut vas, Dei quondam <sup>44</sup>in ministerio præparatum, vertatur

<sup>20</sup> desunt B. <sup>21</sup> injectus G. invecata V. <sup>22</sup> conscientie B. <sup>23</sup> cognitione G. cognitionem B.  
<sup>24</sup> proferens B. <sup>25</sup> ut aieb. infid. B. <sup>26</sup> omnipotente B. <sup>27</sup> desunt B. <sup>28</sup> argenti V.B.  
<sup>29</sup> hiis V.B. add. <sup>30</sup> canum G. <sup>31</sup> accipitricis B. <sup>32</sup> desunt B. <sup>33</sup> desunt B. <sup>34</sup> vel B.  
<sup>35</sup> molossi B. <sup>36</sup> arma membra B. <sup>37</sup> so V.G.B. furciferorum Joss. <sup>38</sup> fleumate B. <sup>39</sup> so G. rusci  
 daturo Joss. ruscidaturum B. fedaturo V. <sup>40</sup> præconi B. <sup>41</sup> bacchantium G.B.V. <sup>42</sup> con-  
 crepante V.G. <sup>43</sup> desunt B.V.

• Prov. xxvi. 11 : 2 Pet. ii. 22.

† Rom. vi. 13. 1. V.



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in zabuli organum, "quodque honore coelesti putabatur dignum, merito projiciatur in Tartari baratrum. Nec tamen tantis malorum offendiculis tuus hebetatus insipientiæ cumulo sensus, velut quodam obice tardatur, sed fervidus, acsi pullus, amoena "quæquæ imperagrata putans, per extensos scelerum campos "irrevocabili furore raptatur, augendo priscis nova piaculis. Spernuntur namque primæ, post monachi votum irritum, illicitæ licet, tamen propriæ conjugis præsumptivæ nuptiæ, alia viri viventis, non externi, sed fratris filii adamata. Ob quod dura cervix illa multis jam peccaminum fascibus "onerata, bino parricidiali "ausu, occidendo supradictum, uxoremque tuam, aliquamdiu "a te habitam, velut summo sacrilegii tui culmine, de imis ad inferiora curvatur. Dehinc illam, cujus dudum colludio ac suggestionem tantæ sunt peccatorum subitæ moles, publico et, ut fallaces "parasitorum linguæ tuorum conclamant, summis tamen labiis, non ex intimo cordis, legitimo, utpote viduatam, "thoro; nostræ vero' sceleratissimo adscivisti connubio. Cujus igitur sancti viscera tali stimulata historia non statim in fletus singultusque prorumpant? Quis sacerdos, cujus cor rectum Deo patet, non statim hæc audiens magno cum ululatu illud propheticum dicat: 'f Quis dabit capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem "lachrymarum, et plorabo in die et nocte interfectos populi mei?' Heu! siquidem parum auribus captasti prophetica oburgationem ita dicentem: 'ε Væ vobis, viri impii, "qui dereliquistis legem Dei altissimi. Et si nati fueritis, in "maledictione nasceremini, et si mortui fueritis in' maledictionem erit pars vestra. Omnia quæ de terra sunt, in terram ibunt: sic impii a maledictione in perditionem;' subauditur, si non revertantur ad "Dominum, exaudita saltem tali admonitione, 'h Fili, peccasti? ne "adjicias ultra, sed et de pristinis tuis deprecare:' et iterum: 'i Non tardes converti ad Dominum, neque differas de die in diem. Subito enim venit ira Ejus.' Quia, ut Scriptura ait: 'j Rege audiente verbum iniquum, omnes qui sub illo sunt, scelesti sunt.' Nimirum 'k rex,' ut Propheta dixit, 'justus suscitatur regionem.' Sed monita tibi profecto non desunt, cum habueris "præceptorem pene totius Britanniæ magistrum elegantem. Caveto igitur ne tibi, quod a Salomone

<sup>41</sup> quoque B.    <sup>42</sup> quæque G.B.    <sup>43</sup> irrevoc. B.    <sup>44</sup> honorata B.    <sup>45</sup> ausi B.    <sup>46</sup> apud B.  
<sup>47</sup> parasidorum B.    <sup>48</sup> thoro V. thoro ut nostræ vero G. nostræ vero B.    <sup>49</sup> lachrymarum B.  
<sup>50</sup> deest G.    <sup>51</sup> desunt G. Joss. add. V.B.; but in V., maledictionem .... maledictionem.  
<sup>52</sup> Deum B.    <sup>53</sup> adjicias B. adjicias V.    <sup>54</sup> præceptorum G.

<sup>f</sup> Jer. ix. 1. V. "plorabo die ac .. filiz populi."  
<sup>g</sup> Ecclus. xii. 11-13. V., but "maledictionem .. ibunt .. a maledictione," from the Greek: 8-10. LXX.

<sup>h</sup> Ecclus. xxi. 1. LXX. fere = V.  
<sup>i</sup> Ecclus. v. 8, 9. V., 7. LXX. "veniet."  
<sup>j</sup> Prov. xxix. 12. LXX. G.  
<sup>k</sup> Prov. xxix. 4. LXX. G.

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notatur, accidat: <sup>1</sup>Quasi <sup>2</sup>qui excitat dormientem de gravi somno, sic <sup>3</sup>qui enarrat stulto <sup>4</sup>sapientiam: in fine enim <sup>5</sup>narrationis dicit: Quid primum dixeris? <sup>6</sup>Lava a malitia <sup>7</sup>cor tuum, sicut dictum est, <sup>8</sup>Hierusalem, ut salvus sis. Ne contemnas, quæso, ineffabilem misericordiam Dei, hoc modo per Prophetam a peccatis impios <sup>9</sup>provocantis: <sup>10</sup>Repente loquar ad gentem et ad regnum, ut evellam, et <sup>11</sup>dissipem, et destruam, et disperdam. Peccatorem hoc <sup>12</sup>vehementer ad poenitentiam hortatur: Et <sup>13</sup>si poenitentiam egerit gens illa a peccato suo, poenitentiam et Ego agam super malo quod locutus sum ut facerem ei. Et iterum: <sup>14</sup>Quis dabit <sup>15</sup>eis tale cor ut audiant Me, et custodiant præcepta Mea, et bene sit eis omnibus diebus vitæ suæ? <sup>16</sup>Itemque in cantico Deuteronomii: <sup>17</sup>Populus, inquit, absque consilio et prudentia, utinam saperent et intelligerent, ac novissima providerent: quomodo <sup>18</sup>persequatur unus mille, et duo <sup>19</sup>fugerent decem millia. Et iterum in Evangelio Dominus: <sup>20</sup>Venite ad Me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et Ego vos requiescere faciam. Tollite jugum Meum super vos, et <sup>21</sup>discite a Me quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenietis requiem animabus vestris. Nam si hæc surdis auribus audias, Prophetas contemnas, Christum despicias, nosque, licet vilissimæ qualitatis simus, nullius momenti ducas, <sup>22</sup>propheticum illud sincera animi <sup>23</sup>pietate servantes, utcunque si non <sup>24</sup>ego implevero <sup>25</sup>fortitudinem in spiritu et virtute Domini ut <sup>26</sup>enuntiem <sup>27</sup>domui <sup>28</sup>Jacob peccata eorum, et domui Israel scelera eorum, ne simus <sup>29</sup>canes <sup>30</sup>muti non valentes latrare. Et illud Salomonis ita dicentis: <sup>31</sup>Qui dicit impium justum esse, maledictus erit populis et odibilis gentibus, nam qui arguunt meliora sperabunt. Et iterum: <sup>32</sup>Non reverearis proximum in casum suum: nec retineas verbum in tempore salutis. Itemque: <sup>33</sup>Erue eos qui <sup>34</sup>ducuntur ad mortem,

<sup>1</sup> deest B. <sup>2</sup> sapientia B. <sup>3</sup> enarrationes B. <sup>4</sup> tuum cor B.V. <sup>5</sup> provocans B. revocantis V. <sup>6</sup> destruam et dissipem B. <sup>7</sup> ad poenitentiam vehementer B. <sup>8</sup> ei B. <sup>9</sup> Item B. <sup>10</sup> persequatur B. <sup>11</sup> fugerent B. <sup>12</sup> dicite B. <sup>13</sup> et add. B. <sup>14</sup> puritate B. <sup>15</sup> deest B. <sup>16</sup> deest B. <sup>17</sup> enunciem G.B.V. <sup>18</sup> Jacobi B. <sup>19</sup> mitti B. <sup>20</sup> dicuntur B.

<sup>1</sup> Ecclus. xxii. 7, 8. LXX., 8, 9. V. But "et in f. n. dicit," and for "quid . . . dixeris?" <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jer. iv. 14. V. but, "salva fias."  
<sup>2</sup> Jer. xviii. 7. V. but, "adversus, .. adversus .. ut eradicoem et destruam" &c.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. xviii. 8. V. but, "a malo suo," and, "quod cogitavi."

<sup>4</sup> Deuter. v. 29. LXX. G.

<sup>5</sup> Deuter. xxxii. 28—30. V. but, "gens absque consilio est et sine."

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xi. 28, 29. G. See p. 49, note c.

<sup>7</sup> Esai. lviii. 1. V. but, "populo Meo, .. domui Jacob." <sup>8</sup> Esai. lvi. 10. V.

<sup>9</sup> Prov. xxiv. 24, 25. fere = LXX. G. = Lucif. Cal., Pro S. Athan. I.; Bibl. PP. IV. 132 f. ed. 1618.

<sup>10</sup> Ecclus. iv. 27, 28. V.; except "non," and "casum," which are in MSS. Corb. i. et S. Germa. 15. of I. ap. Sabatier: — <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xxiv. 11. LXX. G. = Cassian., Collat. II. 13. p. 342 b. ed. Gaz.

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et <sup>71</sup>redimere eos qui interficiuntur, ne parcas:’ quia ‘<sup>72</sup>non <sup>73</sup>proderunt,’ ut idem Propheta ait, ‘divitiæ in die iræ, <sup>74</sup>justicia a morte liberat.’ ‘<sup>75</sup>Si justus quidem vix salvus sit, impius et peccator ubi parebit?’ Ille profecto te tenebrosus Tartari torrens ferali rotatu undisque acsi acerrimis involvet semper cruciaturus et nunquam consumpturus, cui tunc <sup>76</sup>erit sera inutilisque poenæ oculata cognitio ac mali poenitudo, a quo, in hoc ‘<sup>77</sup>a tempore accepto et die salutis,’ ad rectum vitæ iter differtur conversio.

Hic sane vel antea concludenda erat, uti ne amplius loqueretur os nostrum opera hominum, tam flebilis hæc <sup>78</sup>quæruleque malorum ævi hujus historia. Sed ne formidolosos nos aut lassos putent, quominus illud <sup>79</sup>Isaianum infatigabiliter caveamus, ‘<sup>80</sup>Væ,’ inquires, ‘qui dicit bonum malum, et malum bonum; ponentes tenebras in lucem, et lucem in tenebras; amarum in dulce, et dulce in amarum;’ qui ‘<sup>81</sup>evidentes non vident, et audientes non audiunt;’ quorum cor crassa obtegatur quadam <sup>82</sup>vitiorum nube, libet quid quantumque [his supradictis lascivientibus insanisque satellitum Pharaonis, quibus <sup>83</sup>ejus periturus Mari provocatur exercitus strenue Rubro, eorumque similibus quinque equis,] minarum prophetica inclamitent strictim edicere oracula; quibus veluti pulchro tegmine opusculi nostri <sup>84</sup>molimen, ita ut ne certatim <sup>85</sup>irruituris invidorum’ <sup>86</sup>ymbribus extet penetrabile, <sup>87</sup>fidissime contegatur. Respondeant itaque pro nobis sancti vates nunc ut ante, qui os quodammodo Dei organumque Spiritus Sancti, mortalibus <sup>88</sup>prohibentes mala, bonis faventes extitere, contumacibus superbisque hujus ætatis principibus, ne dicant nos propria adinventione et loquaci tantum temeritate tales minas eis tantosque terrores incutere. Nulli namque sapientium <sup>89</sup>dubium est’, in quantis graviora sunt peccata hujus temporis <sup>90</sup>quam primi, Apostolo dicente: ‘<sup>91</sup>d Legem quis transgrediens duobus mediis vel tribus testibus <sup>92</sup>moriatur; quanto putatis deteriora mereri supplicia, qui Filium Dei <sup>93</sup>conculcaverit?’ En primus occurrit nobis Samuel jussu Dei legitimi regni stabilitor, Deo antequam nasceretur dedicatus, a Dan usque <sup>94</sup>Barsabeæ omni populo Israel veridicus propheta signis

<sup>71</sup> redime B. <sup>72</sup> prodiderunt B. <sup>73</sup> justitia G.V. <sup>74</sup> era B. <sup>75</sup> querulaque V.G.B.  
<sup>76</sup> ijsaie B. Esaiam V., and canamus for caveamus. <sup>77</sup> nube vitiorum B. <sup>78</sup> est B.  
<sup>79</sup> volumen B.V. <sup>80</sup> irruituris in vindarum B. <sup>81</sup> imbribus V.G.B. <sup>82</sup> fidisse B. <sup>83</sup> prohibente B. <sup>84</sup> est dubium B. <sup>85</sup> deest B. <sup>86</sup> moritur V.B. <sup>87</sup> conculcaverunt B.  
<sup>88</sup> Bersabee B. Bethabee V.

<sup>79</sup> Prov. xi. 4. LXX. G. but the v. is wanting in the Vatic. MS. of LXX.

<sup>80</sup> Prov. xi. 31; 1 Pet. iv. 18. G. = S. Aug. In Rom. i. 10. Opp. III. ii. 930 f. g.

<sup>81</sup> 2 Cor. vi. 2. V.

<sup>82</sup> Esai. v. 20. V. “dicitis . . . tenebras lucem et l. t.” <sup>83</sup> Matt. xiii. 13. V.

<sup>84</sup> Heb. x. 28, 29. V. “Irritam quis faciens legem . . . duobus vel tribus . . . moritur . . . quanto magis.”

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indubitanter admirandis <sup>11</sup> notus, ex cujus ore Spiritus Sanctus cunctis mundi potestatibus intonuit, denuntiando primo regi apud Hebræos, duntaxat Sauli, pro eo quod quædam <sup>12</sup> de <sup>13</sup> mandatis Domini' non compleverat, dicens: 'Stulte egisti, nec custodisti mandata Domini Dei tui, quæ præcepit tibi. Quod si non fecisses, jam nunc pararet Deus regnum tuum super Israel in sempiternum; sed nequaquam regnum tuum ultra consurget.' Quid ergo simile hujus temporis sceleribus adulteriumne vel parricidium fecit? Nullo modo; <sup>14</sup> sed jussionis' ex parte mutationem: quia, ut bene quidam nostrum ait: 'Non agitur de qualitate peccati, sed de transgressione mandati.' <sup>15</sup> Itemque illum' objecta, velut putabat, purgantem, et apologias, ut generi humano moris est, sagaciter hoc modo <sup>16</sup> adnectentem: 'Imo audiavi vocem Domini, et ambulavi in via per quam misit me,' tali animadversione multavit: 'Nunquid vult,' <sup>17</sup> inquit, 'Dominus <sup>18</sup> holocausta aut victimas, et non potius ut obediatur voci <sup>19</sup> Domini? Melior est enim obedientia quam victimæ, et audire <sup>20</sup> magis quam offerre adipem arietum; <sup>21</sup> quoniam sicut peccatum ariolandi est repugnare, <sup>22</sup> et quasi scelus idolatriæ nolle acquiescere. Pro eo ergo quod abjecisti sermonem Domini, abjecit et te ne sis rex.' Et post pauca: 'Scidit,' inquit, 'Deus regnum Israel a te hodie, et dedit illud proximo tuo meliori te. Porro triumphator in Israel non parceret, et poenitudine non flectetur; neque enim homo est ut agat poenitentiam;' subauditur, super duris malorum præcordiis. Notandum ergo est, quod dixit scelus idolatriæ esse nolle Deo acquiescere. Non sibi scelerati isti, dum non gentium diis perspicue litant, <sup>23</sup> subplaudant, siquidem conculcantes, porcorum more, pretiosissimas Christi margaritas, 'idolatriæ. Sed licet hoc unum exemplum, acsi invictus adstipulator, ad corrigendos iniquos abunde sufficeret: tamen, <sup>24</sup> ut in ore multorum testium omne comprobetur Britannix malum, transeamus ad cætera. Quid David numerando populum evenit? dicente ad eum Propheta <sup>25</sup> Gad: 'Hæc dicit Dominus': Trium tibi optio datur: elige unum, quod volueris ex his, ut faciam tibi.' 'Aut septem annis veniet tibi fames;' 'aut tribus mensibus fugies adversarios tuos et illi te persequentur; aut certe tribus diebus erit pestilentia in terra tua.' Nam

<sup>11</sup> notatus B. <sup>12</sup> deest B. <sup>13</sup> mandata Dei B. <sup>14</sup> secusi om̃s B. <sup>15</sup> nostrorum B. <sup>16</sup> Itemque illam B. Itaque illum V. <sup>17</sup> adnectentem V.B. <sup>18</sup> nunquid B. <sup>19</sup> holocausta B. <sup>20</sup> Dei B. <sup>21</sup> magna B. <sup>22</sup> quod B. quia V. <sup>23</sup> ita V. <sup>24</sup> scindit B. <sup>25</sup> subplaudunt G. <sup>26</sup> idolatriæ G. idolatriæ B. idolatriæ sunt V. <sup>27</sup> horum B. <sup>28</sup> deest B. <sup>29</sup> Deus add. B.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xiii. 13, 14. V. "præparasset Dominus."

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 20. V.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 22, 23. V. but "auscultare magis... quasi peccatum." And, "aut victimas," and

"Dominus" om. after "te," in G. with Cod. Amiat. of V.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 28, 29. V. but "tradidit" for "dedit."

<sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 12, 13. V.

[OLD. TEST. 2. A. D. 547.]

<sup>7</sup> arctatus tali conditione, et volens magis <sup>8</sup> incidere in manus misericordis Dei quam hominum, <sup>9</sup> LXX. millium populi sui strage humiliatur, et, <sup>10</sup> ni <sup>11</sup> pro contribulibus, apostolicæ charitatis affectu, ut illos plaga non tangeret mori optasset, dicendo: <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> Ego sum qui peccavi, ego pastor inique egi: isti qui oves <sup>14</sup> sunt, quid <sup>15</sup> peccarunt? Vertatur obsecro manus Tua contra me, et contra domum patris mei, <sup>16</sup> inconsideratam cordis <sup>17</sup> elacionem propria morte piaret. Nam quid Scriptura in consequentibus de filio ejus narrat: <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> Fecit, <sup>20</sup> inquires, <sup>21</sup> Salomon quod non placuerat coram Domino, et non adimplevit ut sequeretur Dominum sicut pater ejus. <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> Dixit Dominus ad eum: Quia habuisti hoc apud te, et non custodisti pactum Meum et præcepta Mea quæ mandavi tibi, disrumpens scindam regnum tuum et dabo illud servo tuo. <sup>24</sup> Quid duobus <sup>25</sup> sacrilegis, æque ut isti sunt, Israel regibus Hieroboæ et <sup>26</sup> Baasæ accidit, audite, quibus sententia Domini dirigitur per Prophetam ita <sup>27</sup> dicentis: <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> Propter quod <sup>30</sup> magnificavi te principem super Israel, <sup>31</sup> quia exacerbaverunt Me in vanis eorum: ecce Ego <sup>32</sup> suscito post <sup>33</sup> Baasam et post domum ejus, et tradam domum ejus sicut domum Jeroboæ Nabath. Qui mortuus fuerit de suis in <sup>34</sup> civitate comedent eum canes, <sup>35</sup> et mortuum <sup>36</sup> corpus illius <sup>37</sup> in campo comedent <sup>38</sup> volatilia coeli. <sup>39</sup> Quid illi quoque scelerato regi Israel istorum commanipulari, <sup>40</sup> cujus colludio et uxoris dolo Naboth innocens propter <sup>41</sup> paternam vineam <sup>42</sup> oppressus est, sancto ore illius Helizæ atque ignifero Domini alloquio instructo minatur, ita dicente: <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> Occidisti insuper et possedisti? et post hæc addes, Hæc dicit Dominus: In loco hoc in quo <sup>45</sup> linxerunt canes sanguinem Naboth, lambent quoque tuum sanguinem. <sup>46</sup> Quod ita factum fuisse <sup>47</sup> certissima ratione cognitum est. Sed ne forte secundum supradictum Achab <sup>48</sup> spiritus mendax loquens <sup>49</sup> vana in ore prophetarum vestrorum seducat vos, ne sermones Micheæ Prophetæ audiat, <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> Ecce permisit Deus spiritum <sup>52</sup> mendacii in ore omnium prophetarum tuorum qui hic sunt, et Dominus locutus est contra te malum. <sup>53</sup> Nam et nunc certum est aliquos esse doctores contrario spiritu repletos, et magis pravam voluptatem quam veritatem asse-

<sup>7</sup> artatus B.<sup>8</sup> deest V. vi B.<sup>9</sup> deest B.<sup>10</sup> fecerunt V.<sup>11</sup> elacionem G.B.V.<sup>12</sup> inquires B.<sup>13</sup> sacrilegis B.<sup>14</sup> Baasæ B.<sup>15</sup> dicens B.<sup>16</sup> irritavi add. B.<sup>17</sup> suscitabo V.<sup>18</sup> Basan B.<sup>19</sup> civitatem B.<sup>20</sup> et mortuum bis B.<sup>21</sup> comed. in campo B.<sup>22</sup> quasi B.<sup>23</sup> vin. pat. B.<sup>24</sup> fluxerunt B.<sup>25</sup> certissime B.<sup>26</sup> vani B.<sup>27</sup> mendacii B.<sup>28</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 17. V. but G. adds "pastor," and has "peccarunt" for "fecerunt."<sup>29</sup> 1 Reg. xi. 6. V. But G. om. "David" before "pater," with Cod. Amiat. of V.<sup>30</sup> 1 Reg. xi. 11. V.<sup>31</sup> 1 Reg. xvi. 2, 3, 4. LXX. G. (l. caret.)<sup>32</sup> 1 Reg. xxi. 19. V. In Cod. Amiat, "trum quoque sanguinem;" V. pres. text, q. s. t.<sup>33</sup> 1 Reg. xxii. 22. V.<sup>34</sup> 1 Reg. xxii. 23. V. but "dedit" for "permisit."

[Glab. Erv. 2. A. D. 547.]

rentes: <sup>1</sup> quorum verba <sup>2</sup> super <sup>3</sup> oleum molliuntur, et ipsa sunt jacula; <sup>4</sup> qui dicunt pax, pax, et non erit in peccatis <sup>5</sup> permanentibus pax, ut alibi Propheta dicit: <sup>6</sup> 'Non est gaudere impiis, dicit Dominus.' Azarias quoque filius <sup>7</sup> Obed Asæ revertenti de cæde decies centenum millium exercitus Æthiopum locutus <sup>8</sup> est, dicens: <sup>9</sup> 'Dominus vobiscum est dum estis cum Ipso, et si exquisieritis Eum, invenietur a vobis: et si <sup>10</sup> dereliquistis Eum, derelinquet vos.' Nam <sup>11</sup> si Josaphat ferens præsidium iniquo regi, ita ab <sup>12</sup> Jehu Propheta <sup>13</sup> Ananiæ filio increpatur, dicente: <sup>14</sup> 'Si peccatorem tu adjuvas, aut quem Dominus odit, tu diligis? propterea ira Dei est super te;' quid illis, qui propriis scelerum suorum <sup>15</sup> criniculis compediuntur, fiet? Quorum <sup>16</sup> nos necesse est, si in acie dominica volumus dimicare, peccata <sup>17</sup> odisse non animas, dicente Psalmista: <sup>18</sup> 'Qui diligitis Dominum, odite malum.' Quid ad supradicti Josaphat filium, currus et auriga Israel Propheta Helias, Joram <sup>19</sup> scilicet parricidam, qui egregios fratres suos, ut pro ipsis regnaret, spurius trucidavit, effatus est? <sup>20</sup> 'Sic dicit,' inquit, 'Dominus Deus patris tui David. Eo quod non ambulaveris in via <sup>21</sup> Josaphat <sup>22</sup> patris tui, et in <sup>23</sup> viis Asæ regis Juda, et ambulasti in viis regum Israel, et <sup>24</sup> stuprose,' <sup>25</sup> ut gessit domus <sup>26</sup> Achab, et fratres tuos filios Josaphat meliores te interfecisti, ecce Dominus percutiet plaga magna te, et filios tuos.' [Et post pauca: <sup>27</sup> 'Et tu eris in magna valetudine in languore ventris tui, donec exeat venter tuus cum ipsa infirmitate de die ex die.']] Et ad Joam regem Israel, ut vos, derelinquentem Dominum, quid Zacharias filius <sup>28</sup> Joiadæ vatis minatus sit, attendite; qui <sup>29</sup> surgens <sup>30</sup> populo dixit: Hæc dicit Dominus: Quare præteritis præcepta Domini et non <sup>31</sup> prosperamini? Quia <sup>32</sup> dereliquistis Dominum, et derelinquet vos.' Quid de autore Prophetarum <sup>33</sup> Testimonia. <sup>34</sup> Esaiæ dicam? <sup>35</sup> qui proœmium <sup>36</sup> prophetiæ suæ vel visionem ita exorsus est, dicens: <sup>37</sup> 'Audite cœli <sup>38</sup> et auribus' <sup>39</sup> percipite terra, quoniam Dominus locutus est. Filios enu-

<sup>39</sup> olivi B. <sup>40</sup> remanentibus B. <sup>41</sup> so V. Obed ad se Jos. G. Obez ad se B. <sup>42</sup> deest G. <sup>43</sup> dereliqueritis V. B. <sup>44</sup> sic B. <sup>45</sup> Jeu B. <sup>46</sup> Annaniæ B. <sup>47</sup> criniculis B. <sup>48</sup> vos B. <sup>49</sup> odire B. <sup>50</sup> deest B. <sup>51</sup> patris add. B. <sup>52</sup> derunt B. <sup>53</sup> via B. <sup>54</sup> so V. stuprose se Jos. G. B. <sup>55</sup> Acab B. <sup>56</sup> Joiada B. <sup>57</sup> a add. V. <sup>58</sup> speramini B. <sup>59</sup> dereliquisti B. <sup>60</sup> Esaiæ V. G. B. <sup>61</sup> quod B. <sup>62</sup> prophetæ B. <sup>63</sup> auribus et G. <sup>64</sup> percipe V.

<sup>1</sup> Psal. lv. 21. (liv. 22.) l. V. but, "molli-erunt," or "molli sunt sermones ejus .. et ipsi" &c.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. vi. 14; viii. 11. V.

<sup>3</sup> Esai. xlviii. 22; lvii. 21. l. = Lucif. Cal., Pro S. Athan. l. p. 137 h., and S. Aug. Civ. Dei, XIV. 8. Opp. VII. 356 f, 357 b, &c.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Chr. xv. 2. LXX. G. fere = S. Aug. De Grat. Opp. X. 723 f.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Chr. xix. 2. LXX. G. = S. Aug. Cont. Parmen. II. Opp. IX. 51 a.

<sup>6</sup> Psal. xcvi. 10. (xcvi. 10.) V. but = Lucif. Cal., Pro S. Athan. l. p. 133 c.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Chr. xxi. 12-14. LXX. G. but "et filios tuos," from Hebr.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Chron. xxi. 15. LXX. G.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Chron. xxiv. 20. LXX. G.

<sup>10</sup> Esai. i. 2, 3. V. "percipe."

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trivi et exaltavi, ipsi autem spreverunt Me. Cognovit bos possessorem suum, et asinus præsepe domini sui, Israel autem Me non cognovit, et populus Meus non intellexit.' [Et post pauca minas meritas tantæ insipientiæ aptans; 'd Derelinquetur,' inquit, 'filia Syon ut tabernaculum in vinea, et sicut tugurium in cucumerario, sicut civitas quæ <sup>a</sup> vastatur.' Et principes specialiter conveniens ait: 'e Audite verbum Domini, principes Sodomorum; percipite legem Domini, populus Gomorrhæ.' Notandum sane, quod iniqui reges principes Sodomorum vocentur. Prohibens namque Dominus sacrificia et dona <sup>b</sup> Sibi a talibus offerri,—et nos inhiantes suscipimus quæ Deo ab omni natione sunt non placita, eademque egenis et pene nihil habentibus distribui in perniciem nostram non sinimus,—cum latis <sup>c</sup> divitiis oneratis, sordibus peccatorum intentis ait: 'f Ne afferatis ultra sacrificium frustra; incensum abominatio est Mihi.' Itemque denunciat: 'g Et cum extenderitis manus vestras, avertam oculos Meos a vobis, et cum multiplicaveritis orationem, non exaudiam.' Et hoc quare facit ostendit: 'Manus,' inquit, 'vestræ <sup>d</sup> sanguine plenæ sunt.' Simulque ostendens quomodo placetur ait: 'h Lavamini, mundi estote, auferte malum cogitationum vestrarum ab oculis Meis, quiescite agere perverse, discite benefacere, quærite iudicium, subvenite oppresso, iudicate pupillo.' Quasi <sup>e</sup> placoris vicissitudinem adjungens ait: 'i Si fuerint peccata vestra ut coccinum, quasi nix dealbabuntur; et si fuerint rubra quasi vermiculus, velut lana alba erunt. Si volueritis et audieritis Me, bona terræ manducabitis. Quod si <sup>f</sup> nolueritis et Me provocaveritis ad iracundiam, gladius devorabit vos.' Accipite veracem publicumque adstipulatorem, boni malique vestri <sup>g</sup> retributionem absque ullo adulationis fuco, non ut parasitorum venerata vestrorum venena in aures sibilant ora, testantem. Itemque ad rapaces iudices sententiam dirigens ita affatur: 'h Principes tui infideles, socii furum, omnes diligunt munera, sectantur retributiones, pupillo non judicant, causa viduæ non ingreditur ad eos. Propter <sup>i</sup> hoc ait Dominus exercituum fortis Israel: Heu consolabor super hostibus Meis, et vindicabor de inimicis Meis.' 'Et <sup>j</sup> conterentur scelerati et peccatores simul, et omnes qui dereliquerunt Dominum consumentur.'

<sup>a</sup> vocatur B.      <sup>b</sup> a talibus sibi B.      <sup>c</sup> dicis B.      <sup>d</sup> plen. sang. B.      <sup>e</sup> prelatoris B.  
<sup>f</sup> volueritis B.      <sup>g</sup> retributione B.      <sup>h</sup> hec B.      <sup>i</sup> convertentur B.

<sup>d</sup> Esai. i. 8. V. but "umbraculum" for "tabernaculum," and, "et sicut civitas."

<sup>e</sup> Esai. i. 10. V. "auribus legem Dei nostri."

<sup>f</sup> Esai. i. 13. V. but "afferatis" = I.

<sup>g</sup> Esai. i. 15. V.

<sup>h</sup> Esai. i. 16, 17. V.

<sup>i</sup> Esai. i. 18–20. V. but "manducabitis" from I.

<sup>j</sup> Esai. i. 23, 24, 28. V. but "sequuntur... et causa... Dominus Deus... conteret scelestos... simul, et qui."

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Et infra: '¹ Oculi ² sublimis hominis humiliabuntur, et ³ incurvavit altitudo virorum.' Et iterum: '⁴ Væ impio in malum, retributio enim manuum ejus fiet ei.' Et post pauca: '⁵ Væ qui consurgitis mane ad ebrietatem ⁶ sectandam, et ad potandum usque ad vesperam ut vino æstuetis. Cithara, et lyra, et tympanum, et tibia, et vinum in conviviis vestris; et opus Domini non respicitis, et opera manuum Ejus non consideratis. Propterea captivus ⁷ ductus est populus Meus, quia non habuit scientiam, et nobiles ejus interierunt fame, et multitudo ejus ⁸ siti exaruit. Propterea dilatavit infernus animam suam, et aperuit os suum absque ullo termino, et ⁹ descendant fortes ejus, et ¹⁰ populus ejus, et sublimes gloriosique ejus ad eum.' Et infra: '¹¹ Væ qui potentes estis ad bibendum vinum, et viri fortes ad miscendam ebrietatem, qui justificatis impium pro muneribus, et justitiam justi aufertis ab eo. Propter hoc sicut devorat stipulam lingua ignis, et calor flammæ exurit; ¹² sic radix eorum quasi favilla erit, et germen eorum ¹³ ut pulvis ascendet. Abjecerunt enim legem Domini exercituum, et eloquium Sancti Israel despexerunt.' 'In omnibus his non est ¹⁴ aversus furor Domini, sed adhuc manus Ejus extenta.' Et post aliquanta, de die judicii et peccatorum ineffabili metu disceptans ait: '¹⁵ Ululate quia prope est dies Domini: si tunc prope erat, quid nunc putabitur? ¹⁶ quia ¹⁷ vastitas a Deo veniet'. Propter hoc omnes manus dissolventur, et omne cor hominis tabescet et conteretur, tortiones et dolores tenebunt, quasi parturiens dolebunt. Unusquisque ad proximum suum stupebit; facies combustæ vultus ¹⁸ illorum. Ecce dies Domini veniet crudelis et indignationis plenus, et iræ furorisque, ad ponendam ¹⁹ terram in solitudinem, et peccatores ejus ²⁰ conterendos de ea; ²¹ quoniam stellæ cœli et splendor earum non expandent lumen suum, obtenebrabitur ²² sol in ortu suo, et luna non splendeat in tempore suo; et visitabo super orbis mala, et contra impios iniquitatem ipsorum, et quiescere faciam superbiam infidelium, et arrogantiam fortium humiliabo.' Et iterum: '²³ Ecce Dominus dissipabit terram, et nudabit eam, et affliget faciem ejus, et disperget habitatores ejus, et erit sicut populus sic sacerdos, et sicut servus sic dominus ejus, sicut ancilla sic domina ejus, sicut emens sic ille

² deest B.    ⁴ so in Jos. G.B.    ⁶ sectandum B.    ⁸ deest B.    ¹⁰ deest B.    ¹² de-  
scenderunt B.    ¹³ populi B.    ¹⁴ si B.    ¹⁵ quasi B.    ¹⁶ adversus B.    ¹⁷ vastita a Deo  
venietur B.    ¹⁸ eorum B.    ¹⁹ deest B.    ²⁰ convertendos B.    ²¹ quo B.    ²² deest B.

¹ Esai. ii. 11. V. "sublimes .. humiliati sunt .. incurvabitur."    ² Esai. iii. 11. V.

³ Esai. v. 11-14. V. "et potandum .. nec opera m. E. consideratis."

⁴ Esai. v. 22-25. V. "Israel blasphemaverunt."

⁵ Esai. xiii. 6-11. V. but "quasi vastitas a Domino .. contabescet .. vultus eorum .. obtenebratus est .. splendeat in lumine suo .. iniquitatem eorum."

⁶ Esai. xxiv. 1-6. V. "is qui mutuum."



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qui vendit, sicut foenerator sic ille qui <sup>76</sup>mutuum accipit, sicut qui repetit sic qui debet. Dissipatione dissipabitur terra, et direptione prædabitur. Dominus enim locutus est verbum hoc: Luxit et defluxit terra, <sup>77</sup>'defluxit orbis, infirmata est' <sup>78</sup>'ab habitatoribus suis, quia transgressi sunt leges, mutaverunt jus, dissipaverunt foedus sempiternum. Propter hoc maledictio vorabit terram.' Et infra: <sup>79</sup>'<sup>80</sup>Ingemiscunt omnes qui lætantur corde, cessavit gaudium tympanorum, quiescet sonitus lætantium, <sup>81</sup>conticescet dulcedo citharæ, cum cantico non bibent vinum, amara erit potio bibentibus illam. Attrita est civitas vanitatis, clausa est omnis domus nullo introeunte. Clamor erit super vino in plateis, deserta est omnis lætitia, translatum est gaudium terræ, relictæ est in urbe solitudo, et calamitas opprimet portas; quia hæc erunt in medio terræ et in medio populorum.' Et post pauca: <sup>82</sup>'Prævaricantes prævaricati <sup>83</sup>sunt, et prævaricatione transgressorum prævaricati' sunt. Formido, et foveæ, et laqueus super te qui habitator es terræ. Et erit, qui fugerit a voce formidinis, cadet in foveam, et qui se explicuerit de fovea, tenebitur laqueo: quia cataractæ de <sup>84</sup>excelsis apertæ erunt, et <sup>85</sup>concutientur fundamenta terræ. Confractioe confringetur terra, <sup>86</sup>'commotione commovebitur,' <sup>87</sup>'agitatione agitabitur' <sup>88</sup>'sicut ebrius, et auferetur quasi tabernaculum unius noctis, et gravabit eam iniquitas <sup>89</sup>sua, et corruet, et non <sup>90</sup>adijiciet ut resurgat. Et erit, in die illa visitabit Dominus super militiam cœli in excelso, et super reges terræ qui sunt super terram, et <sup>91</sup>congregabuntur in' congregationem unius fascis in lacum, et claudentur ibi in carcerem, et post multos dies visitabuntur. Et erubescet luna, et confundetur sol, cum regnaverit Dominus exercituum in monte <sup>92</sup>Syon et in Jerusalem, et <sup>93</sup>in conspectu' senum Suorum fuerit glorificatus.' Et post aliquanta, rationem reddens quamobrem talia <sup>94</sup>minaretur, ita ait: <sup>95</sup>'Ecce non est abbreviata manus Domini ut salvare nequeat, neque aggravata est auris Ejus ut non exaudiat. Sed iniquitates vestræ diviserunt inter vos et Deum vestrum, et peccata vestra absconderunt faciem Ejus a vobis ne exaudiret. Manus enim vestræ pollutæ sunt sanguine, et digiti vestri iniquitate: labia vestra locuta sunt mendacium, et lingua vestra

<sup>76</sup> accipit mutuum B.    <sup>77</sup> so G. ingemiscunt Joss. B.    <sup>78</sup> so Joss. G.B.    <sup>79</sup> conticescet G.  
<sup>80</sup> derant B.    <sup>81</sup> excelsus B.    <sup>82</sup> confundentur B.    <sup>83</sup> deest B.    <sup>84</sup> adiciet B.  
<sup>85</sup> congreg. in bis B.    <sup>86</sup> Sion G.B.    <sup>87</sup> conspectum B.    <sup>88</sup> miri add. B.

<sup>95</sup> Esai. xxiv. 7-13. V. but, "ingemuerunt .. lætabantur .. quievit .. conticuit .. terræ in."

<sup>96</sup> Esai. xxiv. 16-23. V. but, "et fovea, .. ex-

plicaverit, .. apertæ sunt .. in carcere."

<sup>97</sup> Esai. lix. 1-4. V. but, "invocet .. nihilo .. conceperunt laborem."

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iniquitatem fatur. Non est qui vocet justitiam, neque est qui judicet vere, sed confidunt in nihil, et loquuntur vanitates, et conceperunt dolorem, et <sup>10</sup>pepererunt iniquitatem.' <sup>11</sup>Et infra: <sup>12</sup>"Opera eorum inutilia, et opus iniquitatis in manibus eorum. <sup>13</sup>Pedes eorum in malum currunt, et festinant ut effundant sanguinem innocentem. Cogitationes eorum cogitationes inutiles, vastitas et contritio in viis eorum,' et <sup>14</sup>"viam pacis non cognoverunt, et non est iudicium in gressibus eorum. Semitæ <sup>15</sup>"eorum incurvatæ sunt eis; omnis qui calcatur in eis, ignorat pacem. Propter hoc elongatum est iudicium a vobis, et non apprehendit vos justitia.' Et post pauca: <sup>16</sup>"Et conversum est retrorsum iudicium, et justitia longe stetit, quia corrui in platea veritas, et æquitas non potuit ingredi. Et facta est veritas in oblivione, et qui recessit a malo, prædæ patuit. Et vidit Dominus et non placuit in oculis Ejus, quia non est iudicium.' Hucusque Esaiæ Prophetæ pauca de multis dixisse sufficiat.] Nunc vero illum, qui priusquam

<sup>17</sup>formaretur in utero præscitus, et priusquam exiret de vulva sancti Jeremias. ficatus et in cunctis gentibus Propheta positus est, Jeremiam scilicet, quid de populo insipiente rigidisque regibus pronuntiaverit, parumper attendentes audite, hoc modo leniter verba initiantem: <sup>18</sup>'Et factum est <sup>19</sup>verbum Domini ad me dicens; Vade et clama in auribus Jerusalem,' et dices: <sup>20</sup>'Audite verbum Domini domus Jacob, et omnes cognationes domus Israel. Hæc dicit Dominus: Quid invenerunt <sup>21</sup>"in Me patres vestri <sup>22</sup>"iniquitatis, qui elongati sunt a Me, et ambulaverunt post vanitatem, et vani facti sunt, et non dixerunt, Ubi est Qui ascendere nos fecit de terra Ægypti?' [Et post pauca: <sup>23</sup>"A seculo confregisti jugum Meum, rupisti vincula Mea, dixisti non serviam.' <sup>24</sup>'Ego plantavi te vineam electam, omne semen verum. <sup>25</sup>"Quomodo ergo conversa es in pravum vinea aliena? Si laveris te nitro et multiplicaveris tibi herbam borith, maculata es iniquitate tua coram Me, dicit Dominus.' Et infra: <sup>26</sup>"Quid <sup>27</sup>"vultis Mecum' iudicio contendere? Omnes Me dereliquistis, dicit Dominus. Frustra percussi filios vestros, disciplinam non receperunt.' <sup>28</sup>'Audite verbum Domini: Nunquid solitudo factus sum Israel, aut terra serotina? Quare ergo dixit populus Meus, Recessimus, non veniemus ultra ad

<sup>10</sup> pepererunt B. <sup>11</sup> deperit B. <sup>12</sup> et add. B. <sup>13</sup> igitur B. <sup>14</sup> conciperetur B.  
<sup>15</sup> deest B. <sup>16</sup> deest B. <sup>17</sup> iniquitates G. <sup>18</sup> Quo B. <sup>19</sup> Mecum vultis B.

<sup>1</sup> Esai. lix. 6-9. V. but, "ad malum .. pacis nescierunt .. a nobis .. apprehendet nos."

<sup>2</sup> Esai. lix. 14, 15. V. but, "in oblivionem .. et malum apparuit in oculis."

<sup>3</sup> Jer. ii. 1, 2, 4-6. V. but, "quia elongave-

runt .. ubi est Dominus."

<sup>4</sup> Jer. ii. 20-22. V. but, "et dixisti .. conversa es Mihi .. in iniquitate."

<sup>5</sup> Jer. ii. 29-32. V. but, "Videte verbum .. Israeli .. obliviscetur .. oblitus est Mei."

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Te? Nunquid obliviscitur virgo ornamenti sui, aut sponsa <sup>88</sup> fasciæ pectoralis suæ? Populus vero Meus oblitus est Me diebus innumeris.<sup>89</sup> <sup>89</sup> Quia stultus est populus Meus, Me non cognovit: <sup>90</sup> filii insipientes sunt, et vecordes: sapientes sunt ut faciant mala, bene autem facere nescierunt.<sup>91</sup> Tum Propheta ex sua persona loquitur dicens: <sup>92</sup> Domine oculi Tui respiciunt fidem; percussisti eos et non doluerunt, attrivisti eos et renuerunt accipere disciplinam; induraverunt facies suas super petram, et noluerunt reverti.<sup>93</sup> Itemque Dominus: <sup>94</sup> Annunciate hoc domui Jacob, et auditum facite in Juda dicentes: Audi popule stulte qui non habes cor, qui habentes oculos non videtis, et aures et non auditis. Me <sup>95</sup> ergo non timebitis, ait Dominus, et a facie Mea non dolebitis, Qui posui <sup>96</sup> arenam terminum mari, præceptum <sup>97</sup> sempiternum quod non præteribit; et commovebuntur et non <sup>98</sup> poterunt, intumescunt fluctus ejus, et non transibunt illud. Populo autem huic factum est cor incredulum et exasperans, recesserunt et abierunt, et non dixerunt in corde suo, Metuamus Dominum Deum nostrum.<sup>99</sup> Et iterum: <sup>100</sup> Quia inventi sunt in populo Meo impii insidiantes quasi aucupes, laqueos ponentes et pedicas ad capiendos viros. Sicut decipula plena avibus, sic domus eorum plenæ dolo: ideo magnificati sunt et ditati, <sup>101</sup> incrassati sunt et impinguati<sup>102</sup>, et præterierunt sermones Meos pessime,<sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> causam pupilli non dixerunt, et iudicium pauperum non judicaverunt. Nunquid super his non <sup>105</sup> visitabo? dicit Dominus: aut super gentem huiusmodi non ulciscetur anima Mea?<sup>106</sup> Sed absit ut vobis <sup>107</sup> eveniat quod <sup>108</sup> sequitur: <sup>109</sup> Loquere ad eos omnia verba hæc et non audient te, et vocabis eos et non respondebunt tibi, et dices ad eos: Hæc est gens, quæ non audit vocem Domini Dei sui, nec recipit disciplinam; periit fides, et <sup>110</sup> ablata est de ore eorum.<sup>111</sup> Et post aliquanta: <sup>112</sup> Nunquid qui cadit non resurgit, et qui <sup>113</sup> aversus est non revertetur? Quare ergo aversus est populus iste in Jerusalem aversione contentiosa? Apprehenderunt <sup>114</sup> mendatium, et noluerunt reverti. Attendi et <sup>115</sup> auscultavi: nemo quod bonum est loquitur; <sup>116</sup> nullus est qui agat poenitentiam <sup>117</sup> super peccato suo, dicens, Quid feci? <sup>118</sup> Omnes conversi sunt ad cursum suum, quasi equus impetu vadens in prælium. Milvus

<sup>88</sup> fasciæ G.    <sup>89</sup> filii B.    <sup>90</sup> autem B.    <sup>91</sup> arenam B.    <sup>92</sup> deest B.    <sup>93</sup> so B. potuerunt Joss. G.    <sup>94</sup> et crassati B.    <sup>95</sup> sunt add. B.    <sup>96</sup> iudicabo B.    <sup>97</sup> eveniet B.    <sup>98</sup> subsequitur B.    <sup>99</sup> oblacio B.    <sup>100</sup> adversus B.    <sup>101</sup> mendacium G.B.    <sup>102</sup> auscultavi B.    <sup>103</sup> nemo B.    <sup>104</sup> suam add. B.    <sup>105</sup> peccavi add. B.

<sup>b</sup> Jer. iv. 22. V. "stultus populus."

<sup>c</sup> Jer. v. 3. V. "supra."

<sup>d</sup> Jer. v. 20-24. V. "et intumescunt."

<sup>e</sup> Jer. v. 26-29. V. "pupilli non direxerunt."

<sup>f</sup> Jer. vii. 27, 28. V. "Loqueris...recepit."

<sup>g</sup> Jer. viii. 4-7. V. "resurget...ad prælium...autem Meus...Domini."

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in cœlo cognovit tempus suum, turtur et hirundo et ciconia custodierunt <sup>16</sup> tempus adventus sui, populus Meus non cognovit <sup>17</sup> iudicium Dei. Et <sup>18</sup> tam vehementi sacrilegiorum cæcitate et ineffabili ebrietate Propheta <sup>19</sup> conterritus, et deflens eos qui seipsos non deflebant, ut et nunc infelices tyranni agunt, optat sibi auctionem fletuum a Domino concedi, hoc modo dicens: <sup>20</sup> Super contritione filię populi mei contritus sum: <sup>21</sup> stupor obtinuit me. <sup>22</sup> Nunquid resina non est in Galaad, aut medicus non est ibi? Quare ergo non obducta est cicatrix filię populi mei? <sup>23</sup> Quis dabit <sup>24</sup> capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem lachrymarum, et plorabo die et nocte interfectos populi mei? Quis dabit mihi in solitudine <sup>25</sup> diversorium viatorum, et derelinquam populum meum, et recedam ab eis, <sup>26</sup> quia omnes adulteri sunt, cœtus prævaricatorum? Et extenderunt <sup>27</sup> linguam suam quasi arcum mendacii et non veritatis: confortati sunt in terra, quia de malo ad malum egressi sunt, et Me non cognoverunt dicit Dominus. Et iterum: <sup>28</sup> Et dixit Dominus: Quia dereliquerunt legem Meam quam dedi eis, et non audierunt vocem Meam, et non ambulaverunt in ea; et abierunt post pravitatem cordis sui: <sup>29</sup> idcirco hæc dicit Dominus exercituum Deus Israel: <sup>30</sup> Ecce Ego cibabo populum istum absynthio, et potum dabo eis aquam fellis. Et post pauca, quod etiam crebrius stylo Propheta adjunxit, dicens ex persona Dei: <sup>31</sup> Tu <sup>32</sup> ergo noli orare pro populo hoc, et ne assumes pro eis laudem et orationem, quia non exaudiam in tempore clamoris eorum ad Me, et afflictionis eorum. Quid ergo nunc infausti duces facient? Illi pauci <sup>33</sup> invenientes viam angustam, amota spaciosa, prohibiti a Deo ne preces pro vobis fundant perseverantibus in malis, et tantopere incitantibus; <sup>34</sup> queis e contrario ex corde ad Deum repedantibus, Deo nolente animam hominis interire, sed retractante, ne penitus pereat qui abjectus est, vindictam non potuissent inducere, quia nec Jonas, et quidem cum multum concupiverit, <sup>35</sup> Ninivitis Propheta. Sed omissis interim nostris, audiamus potius quid prophetica tuba persultet: <sup>36</sup> Quod si dixeris, inquit, in corde tuo, Quare venerunt mala hæc? Propter multitudinem iniquitatis tuæ. Si mutare potest Æthiops pellem suam, aut pardus varietates suas, et vos poteritis benefacere, cum <sup>37</sup> didiceritis malum;

<sup>16</sup> adv. sui tempus B. <sup>17</sup> deest B. <sup>18</sup> cum B. <sup>19</sup> contritus B. <sup>20</sup> nun *erased in* B. <sup>21</sup> deest B. <sup>22</sup> diverso B. <sup>23</sup> qñ B. <sup>24</sup> arcum suum B. <sup>25</sup> Ego B. <sup>26</sup> noli ergo B. <sup>27</sup> vivente B. <sup>28</sup> quis B. <sup>29</sup> Ninevetis B. <sup>30</sup> sic G.B. didiceritis Joss.

<sup>31</sup> Jer. viii. 21, 22. V. "quare igitur."

<sup>32</sup> Jer. ix. 1-3. V. "ac nocte . . filię populi mei . . dabit Me."

<sup>33</sup> Jer. ix. 13-15. V.

<sup>34</sup> Jer. xi. 14. V. "Me in tempore afflict."

<sup>35</sup> Jer. xiii. 22, 23. V. "venerunt mihi hæc."

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subauditur, quia non vultis. Et infra: “<sup>n</sup>Hæc dicit Dominus populo huic: qui dilexit movere pedes suos et non quievit, et Domino <sup>30</sup> non placuit: nunc recordabitur iniquitatum eorum, et visitabit peccata eorum. Et dixit Dominus <sup>31</sup> ad me: Noli orare pro populo isto in bonum. Cum jejunaverint, non exaudiam preces eorum: et si obtulerint holocausta et victimas, non suscipiam ea.’ Et iterum: “<sup>o</sup>Et dixit Dominus’ ad me: Si steterit Moyses et Samuel coram Me, non est anima Mea ad populum istum: <sup>32</sup> ejice illos a facie Mea et egrediantur.’ Et post pauca: “<sup>p</sup>Quis <sup>33</sup> miserebitur tui Jerusalem, aut quis contristabitur pro te, aut quis ibit ad rogandum pro pace tua? Tu reliquisti Me, dicit Dominus, et retrorsum <sup>34</sup> abiisti; et extendam manum Meam super te, et interficiam te.’ Et post aliquanta: “<sup>q</sup>Hæc dicit Dominus: Ecce Ego fingo contra vos’ cogitationem: revertatur unusquisque a via sua mala, et dirigite vias vestras et studia vestra. Qui dixerunt: Desperamus; post cogitationes nostras ibimus, et unusquisque pravitatem cordis sui mali faciemus. Ideo hæc dicit Dominus: Interrogate gentes, quis audivit talia horribilia quæ fecit nimis virgo Israel? Nunquid deficiet de petra agri nix <sup>35</sup> Libani, aut velli possunt aquæ erumpentes frigidæ defluentes? quia oblitus est Me populus Meus.’ Et post aliquanta, optione proposita loquitur dicens: “<sup>r</sup>Hæc dicit Dominus: Facite judicium et justitiam, et <sup>36</sup> liberate vi <sup>37</sup> oppressum de manu’ <sup>38</sup> calumniatoris, et advenam et pupillum et viduam nolite contristare, neque opprimatis inique, et sanguinem innocentem ne effundatis.’ ‘Si enim facientes feceritis verbum istud, ingredientur per portas domus hujus reges sedentes de genere David super <sup>39</sup> thronum ejus.’ ‘Quod si non audieritis verba hæc, <sup>40</sup> in Memetipso juravi, dicit Dominus, quia in solitudinem erit domus hæc.’ Et iterum, de rege enim scelesto loquebatur: “<sup>s</sup>Vivo Ego dicit Dominus, quia si fuerit Jechonias’ ‘annulus in manu dextra Mea, inde evellam eum et dabo in

Abacuc. manu quærentium animam ejus.] Sanctus quoque <sup>41</sup> Abacuc proclamat dicens: “<sup>t</sup>Væ qui ædificant civitatem in sanguine, et præparant civitatem <sup>42</sup> in iniquitatibus, dicentes: Nonne hæc sunt a Domino omnipotente? Et defecerunt populi multi in igne, et gentes

<sup>30</sup> suo add. B.    <sup>31</sup> desunt B.    <sup>32</sup> ejice B.    <sup>33</sup> miserebitur B.    <sup>34</sup> abiisti B.    <sup>35</sup> libani B.    <sup>36</sup> liberati B.    <sup>37</sup> desunt B.    <sup>38</sup> calumniatores B.    <sup>39</sup> thronum B.    <sup>40</sup> inveniet ipso B.    <sup>41</sup> Abacuc B.    <sup>42</sup> deest B.

<sup>n</sup> Jer. xiv. 10-12. V. “holocaustomata.”

<sup>o</sup> Jer. xv. 1. V.

<sup>p</sup> Jer. xv. 5, 6. V. “Quis enim .. Dom. retrorsum.”

<sup>q</sup> Jer. xviii. 11-15. V. “Desperavimus .. enim

nostras .. evelli .. et defluentes .. oblitus est Mei.”

<sup>r</sup> Jer. xxii. 3-5. V.

<sup>s</sup> Jer. xxii. 24, 25. V.

<sup>t</sup> Abacuc ii. 12. LXX. (= neither Vatic. nor Alex. MS.) G.

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multæ minoratæ sunt.' Et ita prophetiam quærusulus incipit: 'Usquequo clamabo et non exaudies? vociferabor ad Te.' 'Ut quid mihi dedisti labores et dolores inspicere, miseriam et impietatem? [<sup>a</sup> Contra et factum est iudicium, et iudex accepit. Propter hoc dissipata est lex, et non perducitur ad finem iudicium: quia impius per potentiam deprimit justum. Propter hoc exiit iudicium perversum.] Sed et beatus

Osee. Osee Propheta, attendite quid loquatur de principibus, dicens: 'Pro eo quod <sup>a</sup>transgressi sunt pactum Meum, et adversus legem Meam tulerunt, et exclamabant: Cognovimus Te, quia adversum sis Israel. Bonum ut iniquum persecuti sunt. <sup>a</sup>Sibi regnaverunt, et non per Me: tenuerunt principatum, "nec Me agnoverunt.'" Sed et

Amos. sanctum <sup>a</sup>Amos Prophetam hoc modo minantem "audite: 'In tribus impietatibus filiorum Juda, et in quatuor non avertam eos, propter quod repulerunt legem Domini, et præcepta non custodierunt, sed seduxerunt <sup>a</sup>eos vana eorum.' 'Et emittam ignem super Judam, et comedet fundamenta Jerusalem. <sup>b</sup>Hæc dicit Dominus: In tribus impietatibus Israel, et in quatuor non avertam eos, propter quod tradiderunt <sup>a</sup>pecunia <sup>a</sup>justum, et pauperem pro calciamentis, quæ calciant super pulverem terræ, et colaphis cædebant capita pauperum, et viam humilium declinaverunt.' [Et post pauca: 'Quærite Dominum et <sup>a</sup>vivetis, ut non reluceat sicut ignis domus Joseph, et comedat eam, nec erit qui extinguat domus Israel.' <sup>d</sup>Odio habuerunt in portis redarguentem, et verbum justum abominati sunt.' Qui Amos prohibitus ne prophetaret in Israel, absque adulationis <sup>a</sup>tepore respondens: 'Non eram,' inquit, 'ego Propheta nec filius Prophetæ, sed eram pastor caprarius vellicans sycomoros, et suscepit me Dominus ab ovibus, et dixit Dominus ad me: Vade et prophetiza in plebem Meam Israel, et nunc audi verbum Domini,' regem namque alloquebatur: 'Tu dicis, noli prophetare in Israel, et non congreges turbas in domum Jacob. Propter quod hæc dicit Dominus: Uxor tua in civitate meretricabitur, et filii tui et filiz tuæ gladio cadent, et terra tua funiculo metietur, et tu in terra immunda morieris; Israel autem

<sup>a</sup> transgressus B.<sup>a</sup> nec Me cognoverunt V. nec agnoverunt B.<sup>a</sup> Annos B.<sup>a</sup> attendite B.<sup>a</sup> decet B.<sup>a</sup> pecuniam B.<sup>a</sup> in add. B.<sup>a</sup> invenietis B.<sup>a</sup> tempore B.<sup>a</sup> Abacuc i. 2, 3. LXX. G.<sup>a</sup> Abacuc i. 3, 4. LXX. G. partim = Lucif. Cal., Pro S. Athan. l. p. 135 e.<sup>a</sup> Osee viii. 1-3. G. corresponding with neither Hebr., LXX., nor Vulg.<sup>a</sup> Osee viii. 4. LXX. G.<sup>a</sup> Amos ii. 4, 5. LXX. G. MS. Vatic. but "avertam eos." MS. Alex.<sup>b</sup> Amos ii. 6, 7. LXX. G.<sup>c</sup> Amos v. 6. LXX. G. MS. Vatic.<sup>d</sup> Amos v. 10. LXX. G.<sup>e</sup> Amos vii. 14-17. LXX. G.

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captivus ducetur a terra sua.' Et infra: 'fAudite itaque hæc, qui contribulatis <sup>63</sup>immane pauperem, et dominationem exercetis in inopes super terram; qui dicitis, Quando transibit mensis ut acquiramus, et sabbata ut <sup>64</sup>aperiamus thesauros.' Et post pauca: 'eJurat Dominus <sup>65</sup>contra superbiam Jacob, si <sup>66</sup>obliviscetur in contemptione opera vestra, et in his non conturbabitur terra, et lugebit omnis qui commorabitur in ea, et ascendet sicut flumen consummatio.' <sup>67</sup>et convertam dies festos vestros in luctum,' <sup>68</sup>et <sup>69</sup>inijciam in omnem lumbum cilicium, et in omne caput decalvationem, et ponam eum sicut luctum dilecti, et <sup>70</sup>eos, qui cum eo sunt, sicut diem mœroris.' Et iterum: 'iGladio morientur omnes peccatores populi Mei, qui dicunt: Non appropinquabunt

Micheas. neque venient super <sup>71</sup>nos mala.] Sed et sanctus Micheas vates, attendite quid sit effatus: 'iAudi,' inquit, 'tribus. Et quid exornabit civitatem? nunquid ignis, et domus iniquorum thesaurizans in thesauros iniquos, et cum injuria injustitiam? Si justificabitur in statera iniquus, et in <sup>72</sup>sacello pondera dolosa, ex quibus divitias suas

Sophonias. in impietate repleverunt.' Sed et Sophonias Propheta clarus, <sup>73</sup>quas minas exaggerat, audite: 'kPrope est,' inquit, 'dies Domini magnus, prope et velox valde. Vox <sup>74</sup>diei Domini amara constituta est et potens, dies iræ dies ille, dies tribulationis et necessitatis, dies nubis et nebulæ, dies tubæ et clamoris, dies miseræ et exterminationis, dies tenebrarum et caliginis, super civitates firmas [et super angulos excelsos. Et contribulabo homines, et ibunt sicut cæci, quia Domino peccaverunt, et effundam sanguinem sicut pulverem, et carnes eorum sicut fimum <sup>75</sup>boum, et argentum eorum et aurum non poterit eximere eos in die iræ Domini. Et in igne zeli Ejus consumetur omnis terra, quando consummationem et <sup>76</sup>solitudinem faciet Dominus super omnes commorantes <sup>77</sup>in terram. <sup>78</sup>Convenite et conjungimini gens indisciplinata, priusquam efficiamini sicut flos præteriens, priusquam veniat super vos ira Domini.] Et quid

Aggæus. Aggæus sanctus Propheta dicat, attendite: 'mHæc dicit Dominus: Semel Ego movebo cœlum, et terram, et <sup>79</sup>mare, et <sup>80</sup>aridum,'

<sup>73</sup> in mane B. <sup>74</sup> recipiamus B. <sup>75</sup> super B. <sup>76</sup> obliviscetur B. <sup>77</sup> inimicicium B.  
<sup>78</sup> in add. B. <sup>79</sup> vos B. <sup>80</sup> sacello G. <sup>81</sup> qua B. <sup>82</sup> Dei V.B. <sup>83</sup> bovum B.  
<sup>84</sup> desolationem B. <sup>85</sup> super B. <sup>86</sup> desunt B. <sup>87</sup> aridam B.

<sup>1</sup> Amos viii. 4, 5. LXX. MS. Alex. G. "immane" = *els rō pōst*.

<sup>2</sup> Amos viii. 7, 8, 10. LXX. G. "in contemptione" = *els vīkos*.

<sup>3</sup> = S. Cypr., Testim. II. 23. p. 46; and Hen. Hunt. M. H. B. 752.

<sup>4</sup> Amos ix. 10. LXX. G.

<sup>5</sup> Mich. vi. 9-12. LXX. G.: MS. Alex. fere

= S. Hieron. in loc.

<sup>6</sup> Zeph. i. 14-18. LXX. G. but the clauses differently arranged; and in ver. 18, for "quando," and "solitudinem," LXX. has "διότι .. σπουδῆν," and Vulg. "quia .. cum festinatione."

<sup>7</sup> Zeph. ii. 1, 2. LXX. G.

<sup>8</sup> Agg. ii. 6 (7). LXX. G.

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“et avertam <sup>66</sup>regnum, et exterminabo virtutem regum gentium, et Zacharias. avertam quadrigas et ascensores.’ Nunc quoque quid Zacharias filius Addo <sup>67</sup>Propheta electus dixerit, intuemini, hoc modo prophetiam suam exordiens: ‘<sup>68</sup>Revertimini ad Me, et revertar ad vos, dicit Dominus: et nolite tales esse sicut patres vestri, quibus impu- taverunt Prophetæ priores dicentes: Hæc dicit Dominus omni- potens: Avertite vos a viis vestris.’ ‘et non intenderunt ut <sup>69</sup>obaudi- rent Me.’ [Et infra: ‘<sup>70</sup>Et dixit ad me’ Angelus: ‘Quid tu vides? Et dixi: Falcem <sup>71</sup>ego video volantem longitudinis cubitorum viginti.’ ‘Maledictio quæ procedit super faciem totius terræ: quoniam omnis fur ex ea usque ad mortem punietur,’ ‘et projiciam eum <sup>72</sup>dicit Domi- nus omnipotens, et intrabit in domum <sup>73</sup>furoris, et in domum’ <sup>74</sup>juratio

<sup>75</sup>Malachias. nis in nomine Meo mendacium.]] Sanctus quoque Mala- chias Propheta dicit: ‘<sup>76</sup>Ecce dies Domini veniet succensa quasi cami- nus, et erunt omnes superbi, et omnes facientes iniquitatem <sup>77</sup>ut sti- pula, et inflammabit eos dies adveniens, <sup>78</sup>Dominus exercituum, quæ non Job. relinquet ex eis radicem et germen.’ Sed et sanctus Job,

attendite quid de <sup>79</sup>principio impiorum’ et fine disceptaverit, dicens: ‘Propter <sup>80</sup>quid impii vivunt, et senuerunt <sup>81</sup>in honeste: et semen eo- rum secundum desiderium eorum, et filii eorum ante conspectum eorum, et domus eorum fructuosæ <sup>82</sup>sunt, et timor nunquam, nec plaga Domini est super eos. Vacca eorum non abortivit, et prægnans eorum per- tulit partum, et non erravit, sed <sup>83</sup>permanet sicut oves æternæ. Et pueri eorum gaudent, et psalterium sumentes et <sup>84</sup>cytharam,’ finierunt in bonis vitam suam, in requiem inferorum dormierunt.’ ‘<sup>85</sup>Nunquid Deus facta impiorum non respicit? Non ergo: sed lucerna im- piorum extinguetur, et superveniet eis eversio, et dolores tanquam parturientis eos ab ira tenebunt. Et erunt sicut palæ a vento, et sicut pulvis, quem abstulit turbo. [Deficiant filiis ejus bona.’ ‘Videant oculi ejus <sup>86</sup>occisionem suam, nec a Domino resalvetur.’ Et post ali- quanta de <sup>87</sup>eisdem: ‘<sup>88</sup>Qui gregem,’ inquit, ‘cum pastore rapuerunt, et

<sup>66</sup> sedes regum V. <sup>67</sup> Zacharia B. <sup>68</sup> obaudiret B. <sup>69</sup> deest B. <sup>70</sup> ait B.  
<sup>71</sup> deest B. <sup>72</sup> et B. <sup>73</sup> dicit add. V. <sup>74</sup> principiorum B. impiorum deest V.  
<sup>75</sup> quod G.B. <sup>76</sup> in honeste B. <sup>77</sup> deest B. <sup>78</sup> non-permanent B. <sup>79</sup> citharam B.  
<sup>80</sup> bona, videant oculi ejus add. G. <sup>81</sup> iisdem G.

<sup>82</sup> Agg. ii. 22 (23). LXX. G. but “avertam” (bis), and “regnum,” correspond neither to Hebr., LXX., nor Vulg.

<sup>83</sup> Zachar. i. 3, 4. LXX. G.

<sup>84</sup> Zachar. v. 2. LXX. G. MS. Vatic.

<sup>85</sup> leg. furis.

<sup>86</sup> leg. jurantis.

<sup>87</sup> Malach. iv. 1. V. but, “dies veniet . . im- pietatem stipula . . veniens . . derelinquet eis.”

<sup>88</sup> Job. xxi. 7-13. LXX. (part. MS. Vatic., part. MS. Alex.) G. but “permanet” = μένουσι.

<sup>89</sup> in honestate? ἐν πλοῦτι LXX.

<sup>90</sup> Job. xxi. 16-20. LXX. G.

<sup>91</sup> Job. xxiv. 2-4, 6, 7. LXX. MS. Vatic. G. fere = MS. Maj. Mon. of I. but “via necessitatis” = ὁδὸς δικαίας, and “potentium” = ἀσθενῶν.



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jumentum orphanorum abduxerunt, et bovem viduæ <sup>88</sup> pignoraverunt, <sup>89</sup> et declinaverunt imponentes a via' necessitatis.' 'Agrum ante tempus non suum demessi sunt, pauperes potentium vineas sine mercede et sine cibo operati sunt, nudos multos dormire fecerunt sine vestimentis, tegmen animæ eorum abstulerunt.' Et post pauca, 'Cum ergo sciret eorum opera, tradidit eos in tenebras.' 'maledicatur ergo pars ejus a terra, <sup>90</sup> pariant plantationes ejus aridæ.' 'Retribuatur ergo illi sicut egit, contribuletur omnis iniquus sicut lignum sine sanitate.' 'In iracundia enim surgens impotentem evertit. Propterea enim non credet de vita sua; cum infirmari cœperit, non speret sanitatem, sed cadet in languorem. Multos enim læsit superbia ejus, et marcidus factus est sicut malva in æstu, velut spica cum de <sup>91</sup> stipula sua <sup>92</sup> cecidit.' Et infra: 'Quod si multi <sup>93</sup> fuerint filii ejus, in occisionem erunt.' 'Quod et si <sup>94</sup> collegerit ut terram argentum, et similiter ut lutum <sup>95</sup> præparaverit aurum: hæc omnia justi consequuntur.']

<sup>2</sup> Esdras. Quid præterea beatus Esdras Propheta ille bibliotheca legis minatus sit attendite, hoc modo disceptans: 'Hæc dicit Dominus meus: Non <sup>96</sup> parcat dextera Mea super peccantes, nec cessabit romphæa super effundentes sanguinem innocuum super terram. Exhibit ignis ab ira Mea, et devorabit fundamenta terræ et peccatores quasi stramen incensum. Væ eis qui peccant, et non observant mandata Mea, dicit Dominus, non parcam illis. Discedite filii <sup>97</sup> apostatæ, et nolite contaminare sanctificationem Meam. Novit Deus qui <sup>98</sup> peccant in Eum, propterea tradet eos in mortem, et in occisionem. Jam enim venerunt super orbem terrarum mala' multa. 'Immissus est gladius vobis ignis, et quis est qui recutiet ea? [Nunquid recutiet aliquis leonem esurientem in silva? aut nunquid extinguet ignem cum stramen incensum fuerit?]' 'Dominus Deus mittet mala, et quis est qui recutiet ea? et <sup>99</sup> exhibit ignis ex iracundia Ejus, et quis <sup>100</sup> extinguet eum? Coruscabit, et quis non timebit? tonabit, et quis non horrebit? Deus cuncta minabitur, et quis non terrebitur? A facie Ejus tremet terra, et fundamenta

<sup>88</sup> pignoraverunt B. <sup>89</sup> demunt B. <sup>90</sup> pareant B. <sup>91</sup> spicula B. <sup>92</sup> cecidit B.  
<sup>93</sup> fuerunt B. <sup>94</sup> collegerit V.G. <sup>95</sup> eo G. raraverit Joss. B. <sup>96</sup> parcat B. <sup>97</sup> peccavit B.  
<sup>98</sup> exiet B. <sup>99</sup> qui add. B.

<sup>1</sup> leg. impotentes. ἀδυνάτους LXX.  
<sup>2</sup> Job. xxiv. 14, 18, 19. LXX. G. but "pariant" = "ἀναφαιέτω."  
<sup>3</sup> Job. xxiv. 20. LXX. G.  
<sup>4</sup> Job. xxiv. 22-24. LXX. G.  
<sup>5</sup> Job. xxvii. 14, 16, 17. LXX. MS. Alex. G.  
 But for "consequuntur," LXX. have "καθέξου-

σιν;" and I., "consequentur."

<sup>6</sup> 2 Esdr. xv. 21-27. Vet. Lat. ap. Vulg., with trifling variations.

<sup>7</sup> leg. a potestate.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Esdr. xvi. 3-6, 8-12. Vet. Lat. ap. Vulg., with considerable variations.

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Ezechiel. maris fluctuantur de <sup>4</sup>"profundo." Ezechiel quoque Propheta egregius, <sup>d</sup>quatuorque evangelicorum <sup>5</sup>"animalium mirandus <sup>6</sup>"inspector, quid de sceleratis edixerit, attendite, cui primum Dominus miserabiliter plagam Israel deflenti ait: "Iniquitas domus Israel et Juda invaluit nimis, quia impleta est terra iniquitate et immunditia. Ecce Ego sum. 'Non parcet oculus Meus neque miserebor.' Et infra: '¶ Quoniam terra plena populis, et civitas plena iniquitate est: et avertam impetum virtutis eorum, et polluentur sancta eorum. Exoratio veniet, et quæret pacem, et non erit.' Et post aliquanta: '¶ Factus est,' inquit, 'sermo Domini ad me dicens: Fili hominis, terra quæ peccaverit Mihi ut delinquat delictum, extendam manum <sup>7</sup>"in eam', et conteram ejus <sup>8</sup>"firmamentum panis, et emittam in eam famem, et tollam de ea hominem, et pecora. Et si sint tres viri isti in medio ejus <sup>9</sup>"Noe, Daniel, et Job, non liberabunt eam, sed ipsi in sua justitia salvi erunt, dicit Dominus. Quod si etiam bestias malas inducam super terram et puniam illam, et erit in exterminium, et non erit qui iter faciat a facie bestiarum; et tres viri isti in medio ejus <sup>1</sup>sint, vivo Ego dicit Dominus, si <sup>2</sup>filii et filiæ ejus liberabuntur, sed ipsi soli salvi erunt, terra autem erit <sup>3</sup>"in interitum'." Et iterum: '¶ Filius non accipiet injustitiam patris, neque pater <sup>4</sup>"accipiet injustitiam filii. Justitia justi super <sup>5</sup>"ipsum erit.' 'Et iniquus si avertat se ab <sup>6</sup>"omnibus iniquitatibus quas fecit, et custodiat omnia mandata Mea, et faciat justitiam et misericordiam multam, vita vivet et non morietur. Omnia delicta ejus, quæcunque fecit, non erunt: in sua justitia, quam fecit, vita vivet. Nunquid voluntate volo mortem injusti, dicit Dominus, quam ut avertat se a via <sup>7</sup>"sua mala et vivat? Cum se autem converterit justus a justitia sua, et fecerit iniquitatem secundum omnes iniquitates quas fecit iniquus, omnes justitiæ, quas fecit, non erunt in memoria. In delicto suo, quo excidit, et in peccatis suis, quibus peccavit, morietur.' [Et post aliquanta: '¶ Et scient omnes gentes, quia propter peccata sua captivi ducti sunt domus Israel; eo quod reliquerunt Me. Et averti faciem Meam ab eis, et

<sup>4</sup> superbo B. <sup>5</sup> malum B. <sup>6</sup> inspecto B. <sup>7</sup> Meam V.B. <sup>8</sup> firmantum B.  
<sup>9</sup> Noe B. <sup>1</sup> sunt B. <sup>2</sup> filie B. <sup>3</sup> in territum B. <sup>4</sup> deest B. <sup>5</sup> ipsum bte B.  
<sup>6</sup> hominibus B. <sup>7</sup> docet B.

<sup>4</sup> Ezek. i. 5.  
<sup>5</sup> Ezek. ix. 9, 10. LXX. G. and in v. 10,  
 "Ecce Ego sum," corrected from Hebr. or from  
 Alex. LXX.  
<sup>6</sup> Also in Ezek. v. 11. LXX. and V.  
<sup>7</sup> Ezek. vii. 23-25. LXX. MS. Vatic. G.  
<sup>8</sup> Ezek. xiv. 12-16. LXX. (part. MS. Vatic.,

part. MS. Alex.) G., but G. adds, "non libera-  
 bunt eam sed."

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xviii. 20-24. LXX. (= fere MS. Vatic.)  
 G., fere = Julian., ap. Aug., Op. Imperf. III. 38,  
 Opp. X. 1068. C. D.: but G. adds "multam,"  
 and omits "in memoria" in v. 22 after "erunt."  
<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxxix. 23, 24. LXX. G.

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<sup>8</sup> tradidi eos in manus inimicorum ejus, et omnes gladio ceciderunt. Secundum immundicias suas, et secundum iniquitates suas feci illis, et averti faciem Meam ab eis.] Hæc de sanctorum Prophetarum minis <sup>Sapientia</sup> dixisse sufficiat : pauca tantum de Sapientia Salomonis, quæ <sup>Salomonis.</sup> <sup>9</sup> ad hortationem vel denuntiationem <sup>10</sup> exprimant regibus, non minus quam minas huic opusculo inserere necessarium duxi, ne dicant me <sup>11</sup> 'gravia et importabilia in humeros hominum' verborum 'onera velle imponere, digito autem meo <sup>12</sup> ea,' id <sup>13</sup> est consolatorio affatu, 'nolle movere.' Audiamus itaque quid Propheta dixit. <sup>14</sup> 'Diligite,' inquit, 'justitiam, qui judicatis terram.' Hoc unum testimonium, si toto corde servaretur, abunde ad <sup>15</sup> corrigendos patriæ duces sufficeret. Nam si dilexissent justitiam, diligerent utique fontem quodammodo et originem totius justitiæ, Deum. <sup>16</sup> 'Serve Domino in bonitate, et in simplicitate cordis quærite Eum.' Heu quis victurus est, ut quidam ante nos ait, quando ista a civibus perficiantur, si tamen usquam perfici possunt; <sup>17</sup> 'Quoniam invenitur ab his qui non tentant Illum, apparet autem <sup>18</sup> eis qui fidem habent in Eum.' Nam isti sine respectu 'tentant' Deum, Cujus præcepta contumaci despectione contemnunt, nec 'fidem servant Illi,' Cujus oraculis blandis vel aliquantulum severis dorsum versant et non faciem. <sup>19</sup> 'Perversæ enim cogitationes separant a Deo.' Et hoc in tyrannis nostri temporis perspicue deprehenditur. Sed quid nostra mediocritas huic tam aperto sensui miscetur? Loquatur namque pro nobis, ut diximus, Qui solus verax est, Spiritus scilicet Sanctus, de Quo nunc dicitur: <sup>20</sup> 'Spiritus autem Sanctus disciplinæ effugiet fictum.' Et <sup>21</sup> iterum: <sup>22</sup> 'Quoniam spiritus Dei replevit orbem terrarum.' Et infra, finem malorum bonorumque oculato judicio prætendens, ait: <sup>23</sup> 'Quomodo spes impii tanquam lanugo est quæ a vento tollitur, et tanquam fumus qui a vento diffusus est, et tanquam <sup>24</sup> spuma gracilis, quæ a procella dispergitur, et tanquam <sup>25</sup> memoria hospitis unius diei prætereuntis. Justi autem in perpetuum vivent. Et apud Deum est <sup>26</sup> merces illorum,' et cogitatio eorum apud Altissimum. Ideo accipient regnum decoris, et diadema speciei de manu Domini. Quoniam dextera Sua proteget eos, et brachio sancto Suo

<sup>8</sup> tradi B. <sup>9</sup> cum hortationem V. adhortationem G. ad exhortationem B. <sup>10</sup> exprimit B.  
<sup>11</sup> eo B. <sup>12</sup> deest B. <sup>13</sup> corrigendum duces patriæ B. <sup>14</sup> illis B. <sup>15</sup> item B.  
<sup>16</sup> deest B. <sup>17</sup> memora B. <sup>18</sup> merces eorum B.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiii. 4. I. V.

<sup>2</sup> Sapi. i. 1. Vet. Lat. ap. Vulg.

<sup>3</sup> Sapi. i. 1. Vet. Lat. ap. Vulg. but, "sentite de Domino;" and in the Greek, "φρονήσατε πρὸς."

<sup>4</sup> Sapi. i. 2. Vet. Lat. &c.

<sup>5</sup> Sapi. i. 3. Vet. Lat. &c.

<sup>6</sup> Sapi. i. 5. Vet. Lat. &c.

<sup>7</sup> Sapi. i. 7. Vet. Lat. &c.

<sup>8</sup> Sapi. v. 15-17. Vet. Lat. &c. "teget eos."

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defendet "illos." Dissimiles etenim "qualitate sunt valde justi et impii, nimirum, ut dixit Dominus: '¶ Eos, qui honorant,' inquiens, 'Me, honorabo: et, qui Me spernunt, erunt ignobiles.' [Sed transcamus ad cætera: '¶ Audite,' inquit, 'omnes reges et intelligite, "dicite judices finium terræ, præbete aures vos qui continetis multitudines, et placetis vobis in turbis nationum. Quoniam data est a Deo potestas vobis, et virtus ab Altissimo, Qui "interrogabit opera vestra, et cogitationes scrutabitur. Quoniam cum essetis ministri regni Illius, non recte judicastis, neque custodistis legem justitiæ, neque secundum voluntatem Ejus ambulastis: horrende et celeriter apparebit vobis, quoniam judicium durissimum his qui præsumunt fiet. Exiguis enim "conceditur misericordia, potentes "autem potenter tormenta patientur. Non enim personas subtrahet, Qui est omnium dominator: nec reverebitur "magnitudinem cujusquam', quoniam pusillum et magnum Ipse fecit, et æqualiter cura est Illi pro omnibus. Fortioribus "autem fortior instat cruciatio.] Ad vos ergo, reges, hi sunt sermones mei, ut discatis sapientiam, et non decidatis. Qui enim custodierint justa, justificabuntur, et qui "didicerint sancta, sanctificabuntur.

Hactenus cum regibus patriæ non minus Prophetarum oraculis quam nostris sermonibus disceptavimus, volentes eos scire quæ Propheta dixerat: "¶ Quasi,' inquiens, 'a facie colubri fuge peccata: si accesseris ad illa, suscipient te dentes leonis, dentes eorum interficientes animas hominum.' Et iterum: "¶ Quam magna misericordia Domini, et propitiatio Ejus convertentibus ad Se.' Et si non habemus in nobis illud apostolicum, ut dicamus; "¶ Optabam enim anathema esse a Christo pro fratribus meis,' tamen illud propheticum toto corde possumus dicere: "¶ Heu quia anima perit!' Et iterum: "¶ Scrutemur vias nostras, et quæramus, et revertamur ad Dominum: levemus corda nostra cum manibus ad Deum in coelo.' Sed et illud "Apostoli: "¶ Cupimus unumquemque vestrum in visceribus Christi esse.' Quam enim libenter hoc in loco, acsi marinis

<sup>10</sup> eos B.  
<sup>11</sup> enim B.  
 apostolicum B.

<sup>12</sup> sunt add. B.  
<sup>13</sup> magnitudine cujusque B.

<sup>14</sup> discite G.

<sup>15</sup> interrogabat B.  
<sup>16</sup> enim B.

<sup>17</sup> dicerint B.

<sup>18</sup> deest B.  
 Apostolicum B.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 30. LXX. G. but "erunt ignobiles" = Hebr. and V.

<sup>2</sup> Sapi. vi. 2-11. Vet. Lat. &c. but "discite" for "dicite," and corrected from the Greek in ver. 8, "Qui est omnium Dominator."

<sup>3</sup> Eccles. xxi. 2, 3. Vet. Lat. ap. Vulg. (2. LXX.)

<sup>4</sup> Eccles. xvii. 28. Vet. Lat. &c. (29. LXX.)

<sup>5</sup> Rom. ix. 3. I. V.

<sup>6</sup> Mich. vii. 1, 2. LXX. G.

<sup>7</sup> Thre. iii. 40, 41. V. "Dominum in coelos."

<sup>8</sup> Phil. i. 8. V. "quomodo cupiam omnes vos . . . Jesu Christi."

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fluctibus jactatus, et in <sup>30</sup>optato evectus portu remis, si non tantos talesque malitiæ Episcoporum vel cæterorum sacerdotum aut clericorum in nostro quoque ordine erigi adversus DEUM vidissem montes; quos me, secundum legem, ceu testes, primum duris verborum <sup>31</sup>cautibus, dein populum, si tamen sanctionibus inhæret, non ut corporaliter interficiantur, sed mortui <sup>32</sup>viciis, vivant Deo, ne personarum arguar exceptionis, totis necesse est viribus lapidare, verecundia interveniente quiescerem. Sed mihi quæso, ut jam in superioribus dixi, ab his veniam impertiri, quorum vitam non solum laudo, verumetiam cunctis mundi opibus præfero, cujusque me, si fieri possit, ante mortis esse aliquamdiu participem opto et sitio, <sup>33</sup>nostris jam nunc <sup>34</sup>obvallatis sanctorum duobus clipeis [lateribus, invictis, dorso adversitatis mœnia stabilito, capite pro galea adjutorio Domini fidissime contexto, crebro veracium volatu, vel alitent conviviorum <sup>35</sup>cautes.]

Increpatio in Sacerdotes. Sacerdotes habet Britannia, sed insipientes; quam plurimos ministros, sed impudentes; clericos, sed raptores subdolos; pastores, ut dicuntur, sed occisioni animarum lupos paratos, quippe non commoda plebi providentes, sed proprii plenitudinem ventris quærentes; Ecclesiæ domus habentes, sed turpis lucris gratia eas adeuntes; populos docentes, sed præbendo pessima exempla, vitia, malosque mores; raro sacrificantes, et nunquam puro corde inter altaria stantes; plebem ob peccata non corripientes, nimirum eadem agentes; præcepta Christi spernentes, et suas libidines votis omnibus implere curantes; sedem Petri Apostoli immundis pedibus usurpantes, sed merito <sup>36</sup>cupiditatis in Judæ traditoris pestilentem cathedram decedentes; <sup>37</sup>veritatem pro inimico odientes, et mendaciis acsi charissimis fratribus faventes; justos inopes <sup>38</sup>immanes quasi <sup>39</sup>angues torvis vultibus conspicantes, et sceleratos divites absque ullo verecundiæ respectu sicut cœlestes angelos venerantes; egenis eleemosynam esse dandam summis e labiis prædicantes, <sup>40</sup>sed ipsi <sup>41</sup>vel obolum non dantes; nefanda populi scelera tacentes, et suas injurias quasi Christo irrogatas amplificantes; religiosam forte matrem, seu sorores, domo pellentes, et externas veluti secretiori ministerio familiares indecenter <sup>42</sup>levigantes, vel potius, ut vera dicam licet inepta non tam mihi quam talia agentibus, humiliantes; ecclesiasticos post hæc gradus propensius quam regna cœlorum ambientes, et tyrannico ritu <sup>43</sup>acceptos defen-

<sup>30</sup> optat B. optatum . . portum V.<sup>31</sup> cautibus B.<sup>32</sup> vitiis V.G.B.<sup>33</sup> vestris B.<sup>34</sup> so V.G.B. ob vallatis Joss.<sup>35</sup> cutes B. The whole passage is corrupt.<sup>36</sup> cupiditatis B.<sup>37</sup> sæpius detrahentes et raro vera dicentes add. V.<sup>38</sup> inanes V.B.<sup>39</sup> agues B.<sup>40</sup> nec B.<sup>41</sup> accipientes V. levantes G.<sup>42</sup> accepto B.

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dentes, nec tamen legitimis moribus illustrantes; ad præcepta sanctorum, si aliquando duntaxat <sup>40</sup> audierint quæ ab illis sæpissime audienda erant, oscitantes ac stupidos, et ad ludicra et ineptas secularium hominum fabulas, ac si <sup>41</sup> iter <sup>42</sup> viæ, <sup>43</sup> quæ mortis, pandunt, strenuos et intentos; pinguedinis gratia taurorum <sup>44</sup> more raucos, et ad illicita infeliciter promptos; vultus arroganter in altum habentes, et sensus, conscientia remordente, ad ima vel <sup>45</sup> Tartarum demersos; uno sane perduto denario mœstos, et ad unum inquisitum lætos; in apostolicis sanctionibus, ob <sup>46</sup> inscientiam vel peccatorum pondus, ora etiam scientium obturantes, hebetes ac mutos, et in flexibus mundalium negotiorum mendacibus doctissimos; quorum de scelerata conversatione multos sacerdotio irruentes, potius vel illud <sup>47</sup> pene omni pecunia redimantes, quam tractos, et in eodem veteri infaustoque intolerabilium piaculorum cœno, post sacerdotalem episcopatus vel presbyterii sedem, qui nec ibidem <sup>48</sup> usquam sederunt, utpote indigne, porcorum more volutantes, raptò tantum sacerdotali nomine nec tamen <sup>49</sup> tenore vel apostolica dignitate accepta; sed qui nondum ad integram fidem sunt vel malorum poenitentia idonei: quomodo ad quemlibet ecclesiasticum, ut non dicam summum, convenientes et adepti gradum, quem non nisi sancti atque perfecti, et Apostolorum imitatores, et, ut Magistri gentium <sup>50</sup> verbis loquar, <sup>51</sup> irreprehensibiles, legitime et absque magno sacrilegii crimine suscipiunt? Quid enim tam impium <sup>52</sup> tamque scelestum est, quam ad similitudinem <sup>53</sup> Simonis Magi, non intervenientibus licet interea promiscuis criminibus, Episcopatus officium vel <sup>54</sup> presbyterii terreno pretio, quod sanctitate rectisque moribus decentius <sup>55</sup> acquiritur, quempiam velle mercari? Sed in eo isti propensius vel desperatius errant, <sup>56</sup> quo non ab Apostolis vel Apostolorum successoribus, sed a tyrannis et a patre eorum diabolo, fucata et nunquam profutura emunt sacerdotia: <sup>57</sup> quin potius velut culmen tectumque malorum omnium quoddam, <sup>58</sup> quo non facile eis improperebantur a quoquam <sup>59</sup> admissa prisca vel nova, et cupiditatis gulæque desideria, [utpote præpositi multorum facilius rapiant,] <sup>60</sup> scelestæ vitæ structuræ superponunt. Nam si talis profecto coemptionis conditio ab impudentibus istis, non dicam Apostolo <sup>61</sup> Petro, sed cuilibet sancto sacerdoti

<sup>40</sup> audierunt B.    <sup>41</sup> iter B.    <sup>42</sup> viæ V.B.    <sup>43</sup> mortisque V.    <sup>44</sup> mere paucos B.  
<sup>45</sup> Tartarum diversos B.    <sup>46</sup> inscientiam B.    <sup>47</sup> deest B.    <sup>48</sup> unquam B.    <sup>49</sup> tenere B.  
<sup>50</sup> reprehensibiles B.    <sup>51</sup> tam B.    <sup>52</sup> presbyteri B.    <sup>53</sup> acquiritur B.    <sup>54</sup> quod V.G.  
<sup>55</sup> quin bis B.    <sup>56</sup> deest B.    <sup>57</sup> amissa B.    <sup>58</sup> so V.G.    <sup>59</sup> celestæ vitæ Joss.    <sup>60</sup> celeste vitæ B.  
<sup>61</sup> retro B.

\* 1 Tim. iii. 2.

\* Act. viii. 18, 19.

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pioque regi <sup>66</sup> ingesta fuisset, eadem responsa accepissent, quæ ab Apostolo author eorundem <sup>67</sup> Magus Simon, dicente Petro: <sup>68</sup> 'Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem.' Sed forte heu, <sup>69</sup> qui ambitores istos ordinant, imo potius humiliant, atque pro benedictione maledicunt, dum ex peccatoribus non poenitentes, quod rectius fuerat, sed sacrilegos et desperatos faciunt, et Judam quodammodo in Petri cathedra Domini traditorem, ac Nicolaum in loco Stephani martyris <sup>70</sup> statuunt <sup>71</sup> 'immundæ <sup>72</sup> hæresios adinventorem, eodem modo sacerdotio adsciti sunt: <sup>73</sup> et ideo non magnopere detestantur' in filiis, quinimo venerantur, quod similiter ut patribus subinde venisse certissimum est. Etenim eos, <sup>74</sup> si in parochiam, resistentibus sibi et tam pretiosum quæstum denegantibus severe commessoribus, <sup>75</sup> hujusmodi margaritam invenire <sup>76</sup> non possint, præmissis ante solícite nuntiis, transnavigare maria, terrasque spatiosas <sup>77</sup> transmeare non <sup>78</sup> tam piget quam delectat, ut omnino talis species inæquiparabilisque pulchritudo, et, ut <sup>79</sup> verius dicam, <sup>80</sup> zabolica illusio, vel venditis omnibus copiis, comparetur. Dein cum magno apparatu magnaue phantasia, vel potius insania, repedantes ad patriam, ex erecto erectiorem incessum pingunt, et dudum summitates montium conspicientes, nunc recte ad æthera vel ad summa nubium vellera, luminum <sup>81</sup> semidormitantes acies <sup>82</sup> librant, ac sese, nova quædam plasmata, imo diabolica organa, ut quondam <sup>83</sup> Novatus Romæ, Dominicæ <sup>84</sup> mulcator margaritæ porcus niger, patriæ ingerunt, violenter manus non tam venerabilibus aris quam <sup>85</sup> flammis inferni ultricibus dignas, in tali <sup>86</sup> schema positi, sacrosanctis Christi sacrificiis extensuri. Quid tu, infelix popule, a talibus, ut dixit Apostolus, <sup>87</sup> 'bestiis ventris præstolaris?' His ne corrigeris, qui seipsos non modo ad bona non <sup>88</sup> invitant, sed secundum Prophetæ exprobrationem, <sup>89</sup> 's laborant ut inique agant?' Talibus ne oculis illustraberis, qui hæc tantum avide speculantur, quæ proclive vitiis, id est, Tartari portis, ducant? Vel certe secundum Salvatoris dictum, si non istos <sup>90</sup> rapacissimos ut Arabiæ lupos, <sup>91</sup> iacsi Loth ad montem, igneum Sodomorum ymbrem præpropere fugeritis, <sup>92</sup> cæci educti a cæcis pariter in inferni <sup>93</sup> 'foveam' cadetis. Sed forsitan aliquis dicat, non ita omnes

<sup>66</sup> ingestæ fuissent B.    <sup>67</sup> Simon Magus B.    <sup>68</sup> quia B.    <sup>69</sup> faciunt B.    <sup>70</sup> hæresios B.  
<sup>71</sup> desunt B.    <sup>72</sup> deest B.    <sup>73</sup> hujusmodi V.B.    <sup>74</sup> deest B.    <sup>75</sup> transmeare B.    <sup>76</sup> deest B.  
<sup>77</sup> verum B.    <sup>78</sup> diabolica G.    <sup>79</sup> semidormientes B.    <sup>80</sup> liberant G.    <sup>81</sup> fluvius B.  
<sup>82</sup> scena B.    <sup>83</sup> imitantur B.

<sup>84</sup> Act. viii. 20. V.: but = S. Cypr., S. Aug., and S. Ambrose: v. Sabatier.

<sup>85</sup> Euseb., H. E., III. 29.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., VI. 43.

<sup>87</sup> Matt. vii. 6.

<sup>88</sup> Tit. i. 12.

<sup>89</sup> Jer. ix. 5. V.

<sup>90</sup> Matt. vii. 15.

<sup>91</sup> Gen. xix. 17-20.

<sup>92</sup> Matt. xv. 14. I. V.

[GILD. EPIST. a. A. D. 547.]

Episcopi <sup>a</sup>vel presbyteri ut superius comprehensi, quia non <sup>a</sup>scismatis, non superbiz, non immunditiz infamia maculantur, mali sunt; quod nec vehementer et nos diffitemur. Sed licet sciamus eos castos

<sup>Exempla ex</sup> esse et bonos, breviter tamen respondebimus. <sup>Scripturis.</sup> <sup>k</sup>Quid profuit Heli sacerdoti, quod solus non <sup>a</sup>violaverit præ-

cepta Domini, rapiendo in fuscinulis antequam adeps Domino offerretur ex ollis carnes, <sup>l</sup>dum <sup>a</sup>eadem mortis ira, qua filii sunt, mulctatur? <sup>m</sup>Quis rogo eorum, <sup>a</sup>ob invidiam melioris hostiz <sup>a</sup>cœlestique igni' in cœlis evectæ, ut Abel, occisus? qui etiam mediocris verbi aspernantur convitium. <sup>n</sup>Quis 'perosus' est consilium 'malignantium, et cum impiis non sedit,' <sup>o</sup>ita ut de eo veridice quasi de Enoch diceretur: '° Ambulavit Enoch cum Deo et non inveniebatur,' in mundi scilicet vanitate omnis post idola proclive id temporis claudicare, relicto Deo, insipientis? Quis eorum, salutari in arca, hoc est, nunc Ecclesia, nullum Deo adversantem, <sup>p</sup>ut Noe diluvii tempore, non admisit, ut perspicue monstraretur non nisi innoxios vel pœnitentes <sup>a</sup>egregios in Dominica domo esse debere? <sup>q</sup>Quis victoribus solum, et in tricentenario numero, hoc est Trinitatis sacramento, liberato justo, regum quinque, victriciumque turmarum exercitus ferales vincentibus, et nequaquam aliena cupientibus sacrificium offerens, ut Melchisedech, benedixit? <sup>r</sup>Quis sponte proprium in altari capite cædendum, ut <sup>a</sup>Abraham Deo jubente, obtulit filium, ut simile quoddam huic impleteret Christi mandatum, dicentis °oculum dextrum scandalizantem evelli debere, et Prophetæ præcaveret, <sup>t</sup>°se maledictum esse gladium <sup>u</sup>et sanguinem' prohibentem? <sup>a</sup>Quis memoriam malefacti de corde radicitus, ut Joseph, evulsit? <sup>x</sup>Quis in monte cum Domino locutus, et nequaquam concrepantibus tubis exinde perterritus, <sup>y</sup>duas tabulas 'cornutamque faciem' aspectu <sup>a</sup>incredulis inhabilem et horrendam tropico sensu, ut <sup>a</sup>Moyses, advexit? Quis eorum, pro peccatis populi exorans, imo de pectore clamavit, ut ipse,

<sup>a</sup> seu B. <sup>a</sup> schismatis G. <sup>a</sup> violaverat B. <sup>a</sup> eidem B. <sup>a</sup> de quorum moribus satis multa superius diximus add. V. <sup>a</sup> cœlestique regni B. <sup>a</sup> deest B. <sup>a</sup> deest B. <sup>a</sup> Abraham B. <sup>a</sup> deest B. <sup>a</sup> a sanguine V. <sup>a</sup> incredulo B. <sup>a</sup> Moysen B.

<sup>k</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 12, 23; iii. 12, 13.

<sup>l</sup> 1 Sam. iv. 11, 18.

<sup>m</sup> Gen. iv. 4-8.

<sup>n</sup> Psalm. xxvi. 5. (xxv. 5.) I. "odivi ecclesiam," in V.

<sup>o</sup> Gen. v. 24. part. V. part. LXX.

<sup>p</sup> Gen. vii. 7.

<sup>q</sup> Gen. xiv. 14-24.

<sup>r</sup> Gen. xxii. 1-10.

<sup>s</sup> Mart. v. 29.

<sup>t</sup> Jer. xlviii. 10. V. but om. "se," and read "a sanguine."

<sup>u</sup> Gen. i. 15-21.

<sup>x</sup> Exod. xix. 16-25.

<sup>y</sup> Exod. xxxiv. 29, 30, 35. V. (l. caret.)



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‘*Domine,*’ inquit, ‘*peccavit populus iste peccatum grande, quod si dimittis eis, dimitte: alioquin dele me de libro Tuo?*’ [*Quis zelo Dei accensus mirabili, ad ultionem fornicationis sine dilatione, sanando poenitentiae* <sup>88</sup> *medicamine stupri affectum, ne ira populo inardesceret, sicut Phinees sacerdos, ut per hoc* <sup>b</sup> *in ævo reputaretur illi* <sup>84</sup> *justitia, strenue consurrexit? Quis* <sup>86</sup> *vero eorum, vel in extirpationem usque ad internecionem de terra* <sup>86</sup> *repromissionis septem gentium morali intelligentia, vel ad constabilitationem spiritualis Israel, pro eis Jesum Naue imitatus est? Quis* <sup>c</sup> *eorum, populo DEI finales terminos trans Jordanem, ut sciretur quid* <sup>87</sup> *cuique tribui conveniat, sicut supradicti Phinees scilicet et Jesus sagaciter divisere, ostendit?* <sup>d</sup> *Quis, ut adversariorum plebi Dei innumera* <sup>88</sup> *prosterneret gentium millia, ‘unicam’ filiam, quæ propria voluptas intelligitur, imitans et in hoc Apostolum dicentem: ‘Non quærens quod mihi utile est, sed quod multis, ut salvi fiant,’ obviantem victoribus* <sup>e</sup> *cum tympanis et choris,’ id est, carnalibus* <sup>89</sup> *desideriis, in sacrificium votivæ placationis, ut* <sup>1</sup> *Jepthe, mactavit? Quis eorum, ad conturbanda,* <sup>2</sup> *fuganda,* <sup>3</sup> *sternendaque* <sup>h</sup> *superbarum gentium castra, ‘mysterii Trinitatis, ut supradiximus,* <sup>i</sup> *cum lagenas viris tenentibus egregias in manibus sonantesque tubas, id est propheticos et apostolicos sensus,—ut dixit Dominus Prophetæ: ‘Exalta quasi tuba vocem tuam,’ et Psalmista de Apostolis: ‘In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum,’—et* <sup>m</sup> *lagenas* <sup>6</sup> *splendidissimo ignis lumine noctu coruscantes, quæ accipiuntur in sanctorum corporibus bonis operibus annexis, et Sancti Spiritus igni ardentibus, ut Apostolus,* <sup>n</sup> *Habentes, inquit, ‘thesaurum* <sup>6</sup> *istum in vasis fictilibus,’ post* <sup>o</sup> *idolatriæ luci, quod moraliter interpretatum,’* <sup>8</sup> *condensæ et fuscæ cupiditatis, succisionem silvæ, et* <sup>p</sup> *evidentia signa Judaici velleris, ymbris coelestis expertis, et gentilis, rore Sancti Spiritus madefacti, fide non dubia, ut* <sup>q</sup> *Gedeon,* <sup>9</sup> *processit? Quis eorum,* <sup>r</sup> *mori exoptans mundo et vivere Christo,* <sup>s</sup> *luxoriosos gen-*

<sup>88</sup> medicum et B. <sup>88</sup> iniustia B. <sup>86</sup> deest B. <sup>86</sup> promissionis B. <sup>87</sup> cui B. <sup>88</sup> deest B.  
<sup>89</sup> desiderii B. <sup>1</sup> Jepthe B. <sup>2</sup> fugandaque B. <sup>3</sup> deest B. <sup>4</sup> mysterium B. <sup>5</sup> splendidi-  
 disimo B. <sup>6</sup> istis B. <sup>7</sup> est add. B. <sup>8</sup> densæ B. <sup>9</sup> cessit B.

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xxxii. 31, 32. LXX. G.: but fere = S. Cyr. Testim. I. 1, and De Lapsis; 20, 130. Fell.

<sup>a</sup> Num. xxv. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Psalm. cvi. 30, 31. (cv. 31, 32.)

<sup>c</sup> Jos. xiv. 1; xix. 51. Eleazar, not Phinehas.

<sup>d</sup> Jud. xi. 29-33.

<sup>e</sup> Jud. xi. 34-40. “Unica,” always in S. Aug. (v. Sabatier); but LXX. = Vulg., “unigenita.”

<sup>f</sup> 1 Cor. x. 33. I. V.

<sup>8</sup> Jud. xi. 34. V.

<sup>h</sup> Jud. vii. 9.

<sup>i</sup> Jud. vii. 16, 20.

<sup>k</sup> Esai. lviii. 1. I. V.

<sup>l</sup> Psalm. xix. 4. (xviii. 5.) I. V.

<sup>m</sup> Jud. vii. 16, 20.

<sup>n</sup> 2 Cor. iv. 7. V.

<sup>o</sup> Jud. vi. 25-27.

<sup>p</sup> Jud. vi. 37, 39.

<sup>q</sup> Jud. vii. 1.

<sup>r</sup> Phil. i. 23.

<sup>s</sup> Jud. xvi. 23.

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tium convivas, laudantes 'Deos suos, id est, sensus, extollentes divitias, ut Apostolus, 'a Et avaritia,' inquit, 'quæ est simulachrorum servitus,' x concussis duabus virtute brachiorum columnis, quæ intelliguntur in voluptatibus nequam animæ carnisque, quibus domus humanæ omnis nequitie quodammodo pangitur ac <sup>10</sup> fulcimentatur, tam innumerabiles, ut Sampson, prostravit? Quis orationibus, 'yholocaustoque lactantis agni' Philistinorum metum depellens, <sup>a</sup> insperatas tonitruorum voces nubiumque ymbres concitans, <sup>a</sup> absque adulatione <sup>11</sup> regem constituens, <sup>b</sup> eundem Deo non placentem <sup>12</sup> abiciens, <sup>c</sup> uncto pro illo meliore in <sup>13</sup> regno, ut Samuel, valedicturus populo astabit hoc modo dicens: 'd Ecce præsto sum, loquimini coram Domino et Christo Ejus, utrum bovem cujusquam tulerim, an asinum, si quempiam calumniatus sum, si oppressi aliquem, si de manu cujusquam munus accepi?' Cui <sup>14</sup> a populo responsum est dicente: 'e Non es calumniatus nos, <sup>15</sup> neque oppressisti, neque <sup>16</sup> tulisti de manu <sup>17</sup> alicujus <sup>18</sup> quippiam.' Quis eorum, <sup>f</sup> igne cœlesti centum superbos exurens, <sup>g</sup> quinquaginta humiles servans, <sup>h</sup> et <sup>19</sup> absque adulationis furo, non Deum per Prophetas sed <sup>i</sup> idolum Accaron con'sulenti, mortem imminentem iniquo regi annuncians, <sup>k</sup> omnes <sup>20</sup> prophetas simulachri <sup>21</sup> Baal, qui interpretati accipiuntur sensus humani, invidiæ, avaritiæ, ut jam diximus, semper intenti, mucrone corusco, hoc est verbo Dei, ut Helias egregius vates, prostravit? et zelo Dei commotus, iniquorum terræ <sup>1</sup> ymbres adimens <sup>22</sup> ætherales, ac si fortissimo penurii clustello <sup>23</sup> tribus annis sexque mensibus obseratos, fame, siti moribundus in deserto conquestus est: 'n Domine,' inquit, 'Prophetas Tuos occiderunt, et altaria <sup>24</sup> Tua suffoderunt, et ego relictus sum solus, et quæ-runt animam meam?' Quis eorum, <sup>o</sup> charissimum discipulum terrenis extra solitum ponderibus oneratum, <sup>p</sup> quæ ante ea a se magnopere licet rogato ut acciperet despecta fuissent, etsi non <sup>q</sup> perpetua lepra, ut Helisæus, saltim expulsiōe mulctavit? Et quis ex illis, <sup>r</sup> puero in

<sup>10</sup> fulcimentatur B. <sup>11</sup> deest B. <sup>12</sup> 20 G. abiciens Joss. abiciens B. <sup>13</sup> regnum B.  
<sup>14</sup> deest B. <sup>15</sup> que B. <sup>16</sup> cepisti B. <sup>17</sup> deest B. <sup>18</sup> cujuspiam B. <sup>19</sup> desunt B.  
<sup>20</sup> deest B. <sup>21</sup> Bahal B. <sup>22</sup> et herales B. <sup>23</sup> deest B.

<sup>a</sup> Jud. xvi. 24. <sup>b</sup> Col. iii. 5. V. <sup>c</sup> 2 Reg. i. 9-12.  
<sup>d</sup> Jud. xvi. 30. <sup>e</sup> 2 Reg. i. 13-15.  
<sup>f</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 9. V. "lactentem." <sup>g</sup> 2 Reg. i. 16. <sup>h</sup> 2 Reg. i. 2.  
<sup>i</sup> 1 Sam. xii. 17. <sup>j</sup> 1 Sam. x. 1-25. <sup>k</sup> 1 Reg. xviii. 40. <sup>l</sup> 1 Reg. xvii. 1.  
<sup>m</sup> 1 Sam. xiii. 14; xv. 28. <sup>n</sup> Jac. v. 17.  
<sup>o</sup> 1 Sam. xvi. 13. <sup>p</sup> 1 Reg. xix. 10. LXX. G. = S. Aug. Civ. Dei,  
<sup>q</sup> 1 Sam. xii. 2, 3. V. "de me coram . . . aut XVII. 22. Opp. VII. 486 c.  
<sup>r</sup> asinum." But "an" in Cod. Amiat. <sup>s</sup> 2 Reg. v. 20-24. <sup>t</sup> 2 Reg. v. 16.  
<sup>u</sup> 1 Sam. xii. 4. V. <sup>v</sup> 2 Reg. v. 27. <sup>w</sup> 2 Reg. vi. 15.

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vitæ desperatione æstuanti, <sup>24</sup> atque improvise super bellico hostium apparatu civitatem, in qua erant, obsidentium <sup>25</sup> tremefacto, inter nos, (<sup>26</sup> ut illæ) <sup>27</sup> animæ visus, ferventi exoratione ad Deum facta, ita ut intueri <sup>28</sup> poterit auxiliarium cœlestis exercitus, armatorum curruum, ceu equitum ignito vultu fulgentium, montem plenum, patefecit, et <sup>29</sup> credere quin fortior esset ad salvandum quam inimici ad pugnandum? <sup>30</sup> Et quis eorum, corporis tactu, mortui scilicet mundo, viventis autem Deo, <sup>31</sup> alii diverso funere <sup>32</sup> occubanti, proculdubio <sup>33</sup> mortuo <sup>34</sup> Deo, vitiis vero viventi, quasi supradictus, proficiet, ita ut statim prosiliens Christo grates pro sanitate agat cunctorum pene mortalium ore desperata? Cujus eorum, <sup>35</sup> carbone ignito de altari forcipe cherubin advecto, ut peccata sua delerentur humilitate confessionis, <sup>36</sup> labia, ut *Esaiæ*, mundata sunt; et <sup>37</sup> efficaci oratione <sup>38</sup> sibi adjuncta pii regis *Ezechii*, supplantatione <sup>39</sup> centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Assyriorum, nullo apparente vulneris vestigio, <sup>40</sup> angeli manu, ut supradicti, <sup>41</sup> prostrata sunt? Quis eorum, <sup>42</sup> ob præcepta Dei, et minas cœlitus datas, veritatemque <sup>43</sup> vel non audientibus proferendam, <sup>44</sup> squa- lores pædoresque carcerum, <sup>45</sup> ut <sup>46</sup> momentaneas mortes, ut beatus *Jeremias* excepit? Et ne multa: Quis eorum, ut *Magister gentium* dixit, <sup>47</sup> errare in montibus, et in speluncis, et in cavernis terræ, <sup>48</sup> lapidari, secari, totius mortis genere pro nomine Domini attentari, sicut sancti *Prophetæ*, <sup>49</sup> perpressus est? Sed quid immoramur in exemplis veteribus, acsi non essent in <sup>50</sup> novo ulla? Audiant itaque nos, qui absque ullo labore angustum hoc iter Christianæ religionis, prætentis <sup>51</sup> tantum sacerdotali nomine, intrare se putant, carpentes paucos flores, veluti summos de <sup>52</sup> extento sanctorum Novi Testamenti tyronum amœnoque prato.] Quis vestrum, qui <sup>53</sup> torpetis potius quam sedetis legitime in sacerdotali sede, ejectus de consilio impiorum, <sup>54</sup> post diversarum plagas virgarum, ut sancti Apostoli, <sup>55</sup> quod dignus habitus est pro Christo vero Deo *contumeliam pati*, [toto corde Trinitati gratias egit? Quis, ob testimonium verum Deo ferendum, <sup>56</sup> fullonis vecte

<sup>24</sup> ac B.      <sup>25</sup> tumefacto B.      <sup>26</sup> ut ille V.B.      <sup>27</sup> poterint B.      <sup>28</sup> occumbenti B.  
<sup>29</sup> mortui B.      <sup>30</sup> deest B.      <sup>31</sup> prostrati B.      <sup>32</sup> deest B.      <sup>33</sup> perpressi sunt B.      <sup>34</sup> nova B.  
<sup>35</sup> tanto B.      <sup>36</sup> Novi ext. sanct. B.      <sup>37</sup> torpens B.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Reg. vi. 17.      <sup>1</sup> 2 Reg. vi. 16.  
<sup>3</sup> 2 Reg. iv. 34.      <sup>2</sup> 2 Reg. iv. 30.  
<sup>4</sup> *Esai.* vi. 6.: but, "Seraphim."  
<sup>5</sup> *Esai.* vi. 7. V.  
<sup>6</sup> 2 Reg. xix. 14-20; *Esai.* xxxvii. 14-20.  
<sup>7</sup> 2 Reg. xix. 20-34; *Esai.* xxxvii. 21-35.  
<sup>8</sup> 2 Reg. xix. 35; *Esai.* xxxvii. 36.  
<sup>9</sup> 2 Reg. xix. 35; *Esai.* xxxvii. 36.

<sup>10</sup> Jer. i. 8-19.  
<sup>11</sup> Jer. xx. 2; xxxii. 2; xxxvii. 15; xxxviii. 6.  
<sup>12</sup> et?      <sup>13</sup> Jer. xxvi. 8-15, 24.  
<sup>14</sup> Hebr. xi. 38.  
<sup>15</sup> Hebr. xi. 37.  
<sup>16</sup> Act. v. 40: and see xvi. 23.  
<sup>17</sup> Act. v. 41. V.  
<sup>18</sup> Euseb., H. E., II. 23.

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cerebro percussus, ut Jacobus primus in Novo duntaxat Episcopus Testamento, corporaliter interiit? Quis 'gladio' vestrum, ab iniquo principe, ut <sup>12</sup> Jacobus <sup>13</sup> Joannis frater, capite cæsus est? <sup>14</sup> Quis, ut prothominister martyrque evangelicus, hoc solum criminis habens, quod <sup>15</sup> viderit Deum Quem perfidi videre nequiverant, nefandis manibus lapidatus est? Quis, inversis pedibus crucis affixus pro reverentia Christi patibulo, Quem non minus morte quam vita honoraturus, ut clavicularius ille cælorum <sup>16</sup> regni idoneus, extremum <sup>17</sup> halitum fudit?] Quis ex vobis, gladii ictu <sup>18</sup> veridicantis, pro confessione Christi, <sup>19</sup> post vincula carceris, naufragia, <sup>20</sup> amarum virgarum cædem, post fluminum, latronum, gentium, Judæorum, pseudoapostolorum continua pericula; post famis, jejunii, vigiliarum labores; post perpetem 'solicitudinem omnium Ecclesiarum;' post æstum pro scandalizantibus; post infirmitatem pro infirmis; post admirabilem prædicando Christi Evangelium <sup>21</sup> orbis pene circuitum, ut vas electionis Magisterque gentium

S. Ignatius electus, capite plexus est? Quis vestrum, ut sanctus martyr Ignatius Antiochiæ urbis Episcopus, post admirabiles in Christo actus, ob testimonium Ejus leonum molis Romæ confractus est? <sup>22</sup> 'cujus verba cum ad passionem duceretur audientes, si aliquando vultus vestri rubore <sup>23</sup> suffusi sunt, non solum in comparatione <sup>24</sup> ejus vos non <sup>25</sup> putabitis sacerdotes, sed ne mediocres quidem Christianos esse. Ait enim in Epistola quam ad Romanam Ecclesiam misit: <sup>26</sup> 'A Syria usque Romam cum bestiis terra marique depugno, die ac nocte connexus et <sup>27</sup> colligatus decem <sup>28</sup> leopardis, militibus dico, ad custodiam datis, qui ex beneficiis nostris sæviores fiunt. Sed ego eorum nequitias magis erudior: nec tamen in hoc justificatus sum. O salutare bestias, quæ præparantur mihi, quando venient? quando emittentur? quando eis frui licebit carnibus meis? quas <sup>29</sup> ego exopto acriores parari, et invitabo ad devorationem mei, et deprecabor ne forte, ut in nonnullis fecerunt, timeant attingere corpus meum: quinimo, et si cunctabuntur, ego vim faciam, ego me ingeram. Date, quæso, veniam; ego novi <sup>30</sup> quid expediat mihi: <sup>31</sup> nunc incipio esse Christi discipulus: facessat invidia vel humani affectus, vel nequitiae spiritualis, ut in Jesum Christum adipisci merear ignes, cruces, bestias, dispersiones ossium,

<sup>12</sup> Joannis B. <sup>13</sup> regem B. <sup>14</sup> alitum B. <sup>15</sup> veridicantes B. <sup>16</sup> deest V. <sup>17</sup> maris V.  
<sup>18</sup> omnis B. <sup>19</sup> quæ B. <sup>20</sup> confusi B. <sup>21</sup> ei B. <sup>22</sup> peccabitis B. <sup>23</sup> deest B.  
<sup>24</sup> Egyptus B. <sup>25</sup> leopardus B. <sup>26</sup> deest B. <sup>27</sup> quod B. <sup>28</sup> tunc B.

<sup>29</sup> Act. xii. 2.<sup>30</sup> Act. vii. 57.<sup>31</sup> Act. vii. 55.<sup>32</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 23-29.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb., H. E., III. 36; from Rufinus' Latin, inexactly quoted. The original is in Jacobson's PP. Apostol. p. 357.

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dispersionesque membrorum; ac totius corporis poenæ et omnia in me unum supplicia diaboli arte quæsitâ complentur, dummodo Jesum Christum merear adipisci.' Quid ad hæc dormitantibus animæ oculis aspiciatis? Quid talia surdis sensuum auribus <sup>54</sup> auscultatis? Discutite, quæso, tenebrosam atramque cordis vestri caliginem <sup>55</sup> teporis, ut veritatis et humilitatis præfulgidum lumen videre possitis. Christianus non mediocris sed perfectus, sacerdos non vilis sed summus, martyr non segnis sed præcipuus dicit: 'Nunc incipio esse Christi discipulus.' Et vos, <sup>56</sup> acsi 'Lucifer ille de cœlo projectus', verbis non potestate erigimini, et quodammodo sub dente ruminatis et gestibus prætenditis, quæ antea <sup>57</sup> actor vester depinxerat: 'In cœlum,' inquit, 'conscendam,' et 'ero similis Altissimo.' Et iterum: '<sup>58</sup> Ego fodi, et bibi aquam, et <sup>59</sup> exicavi <sup>60</sup> vestigio pedum meorum omnes rivos aggregum.' Multo rectius oportebat vos imitari Illum et audire, Qui totius bonitatis et humilitatis vere invictum exemplar est, dicentem per Prophetam: '<sup>61</sup> Ego autem sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis.' O mirabile quoddam, dixisse Eum 'opprobrium hominum,' cum omnis mundi opprobria deleverit; [et iterum in Evangelio: 'Non possum Ego a Me ipso facere quicquam,' cum Ipse cœvus Patri ac Spiritui Sancto, communis ejusdemque substantiæ, cœlum et terram cum omni eorum inæstimabili ornamento fecerit, non alterius sed propria potestate: et vos arroganter verba exaltasse, Propheta dicente: '<sup>62</sup> Quid superbit terra et cinis?'] Sed ad

S. Polycarp. propositum <sup>61</sup> revertar. Quis inquam ex vobis, ut Smyrnen-sis Ecclesiæ pastor egregius Polycarpus Christi testis, <sup>63</sup> mensam humane hospitibus ad ignem eum avide trahentibus apposuit, et objectus flammis pro Christi charitate, dixit: 'Qui dedit mihi ignis ferre supplicium, dabit, ut sine clavorum confixione flammam immobiliter perferam.' Unum adhuc, præter magnam verbis volans sanctorum silvam, exempli gratia ponam Basilium, scilicet Cesariensem Episcopum, qui cum <sup>64</sup> ab iniquo principe minæ hujuscemodi intentarentur, quod, nisi in crastinum Arriano cœno, ut cæteri, macularetur, esset omnino moriturus, dixisse fertur: '<sup>65</sup> Ego sane ero cras qui hodie sum, tu te

<sup>54</sup> auscultatis B. <sup>55</sup> temporis G.B. <sup>56</sup> si ille de c. p. Luc. B. <sup>57</sup> autor V. <sup>58</sup> exicavi B.  
<sup>59</sup> vestigia B. <sup>60</sup> quo B. <sup>61</sup> revertatur B. <sup>62</sup> deest B.

<sup>63</sup> Esai. xiv. 12.

<sup>64</sup> Esai. xiv. 13, 14. V.

<sup>65</sup> Esai. xxxvii. 25. V.

<sup>66</sup> Psalm. xxi. 6. (xxi. 7.) I. V.

<sup>67</sup> Joan. v. 30. I. and Cod. Amiat. of V.

<sup>68</sup> Ecclus. x. 9. Vet. Lat. ap. Vulg.

<sup>69</sup> Euseb., H. E., IV. 15. § 10, 23. Rufin. interpr. And see also the Eocl. Smyrn. Epist. de S. Polycarpi Martyr., § 7, 13. Jacobs. PP. Apost. 556, 576.

<sup>70</sup> Rufin., H. E., XI. 9.

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utinam non mutares.' Et iterum: 'Utinam haberem aliquid digni muneris, quod offerrem huic, qui maturius Basilium de nodo follis hujus absolveret.' Quis ex vobis apostolici sermonis regulam, quæ ab omnibus semper sanctis sacerdotibus quibusque temporibus extantibus, humanam suggestionem præcipitanter ad <sup>66</sup> nequitiam festinantem recutientibus servata est, in concussione tyrannorum indurpente <sup>67</sup> custodiunt, hoc modo dicens: <sup>68</sup> 'Obedire <sup>69</sup> oportet magis' Deo quam <sup>70</sup> hominibus?' Igitur confugientes solito more ad Do-  
<sup>Prophetarum</sup>  
<sup>testimonia.</sup> mini misericordiam sanctorumque Prophetarum Ejus voces, ut illi pro nobis oraculorum suorum jacula imperfectis pastoribus, ut antea tyrannis, queis compuncti sanentur, <sup>71</sup> librent, videamus quid Dominus <sup>72</sup> per Prophetas' ad desides et inhonestos sacerdotes, et non bene populum tam exempla quam verba docentes, minarum loquatur. Nam et Heli ille <sup>73</sup> sacerdos in <sup>74</sup> Silo pro eo quod non digno Deo zelo <sup>75</sup> severe in filios <sup>76</sup> contemnentes Deum ultus' fuerat, sed molliter et clementer, <sup>77</sup> utpote paterno affectu, admonuerat, tali <sup>78</sup> animadversione damnatur, dicente ad eum Propheta: <sup>79</sup> 'Hæc dicit Dominus: Manifeste <sup>80</sup> ostendi <sup>81</sup> Me ad domum patris tui, cum essent in Ægypto servientes Pharaonis, et <sup>82</sup> elegi domum patris tui ex omnibus <sup>83</sup> tribubus Israel Mihi in sacerdotio.' Et post pauca: <sup>84</sup> 'Quare respexisti in incensum Meum, et in sacrificium Meum, improbo oculo? et honorificasti filios tuos plusquam Me, ut benediceres eos a primordio in omnibus sacrificiis coram Me? <sup>85</sup> Et <sup>86</sup> nunc <sup>87</sup> sic dicit Dominus: quoniam qui honorificant <sup>88</sup> Me, honorabo eos: et qui pro nihilo habent Me, ad nihilum redigentur. <sup>89</sup> Ecce dies venient, et disperdam nomen tuum, et semen domus patris tui. <sup>90</sup> Et hoc tibi signum sit, quod veniet super duos filios tuos <sup>91</sup> Ophni et Phinees; in uno die morientur ambo in gladio virorum.' <sup>92</sup> Si hæc itaque patiuntur, qui verbis <sup>93</sup> tantum subjectos et non condigna ultione emendant, quid ipsis <sup>94</sup> fiet, qui ad mala hortantur peccando et trahunt? [Quid illi quoque, perspicuum est, vero vati, post expletionem signi ab eodem prædicti, et restitutionem aridæ manus impio regi, misso a Judea

<sup>66</sup> nequitia B.      <sup>68</sup> custodivit V.      <sup>69</sup> magis oportet B.      <sup>70</sup> librent B.      <sup>71</sup> desunt B.  
<sup>67</sup> sacerdotes B.      <sup>72</sup> Sylo B.      <sup>73</sup> servare B.      <sup>74</sup> contempnos Domini vultus B.      <sup>75</sup> ut puta B.  
<sup>76</sup> adversione B.      <sup>77</sup> ostendisti B.      <sup>78</sup> deest B.      <sup>79</sup> eligi B.      <sup>80</sup> G. tribus V.  
<sup>81</sup> deest Joss. B.      <sup>82</sup> deest V.      <sup>83</sup> deest B.      <sup>84</sup> (e) add. B.      <sup>85</sup> Ofni B.      <sup>86</sup> sed B.  
<sup>87</sup> tamen B.      <sup>88</sup> fecit B.

<sup>89</sup> leg. custodivit.      <sup>90</sup> Act. v. 29. V.      <sup>91</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 30. LXX. G. = Lucif. ib.  
<sup>92</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 27, 28. LXX. G. = Hieron. ad Marcell. Opp. II. 612 b.      <sup>93</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 31. LXX. G. = Lucif. ib.  
<sup>94</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 29. G. = Lucif. Cal. Pro S. Athan. p. 126 a.      <sup>95</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 34. LXX. G. = Lucif. ib.

I. Bibl. PP. IV. p. 125 h.

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prophetare in Bethel, <sup>85</sup> prohibitoque ne <sup>86</sup> quid ibidem cibi gustaret, ac decepto ab alio, ut <sup>87</sup> dicebatur, propheta, ut parum quid panis et aquæ sumeret, obtigit, dicente ad eum suo hospite: ‘<sup>88</sup> Hæc dicit Dominus Deus: Quia inobediens fuisti <sup>89</sup> ori Domini’, et non custodisti mandatum quod præcepit Dominus Deus tuus, et reversus es, et comedisti panem et bibisti aquam in hoc loco, in quo mandaveram tibi, ne manducares panem nec biberes aquam; non ponetur corpus tuum in sepulchro patrum tuorum. Et factum est,’ inquit, ‘postquam manducavit panem et bibit aquam, stravit sibi asinam suam et abiit; et <sup>90</sup> Esaias. <sup>91</sup> invenit eum leo in via, et occidit eum?’] Esaiam quoque <sup>92</sup> sanctum Prophetam de sacerdotibus hoc modo loquentem audite: ‘<sup>93</sup> Væ impio in malum, retributio enim <sup>94</sup> manuum ejus fiet ei. Populum Meum exactores sui spoliaverunt, et mulieres dominatæ sunt ejus. Popule Meus, qui beatum te dicunt, ipsi te decipiunt, <sup>95</sup> et viam gressuum tuorum dissipant. Stat ad judicandum Dominus, et stat ad judicandos populos. Dominus ad judicium veniet cum senibus populi Sui et principibus ejus. Vos depasti estis vineam Meam, rapina pauperis in domo vestra. Quare atteritis populum Meum, et facies pauperum commolitis, <sup>96</sup> dicit Dominus exercituum?’ Et item: ‘<sup>97</sup> Væ qui condunt leges iniquas, et scribes iniquitatem scripserunt, ut opprimerent in judicio pauperes, et vim facerent <sup>98</sup> causæ humilium populi <sup>99</sup> Mei, ut essent viduæ præda eorum, et pupillos diriperent. Quid facietis in die visitationis et calamitatis de longe venientis?’ Et infra: ‘<sup>100</sup> Verum hi quoque præ vino nescierunt, <sup>101</sup> et præ ebrietate erraverunt, sacerdotes nescierunt præ ebrietate, <sup>102</sup> absorpti sunt a vino, erraverunt in ebrietate, nescierunt videntem, ignoraverunt judicium. Omnes enim mensæ repletæ sunt vomitu sordium, ita ut non esset ultra locus.’ ‘<sup>103</sup> Propterea audite verbum Domini viri <sup>104</sup> illusores, qui dominamini super populum Meum, qui est in Jerusalem. <sup>105</sup> Dixistis enim: Percussimus fœdus cum morte, et <sup>106</sup> cum inferno fecimus pactum. Flagellum inundans cum transierit non veniet super <sup>107</sup> nos, quia posuimus mendacium spem nostram, et mendacio protecti sumus.’ Et post

<sup>85</sup> prohibito quia B.    <sup>86</sup> quis B.    <sup>87</sup> dicitur B.    <sup>88</sup> Deo B.    <sup>89</sup> in B.    <sup>90</sup> deest B.  
<sup>91</sup> manum B.    <sup>92</sup> ut B.    <sup>93</sup> so G.B.V. dicit Joss.    <sup>94</sup> deest B.    <sup>95</sup> deest G.    <sup>96</sup> absorpti B.  
<sup>97</sup> illusores B.    <sup>98</sup> Dixisti B.    <sup>99</sup> non B.    <sup>100</sup> vos B.

<sup>101</sup> Reg. xiii. 21, 22. V. but, “non obediens .. in loco .. præcepit tibi .. comederes .. non inferetur .. cadaver.” And vv. 23, 24. = Lucif., De Non Conven. cum Hæret. p. 159 b.

<sup>102</sup> Esai. iii. 11-15. V. “dominatæ sunt eis ..

vos enim .. et rapina .. Dominus Deus.”

<sup>103</sup> Esai. x. 1-3. V.

<sup>104</sup> Esai. xxviii. 7, 8. V. “sacerdos et propheta nescierunt præ ebrietate.”

<sup>105</sup> Esai. xxviii. 14, 15. V. “Propter hoc.”

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aliquanta: “<sup>o</sup> Et subvertet grando spem mendacii, et protectionem aquæ inundabunt, et delebitur foedus vestrum cum morte, et pactum vestrum <sup>2</sup> cum inferno non stabit: flagellum inundans cum transierit, eritis <sup>3</sup> et in conculcationem: quandocunque pertransierit, tollet vos.’ Et iterum: “<sup>p</sup> Et dixit Dominus: Eo quod appropinquat populus iste ore suo, et labiis glorificant Me, cor autem eorum longe est a Me:’ “<sup>q</sup> ideo ecce ‘Ego addam’ ut <sup>4</sup> admirationem faciam populo huic miraculo grandi et stupendo. Peribit enim sapientia a sapientibus ejus, et intellectus prudentium ejus abscondetur. [Væ qui profundi estis corde, ut a Domino abscondatis consilium, quorum sunt in tenebris opera, et dicunt: Quis videt nos? et quis novit nos? Perversa enim hæc vestra cogitatio.’ Et post aliquanta: “<sup>r</sup> Hæc dicit Dominus: Cælum sedes Mea, et terra scabellum pedum Meorum est. Quæ ista est domus quam ædificabitis Mihi, et quis erit locus quietis <sup>6</sup> Meæ? Omnia hæc manus Mea fecit, et facta sunt universa ista, dicit Dominus. Ad quem autem aspiciam, nisi ad pauperculum et contritum spiritu et trementem sermones Meos? Qui immolat bovem, quasi qui interficiat virum: qui mactat pecus, quasi qui <sup>7</sup> excerebret canem: qui offert oblationem, quasi qui sanguinem suillum offerat: qui recordatur thuris, quasi qui benedicat <sup>8</sup> idolo. Hæc omnia <sup>9</sup> elegerunt in viis suis, et in abominationibus suis anima eorum delectata

Jeremias. <sup>10</sup> est.] Jeremias quoque virgo Prophetaque quid insipientibus loquatur pastoribus, attendite: “<sup>s</sup> Hæc dicit Dominus: Quid invenerunt patres vestri in Me iniquitatis, quia <sup>11</sup> elongaverunt a Me, et ambulaverunt post vanitatem, et vani facti sunt?’ Et paulo post: “<sup>t</sup> Et ingressi contaminastis terram Meam, et hæreditatem Meam posuistis in abominationem. Sacerdotes non dixerunt, Ubi est Dominus? Et tenentes legem nescierunt Me, et pastores prævaricati sunt in Me.’ “<sup>u</sup> Propterea adhuc iudicio contendam vobiscum, ait Dominus, et cum filiis vestris disceptabo.’ Item post aliquanta: “<sup>x</sup> Stupor et mirabilia facta sunt in terra: Prophetæ prædicabant mendacium, et sacerdotes applaudebant manibus suis, et populus

<sup>2</sup> in B.    <sup>3</sup> ei V.    <sup>4</sup> virgo adam B.    <sup>5</sup> admirationi B.    <sup>6</sup> Mæ B.    <sup>7</sup> exterebat B.  
<sup>8</sup> idola B.    <sup>9</sup> so G. eligerunt Joss. B.    <sup>10</sup> deest B.    <sup>11</sup> so add. V.

• Esai. xxviii. 17-19. V. “eritis ei in.”  
 • Esai. xxix. 13. V. “suis glorificat.”  
 • Esai. xxix. 14-16. V. “Perversa est hæc.”  
 • Esai. lxvi. 1-3. V. “terra autem... quis est iste locus... ad quem autem respiciam.”

• Jer. ii. 5. V.  
 • Jer. ii. 7, 8. V.  
 • Jer. ii. 9. V.  
 • Jer. v. 30, 31. V. “prophetabant... novissimo.”



[GOLD. EPIST. 2. A. D. 547.]

Meus dilexit talia. Quid igitur fiet in novissimis ejus?' '⁷ Cui loquar et contestabor, ut audiat? Ecce incircumcisæ aures eorum, et audire non possunt. Ecce verbum Domini factum est illis in opprobrium, et non suscipiunt illud.' '⁸ quia extendam manum Meam super habitantes terram, dicit Dominus. A minore quippe usque ad majorem omnes avaritiæ student, et a Propheta usque ad sacerdotem cuncti faciunt dolum. [Et curabant contritionem filiæ populi Mei cum ignominia, dicentes, pax, pax, et non erit pax. Confusi sunt, qui abominationem fecerunt. Quin potius confusione non sunt confusi, et erubescere nescierunt. Quamobrem cadent inter ruentes, in tempore visitationis eorum corruent, dicit Dominus.] Et iterum: '⁹ Omnes isti principes declinantium, ambulantes fraudulenter, æs et ferrum, universi corrupti sunt, defecit sufflatorium in igne, frustra <sup>11</sup> conflavit conflator, malitiæ autem eorum non sunt consumptæ, argentum reprobum <sup>12</sup> vocate eos, quia Dominus projecit illos.' Et post pauca: '⁸ Ego sum, Ego sum: Ego vidi, dicit Dominus. <sup>13</sup> Ite ad locum Meum in <sup>14</sup> Silo, ubi habitavit nomen Meum a principio: et videte quæ fecerim ei propter malitiam populi Mei Israel. Et nunc quia fecistis omnia opera hæc, dicit Dominus: et locutus sum ad vos mane <sup>15</sup> consurgens et loquens et <sup>16</sup> non audistis, et vocavi vos et non respondistis; faciam domui huic in qua invocatum est nomen Meum, et in qua vos habetis fiduciam, et <sup>17</sup> loco quem dedi vobis et patribus vestris, sicut feci Silo: et projiciam vos a facie Mea.' Et iterum: '⁹ Filii Mei exierunt a Me, et non subsistunt: et non est qui extendat ultra tentorium Meum, et <sup>18</sup> erigat pelles Meas: quia stulte egerunt pastores, et Dominum non quæsierunt. Propterea non intellexerunt, et grex eorum dispersus est.' Et post aliquanta: '⁹ Quid est <sup>19</sup> quod dilectus Meus in domo Mea facit scelera multa? Nunquid carnes <sup>20</sup> sanctæ auferent a te malitias tuas, in quibus gloriata es? <sup>21</sup> Olivam <sup>22</sup> uberem, pulchram, fructiferam, speciosam vocabit Dominus nomen tuum. Ad vocem loquelæ, grandis exarsit ignis in ea, et combusta sunt fruteta ejus.' Et iterum: '⁹ Venite, congregamini, omnes bestię terræ, <sup>23</sup> preparate ad devoran-

<sup>11</sup> conflant B.      <sup>12</sup> vocat B.      <sup>13</sup> iste B.      <sup>14</sup> Iosaphat add. B.      <sup>15</sup> surgens B.  
<sup>16</sup> deest B.      <sup>17</sup> in add. B.      <sup>18</sup> errigat B.      <sup>19</sup> vobis B.      <sup>20</sup> scto B.      <sup>21</sup> Olivam B.  
<sup>22</sup> so G.B. uberem Joss.      <sup>23</sup> preparate B.

⁷ Jer. vi. 10. V. "et quem contestabor .. est eis .. suscipient."

⁸ Jer. vi. 12-15. V. "non erat pax .. sunt quia .. visitationis sue."

⁹ Jer. vi. 28-30. V. "declinantes ... in igne

consumptum est plumbum, frustra .... malitiæ enim."

⁸ Jer. vii. 11-15. V.

⁹ Jer. x. 20, 21. V. "omnis grex."

⁹ Jer. xi. 15, 16. V. "fecit .. vocavit."

⁹ Jer. xii. 9, 10. V.

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dum. Pastores multi demoliti sunt vineam <sup>24</sup> Meam, <sup>25</sup> conculcaverunt partem Meam, dederunt portionem Meam desiderabilem in desertum solitudinis. Itemque loquitur: <sup>f</sup> Hæc dicit Dominus populo huic, qui dilexit movere pedes suos, et non quievit, et Domino non placuit. Nunc recordabitur iniquitatum eorum, et visitabit peccata <sup>26</sup> illorum. <sup>g</sup> Prophetæ dicunt eis: Non videbitis gladium, et fames non erit in vobis, sed pacem veram dabit Dominus <sup>27</sup> vobis in loco isto. Et dixit Dominus ad me: Falso prophetæ vaticinantur in nomine Meo, non misi eos <sup>28</sup> et non præcepi <sup>29</sup> eis, <sup>30</sup> visionem mendacem et divinationem et <sup>31</sup> fraudulentiam et seductionem cordis sui prophetant vobis. Ideo hæc dicit Dominus: <sup>32</sup> In gladio et fame consumentur prophetæ illi: et populi, quibus <sup>33</sup> prophetaverunt, projecti erunt in viis Jerusalem præ fame et gladio, et non erit qui sepeliat. Et iterum: <sup>34</sup> Væ pastoribus, qui disperdunt et dilacerant gregem pascuæ Meæ, dicit Dominus. Ideo hæc dicit Dominus Deus Israel ad pastores qui pascunt populum Meum: Vos dispersistis gregem Meum, et eiecistis eos, et non visitastis illos. Ecce, Ego visitabo super vos malitiam studiorum vestrorum, dicit Dominus. <sup>35</sup> Propheta namque et sacerdos polluti sunt, et in <sup>36</sup> domo Mea inveni malum eorum, dicit Dominus: et <sup>37</sup> idcirco via eorum erit quasi lubricum in tenebris, impellentur enim et corruent in ea; afferam enim super eos mala, annum visitationis eorum, dicit Dominus. Et in prophetis Samaritæ vidi fatuitatem, et <sup>38</sup> prophetabant in Baal, et decipiebant populum Meum Israel. Et in prophetis Jerusalem vidi similitudinem, adulterium, et iter mendacii: et confortaverunt manus pessimorum, ut non <sup>39</sup> converteretur unusquisque a malitia <sup>40</sup> sua: facti sunt Mihi omnes Sodoma, et habitatores ejus quasi Gomorrah. Propterea hæc dicit Dominus ad prophetas: Ecce Ego cibabo eos absinthio, et potabo eos felle. A prophetis enim Jerusalem est egressa pollutio super omnem terram. Hæc dicit Dominus exercituum: Nolite audire verba prophetarum, qui prophetant vobis, et decipiunt vos: visionem enim cordis sui loquuntur, non de ore Domini. Dicunt enim his, qui Me blasphemant, Locutus est Dominus, Pax erit vobis: et <sup>41</sup> omnibus, qui ambulant in pravitate cordis sui, dixerunt; Non veniet super <sup>42</sup> eos malum. Quis enim affuit in

<sup>24</sup> *deest B.*    <sup>25</sup> *deest G.*    <sup>26</sup> *eorum B.*    <sup>27</sup> *in add. B.*    <sup>28</sup> *deest B.*    <sup>29</sup> *eis B.*  
<sup>30</sup> *fraudentia B.*    <sup>31</sup> *prædicaverunt B.*    <sup>32</sup> *domu B.*    <sup>33</sup> *converterentur B.*    <sup>34</sup> *deest B.*  
<sup>35</sup> *eo G. omni Joss. B.*    <sup>36</sup> *eo B.*

<sup>f</sup> Jer. xiv. 10. V.

<sup>g</sup> Jer. xiv. 13-16. V. "idcirco... quibus prophetant."

<sup>h</sup> Jer. xxiii. 1, 2. V. "ait Dominus."

<sup>i</sup> Jer. xxiii. 11-20. V. "similitudinem adulterantium et... ut Sodoma... Dominus exercituum... omni qui ambulat... super vos... egredietur," and om. "enim" bis.

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consilio Domini, et vidit et audivit sermonem Ejus? Quis consideravit verbum Illius et audivit? Ecce, turbo Dominicæ indignationis egreditur, et tempestas erumpens super caput impiorum veniet: non revertetur furor Domini usque dum faciat, et usque dum compleat cogitationem cordis Sui. In novissimis diebus intelligetis consilium Ejus.' Parum namque cogitatis vel facitis, quod] sanctus quoque

Joel. Joel, <sup>36</sup> monens inertes sacerdotes ac deflens detrimentum populi pro iniquitatibus eorum, edixit: '<sup>k</sup> Expergiscimini qui <sup>37</sup> estis ebrii a vino vestro, et plorate et lamentamini omnes qui <sup>38</sup> bibitis vinum in ebrietatem, quia ablata est ab ore vestro jucunditas et gaudium.' '<sup>1</sup> Lugeate sacerdotes, qui deservitis <sup>39</sup> altari, quia miseri facti sunt campi.' '<sup>m</sup> Lugeat terra, quia miserum factum <sup>40</sup> est frumentum, et siccatum' est vinum, diminutum est oleum, <sup>41</sup> aruerunt agricolæ. [Lugeate possessiones pro tritico et hordeo, quia <sup>42</sup> perii vindemia ex agro, vitis arefacta est, ficus diminutæ sunt: granata, et palma, et malum, et omnia ligna agri arefacta sunt, <sup>43</sup> quoniam confuderunt <sup>44</sup> gaudium filii hominum.' Quæ omnia <sup>45</sup> spiritualiter intelligenda <sup>46</sup> erunt vobis, ne tam pestilenti fame verbi Dei animæ vestræ arescerent.] Et iterum: '<sup>n</sup> Flete sacerdotes, qui deservitis <sup>47</sup> Domino, dicentes: Parce Domine populo Tuo, et ne des hereditatem Tuam in opprobrium, <sup>48</sup> et ne dominantur' eorum gentes, uti ne dicant gentes, Ubi est Deus eorum.' Sed hæc vos nequaquam <sup>49</sup> auditis, sed omnia, quibus propensius divini furoris indig-

Osee. natio inardescat, <sup>50</sup> admittitis. Quid etiam sanctus Osee Propheta sacerdotibus vestri moduli dixerit, signanter attendite: '<sup>o</sup> Audite hæc sacerdotes, et intendat domus Israel et domus regis, <sup>51</sup> infigite auribus vestris, quoniam ad vos est iudicium, quia laqueus facti estis speculationi, et velut <sup>52</sup> retiaculum extensum [super p <sup>53</sup> retaberium quod <sup>54</sup> indicadores venationis <sup>55</sup> confinxerunt].' Vobis <sup>56</sup> etiam a Domino alienatio hujusmodi intendatur per Prophetam

Amos. Amos dicentem: '<sup>q</sup> Odio habui et repuli dies festos vestros, et <sup>57</sup> non accipiam odorem in solennibus conventionibus vestris,

<sup>36</sup> monens B. <sup>37</sup> est B. <sup>38</sup> bibitis V. <sup>39</sup> altario B. <sup>40</sup> derunt B. <sup>41</sup> et add. B. aruere V. <sup>42</sup> perit B. <sup>43</sup> qm B. not qm. <sup>44</sup> gladium B. <sup>45</sup> spiritualiter B. <sup>46</sup> sunt B. <sup>47</sup> Deo B. <sup>48</sup> et dominetur B. et dominantur V. <sup>49</sup> audietis B. <sup>50</sup> admittitis B. <sup>51</sup> infugite B. <sup>52</sup> retiaculum B. rete V. reticulum G. <sup>53</sup> Itaburium G. <sup>54</sup> indagatores G. <sup>55</sup> confinxerunt G. <sup>56</sup> et B. <sup>57</sup> deest B.

<sup>k</sup> Joel. i. 5. LXX. G. = MS. Vatic.

<sup>1</sup> Joel. i. 9, 10. LXX. G. = MS. Alex.

<sup>m</sup> Joel. i. 10-12. LXX. G.

<sup>n</sup> Joel. ii. 17. LXX. G. = MS. Vatic.

<sup>o</sup> Osee. v. 1, 2. LXX. G.

<sup>p</sup> sc. Tabor.

<sup>q</sup> Amos. v. 21-23. LXX. G. = MS. Alex.

[GEN. EXPR. A. A. D. 547.]

quia etsi obtuleritis <sup>88</sup>holocaustomata et hostias vestras, non accipiam ea. [Et salutare declarationis vestræ non <sup>89</sup>aspiciam. Transfer a Me sonum cantionum tuarum, et psalmum <sup>90</sup>organum tuorum non <sup>91</sup>audiam.] Famis <sup>92</sup>etenim evangelici cibi, culina ipsa vestræ animæ viscera excomedens, grassatur in vobis, sicut supradictus Propheta prædixit. ‘Ecce,’ <sup>93</sup>inquiens, ‘dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et <sup>94</sup>emittam famem in terram, non famem panis, neque sitim aquæ, sed famem in audiendo verbum Dei; et <sup>95</sup>movebuntur <sup>96</sup>aquæ a mari usque ad mare, et ab Aquilone usque ad Orientem percurrent

<sup>Michæa</sup> quærentes verbum Domini, et non invenient.”] Auribus quoque percipite sanctum Micheam, acsi coelestem quandam tubam adversus subdolos populi principes concisius personantem: “Audite nunc,” inquiens, ‘principes domus Jacob,’ ‘nonne vobis est ut cognoscatis iudicium odientibus bona, et quærentibus maligna, rapientibus pelles eorum ab eis, et carnes eorum ab ossibus eorum? Quemadmodum comederunt carnes plebis Meæ, et pelles eorum <sup>97</sup>ab eis excoriaverunt, ossa eorum confregerunt, et laniaverunt quasi carnes in olla;’ ‘succlamabunt ad Deum et non exaudiet eos, et avertet faciem Suam ab eis in illo tempore, propter quod malitiose gesserunt in <sup>98</sup>adinventionibus suis super ipsos. [Hæc dicit Dominus super prophetas qui seducunt populum meum, qui mordent dentibus suis, et prædicant in eum pacem, et non est data in os eorum: excitavi in eum bellum. Propterea nox erit vobis ex visione, et tenebræ vobis erunt ex divinatione, et occidet <sup>99</sup>sol super prophetas, et contenebrescet super eos dies, et confundentur videntes somnia, et <sup>100</sup>deridebuntur divini, et obrectabunt adversus omnes <sup>101</sup>ipsi: quoniam non erit qui exaudiat eos, si non ego implevero fortitudinem in <sup>102</sup>spiritu Domini’ et iudicio et potestate, ut annuntiem domui Jacob impietates suas, et <sup>103</sup>Israel peccata sua. Audite hæc itaque <sup>104</sup>duces domus Jacob, et residui domus Israel, qui abominamini iudicium, et omnia recta pervertitis, qui ædificatis Sion in sanguine, et Jerusalem <sup>105</sup>in iniquitatibus: duces ejus cum muneribus judicant, et sacerdotes ejus cum mercede respondebant, et prophetæ ejus cum pecunia divinabant; et in Domino requiescebant, dicentes:

<sup>88</sup> holocausta B. <sup>89</sup> accipiam add. B. <sup>90</sup> organorum G. <sup>91</sup> accipiam B. <sup>92</sup> est ibi B.  
<sup>93</sup> inquit B. <sup>94</sup> so G.B. immittam Jos. <sup>95</sup> moventur B. <sup>96</sup> deest B. <sup>97</sup> ex B.  
<sup>98</sup> adventionibus B. <sup>99</sup> deest B. <sup>100</sup> deridebunt B. <sup>101</sup> isti B. <sup>102</sup> Domini nomine,  
spiritu B. <sup>103</sup> in add. B. <sup>104</sup> principes B. <sup>105</sup> deest B.

<sup>1</sup> Amos viii. 11, 12. LXX. G. “panis,” with MS. Alex.; “a mari,” with MS. Vatic.

<sup>2</sup> Mich. iii. 1-12. LXX. G. MS. Vatic., but “excitavi” for “ἡγείνω” (agreeing with neither

Hebr., LXX., nor Vulg.), and “adversus omnes ipsi” for “ἐὰν ἀντὶ πάντων ἀνθρῶ.” For “succlamabunt,” read “sic clamabunt.”

[GOLD. EPIST. 2. A. D. 547.]

Nonne Dominus <sup>76</sup>in nobis est? Non venient super nos mala. Ideo propter vos Sion sicut ager arabitur, et Jerusalem sicut specula pomarii erit, et mons domus sicut locus sylvæ.' Et post aliquanta: 'Heu me, quia factus sum sicut qui colligit stipulam in <sup>77</sup>messe, et sicut <sup>78</sup>racemus in vindemia, cum non sit botrus ad manducandum primitiva. Heu me, anima quia <sup>79</sup>periit terrenis operibus, semper peccatorum reverentia exoritur reverens a terra, et qui corrigat inter homines, non est. Omnes in sanguinem iudicio contendunt, et unusquisque proximum suum tribulatione <sup>80</sup>tribulat, in malum manus <sup>81</sup>suas præparat.'

Sophonias. Quid Sophonias etiam Propheta egregius de vestris olim <sup>82</sup>commessoribus disceptaverit, attendite; de Jerusalem namque loquebatur, quæ <sup>83</sup>spiritualiter Ecclesia vel anima intelligitur: 'O,' inquit, 'quæ <sup>84</sup>erat splendida et <sup>85</sup>liberata civitas, confidens columba, non obaudivit vocem, nec percepit disciplinam, in Domino non confisa est, et ad Deum suum non accessit.' Et id quare, <sup>86</sup>ostendit: 'Principes ejus <sup>87</sup>sicut leo' rugientes, iudices sicut lupi Arabiæ, non relinquebant in mane; prophetæ ejus spiritum portantes viri <sup>88</sup>contemptoris, sacerdotes ejus prophanabant sancta, et impie agebant in lege: Dominus autem justus in medio ejus, et non faciet <sup>89</sup>injustum: mane, mane dabit iudicium Suum.' Sed

Zacharias. et beatum Zachariam Prophetam monentem vos in verbo Dei audite: 'Hæc enim dicit <sup>90</sup>Dominus omnipotens': Iudicium justum iudicate, et misericordiam et miserationem facite unusquisque ad <sup>91</sup>fratrem suum, et viduam et orphanum et advenam et pauperem per potentiam nolite <sup>92</sup>nocere, et malitiam <sup>93</sup>unusquisque fratris sui non reminiscatur in corde suo: et contumaces fuerunt ne observarent, et dederunt dorsum stultitiæ, et aures suas degravaverunt ut non audirent, et cor suum statuerunt insuadibile ne audirent legem Meam, et verba, quæ misit Dominus omnipotens [in spiritu <sup>94</sup>Suo in manibus Prophetarum priorum: et facta est ira magna a Domino omnipotente.' Et iterum: 'Quoniam qui

<sup>76</sup> deest B. <sup>77</sup> mense B. <sup>78</sup> ramus B. <sup>79</sup> perit B. <sup>80</sup> tribulavit B. <sup>81</sup> suant præparant B. <sup>82</sup> commessoribus G.B.V. <sup>83</sup> spiritualiter V. <sup>84</sup> era B. <sup>85</sup> libera V. <sup>86</sup> ostenditur B. <sup>87</sup> quasi leo B. in ea sicut leones V. <sup>88</sup> contemptores B. <sup>89</sup> iniquitatem V. <sup>90</sup> omn. Dom. B. <sup>91</sup> proximum B. <sup>92</sup> calumniari V. <sup>93</sup> frat. s. un. B. <sup>94</sup> sancto B.

<sup>1</sup> Mich. vii. 1-3. LXX. G. but, "terrenis operibus, semper peccatorum reverentia exoritur" corresponds to nothing in either Hebr., LXX., or Vulg.

<sup>2</sup> Zeph. iii. 1, 2. LXX. G. but G. adds "confidens."

<sup>3</sup> Zeph. iii. 3-5. LXX. G. but read "contemptores," = "καταφρονῆται," LXX.

<sup>4</sup> Zach. vii. 9-12. LXX. G. = MS. Vatic.

<sup>5</sup> Zach. x. 2, 3. LXX. G. but read, "excubata."

[GOLD. EXERT. 2. A. D. 547.]

loquebantur, locuti sunt molestias, et divini vīsa falsa et somnia falsa loquebantur, et vana <sup>10</sup>consolabantur: propter <sup>11</sup>hoc aridi facti sunt sicut oves, et afflicti sunt quoniam non erat sanitas.] Super pastores exacerbata est iracundia Mea, et super agnos visitabo.' [Et post pauca: '<sup>12</sup>Vox lamentantium pastorum, quia misera facta est magnitudo eorum. Vox rugientium leonum, quoniam miser factus est decursus Jordanis. Hæc dicit Dominus omnipotens: Qui possidebant interficiebant, et non pœnituit eos: et qui vendebant eas dicebant: Benedictus Dominus, et ditati sumus: et pastores earum nihil passi sunt in eis. Propter quod non parcam jam super inhabitantes' <sup>13</sup>ter-Malachiam. rām, dicit Dominus.] Quid præterea sanctus Malachias Propheta vobis <sup>14</sup>denunciaverit, audite: '<sup>15</sup>Vos,' inquit, 'sacerdotes qui spernitis nomen Meum, <sup>16</sup>et dixistis: In quo spernimus nomen' Tuum? Offerendo ad altare Meum panes pollutos: et dixistis, In quo polluimus eos? In eo quod dixistis: Mensa Domini pro nihilo est, et quæ superposita sunt sprevisistis. Quoniam si adducatis cæcum ad victimam, <sup>17</sup>nonne <sup>18</sup>malum? si admoveatis claudum aut languidum, nonne' malum? Offer itaque illud præposito tuo si <sup>19</sup>suscipiet illud, si accipiet personam tuam, dicit Dominus omnipotens. Et nunc exorate faciem Dei vestri, et deprecamini Eum: in manibus vestris facta sunt hæc, si accipiam ex vobis 'personas vestras.' Et iterum: '<sup>20</sup>Et intulistis de rapina claudum et languidum, et intulistis munus. Nunquid suscipiam illud de manu vestra, dicit Dominus? Maledictus dolosus, qui habet in grege suo masculum, et votum faciens immolat debile Domino; quia rex magnus Ego sum, dicit Dominus exercituum, et nomen Meum horribile in gentibus.' [<sup>21</sup>Et nunc ad vos mandatum hoc, <sup>22</sup>O sacerdotes. Si nolueritis audire et ponere super cor ut detis gloriam nomini Meo, ait Dominus exercituum, mittam in vos egestatem, et maledicam <sup>23</sup>benedictionibus vestris, quoniam non posuistis super cor. Ecce Ego projiciam vobis brachium, et dispergam super vultum vestrum stercus solennitatumstrarum.' Sed interea ut avidius organa nequitie præparetis ad bona, quid de sancto sacerdote dicat, si quantulumcunque adhuc interni auditus in vobis remanet,

<sup>10</sup> consolabantur B. <sup>11</sup> quod B. <sup>12</sup> docet B. <sup>13</sup> denunciaverunt B. <sup>14</sup> denunt B.  
<sup>15</sup> non me B. <sup>16</sup> denunt B. <sup>17</sup> suscipiens B. suscepit V. (and also accepit). <sup>18</sup> personam  
 vestram B. <sup>19</sup> docet B. <sup>20</sup> benedictionibus B.

<sup>1</sup> Zach. xi. 3-6. LXX. G. but LXX. (with Vulg.) add, after the Hebr., before "Qui possidebant," "Ποιμαίνετε τὰ πρόβατα τῆς σφαγῆς, &c."

<sup>2</sup> Malach. i. 6-9. LXX. G.

<sup>3</sup> Malach. i. 13, 14. V. but "rapinis... Ego, dicit."

<sup>4</sup> Malach. ii. 1-3. V. but adds, "et maledicam illis" before "quoniam." And V. partly = LXX.

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auscultate: ‘<sup>d</sup> Pactum Meum,’ inquit, ‘fuit cum eo,’—de Levi namque vel Moyse secundum historiam loquebatur,—‘vitæ et pacis, dedi ei timorem, et timuit Me, a facie nominis Mei <sup>e</sup> pavebat, lex veritatis fuit in ore ejus, et iniquitas non est inventa in labiis ejus, in pace et in æquitate ambulavit Mecum, et multos avertit ab iniquitate. Labia enim sacerdotis custodient scientiam, et legem requirent ex <sup>o</sup> ore ejus, quia angelus Domini exercituum est.’ Nunc item mutavit sensum, et malos increpare non desinit: ‘<sup>e</sup> Vos,’ inquit, ‘recessistis de via, et <sup>10</sup>descandalizastis plurimos <sup>11</sup>in lege,’ et irritum fecistis pactum cum Levi, dicit Dominus exercituum. Propter quod et Ego dedi vos contemptibiles et humiles in omnibus populis, <sup>12</sup>sicut non servastis vias Meas, et accepistis faciem in lege. Nunquid non Pater unus omnium <sup>13</sup>nostrum: nunquid non Deus unus creavit <sup>14</sup>nos? Quare ergo despicit unusquisque fratrem suum? Et iterum: ‘<sup>f</sup> Ecce veniet Dominus exercituum, et quis poterit cogitare diem adventus Ejus? et quis stabit ad videndum Eum? Ipse enim egredietur quasi ignis ardens, et quasi <sup>15</sup>poa lavantium,’ et sedebit conflans et emundans argentum, et purgabit filios Levi, et colabit eos quasi aurum et <sup>16</sup>quasi argentum.’ Et post pauca: ‘<sup>g</sup> Invaluerunt super Me verba vestra, dicit Dominus, et dixistis?’ Vanus est qui servit Deo, et quod <sup>17</sup>emolumentum, quia custodivimus præcepta Ejus, et quia ambulavimus coram Domino exercituum tristes? Ergo nunc beatos dicemus arrogantes, siquidem ædificati sunt facientes iniquitatem,

Ezechiel. <sup>18</sup>temptaverunt Deum, et salvi facti sunt.] Quid vero Ezechiel Propheta dixerit, attendite: ‘<sup>h</sup> Væ,’ inquit, ‘<sup>19</sup>super væ veniet,’ et nuntius super nuntium <sup>20</sup>erit, et <sup>21</sup>quæretur visio a propheta, et lex peribit a sacerdote et consilium de senioribus.’ Et iterum: ‘<sup>i</sup> Hæc dicit Dominus: Eo quod sermones vestri sunt mendaces, et divinationes vestræ vanæ, propter hoc ecce Ego ad vos, dicit Dominus: extendam manum Meam super prophetas qui vident mendacia, et eos qui loquuntur vana: in disciplina populi

<sup>7</sup> peccatum B.    <sup>8</sup> timebat B.    <sup>9</sup> labiis B.    <sup>10</sup> scandalizastis B.    <sup>11</sup> de legem B.  
<sup>12</sup> sic B.    <sup>13</sup> vestrum B.    <sup>14</sup> vos B.    <sup>15</sup> herba fullonum B.    <sup>16</sup> deest B.    <sup>17</sup> emolumentum B.    <sup>18</sup> tentaverunt G.B.    <sup>19</sup> superveniet V.    <sup>20</sup> deest B.    <sup>21</sup> quæritur B.

<sup>d</sup> Malach. ii. 5-7. V.: but nearly = LXX.  
<sup>e</sup> Malach. ii. 8-10. V. but “scandalizastis . . pactum Levi . . humiles omnibus.” V. nearly = LXX. MS. Alex.

<sup>f</sup> Malach. iii. 1-3. V. except, “Ipse enim . . lavantium,” which is peculiar to G. And “ecce veniet,” which is from I. (ap. Hieron. in loc.)

<sup>g</sup> Malach. iii. 13-15. V. but nearly = LXX.

And V. has, “dicimus . . impietatem et tentaverunt.”

<sup>h</sup> Ezek. vii. 26. LXX. G.

<sup>i</sup> Ezek. xiii. 8-10. LXX. MS. Vatic. G. but for “scietis” (which = both Hebr. and Vulg.), LXX. have “*γνώσκειται*,” and I. (ap. Hieron. ad loc.) “scient.”

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Mei non erunt, <sup>22</sup> et in scriptura domus Israel <sup>23</sup> non scribentur, et in terram Israel non intrabunt, et scietis quia Ego Dominus. Propterea populum Meum seduxerunt dicentes, pax Domini, et non est pax Domini. Hic <sup>24</sup> struit parietem, et ipsi ungunt eum, et cadet.' Et post aliquanta: '<sup>25</sup> Væ his qui concinnant cervicalia subtus omnem cubitum manus, et faciunt velamina super omne caput universæ ætatis, ad subvertendas animas. [Animæque subversæ sunt populi Mei, et animas possidebant, et contaminabant <sup>26</sup> Me ad' populum Meum propter manum plenam hordei, et propter fragmentum panis, ad occidendas animas quas non oportebat mori, et ad liberandas animas quas non oportebat vivere, dum loquimini <sup>27</sup> populo exaudienti vana eloquia.] Et infra: '<sup>28</sup> Fili hominis dic, Tu es terra quæ non compluitur, neque pluvia facta est super te in die iræ, in qua principes in medio ejus, sicut leones rugientes, rapientes rapinas, animas devorantes in potentia, et pretia accipientes, et viduæ tuæ multiplicatæ sunt in medio tui, et sacerdotes ejus despexerunt legem Meam, et <sup>29</sup> polluebant sancta Mea: inter sanctum et pollutum non distinguebant, et inter medium immundi et mundi non dividebant, et a <sup>30</sup> sabbathis Meis obvelabant oculos suos, et <sup>31</sup> polluebant in medio eorum.' Et iterum: '<sup>32</sup> Et quærebam ex eis virum recte conversantem, et stantem ante faciem Meam omnino in <sup>33</sup> tempore iræ, ne' in fine delerem eam, et non inveni. Et effudi in eam animum Meum in igne iræ Meæ ad consumendum eos: vias eorum in caput eorum dedi, dicit Dominus.' Et post aliquanta: '<sup>34</sup> Et factus est sermo Domini ad me dicens: <sup>35</sup> Fili hominis loquere filiis populi Mei, et dices ad eos: Terra in quam Ego gladium superinducam, et acceperit populus terræ hominem unum ex ipsis, et dederit eum sibi in speculatorem, et viderit gladium venientem super terram, et tuba <sup>36</sup> cecinerit, et significaverit populo: et audierit qui audit vocem tubæ et non observaverit: et venerit gladius et comprehenderit eum: sanguis ejus super caput ejus erit. Quia, cum vocem tubæ audisset, non observavit, sanguis ejus in ipso <sup>37</sup> erit: et hic, quia custodivit, animam suam liberavit. Et <sup>38</sup> speculator si viderit gladium

<sup>22</sup> neque B. V.    <sup>23</sup> deest V.    <sup>24</sup> struunt V.    <sup>25</sup> deunt B.    <sup>26</sup> filii B.    <sup>27</sup> polluerunt B.  
<sup>28</sup> sabbatis B.    <sup>29</sup> polluerunt B.    <sup>30</sup> so G. tempora terræ ne Juss. tempora terre nec B.  
<sup>31</sup> filii B.    <sup>32</sup> canit B.    <sup>33</sup> est B.    <sup>34</sup> speculator B.

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xiii. 18, 19. LXX. G. MS. Vatic.; but "animæque," and "fragmentum panis," = MS. Alex.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxii. 24-26. LXX. G. MS. Vatic.; except "polluebant" in the last clause, which = MS. Alex.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxii. 30, 31. LXX. G. MS. Vatic. (but adds "eos" with MS. Alex.)

<sup>4</sup> Ezek. xxxiii. 1-9. LXX. G. MS. Vatic.; but for "populi Mei" LXX. (agreeing with both Hebr. and Vulg.) have "τοῦ λαοῦ σου."



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venientem et non significaverit tuba, et populus non observaverit : et veniens gladius acceperit ex <sup>35</sup> eis animam' : et ipsa propter iniquitatem suam capta est ; et sanguinem de manu <sup>36</sup> speculatoris requiram. Et tu fili hominis <sup>37</sup> speculatorem te dedi domui Israel, et audies ex ore Meo verbum : cum dicam peccatori, Morte morieris, et non <sup>38</sup> loqueris ut avertat se a via sua impius ; et ipse iniquus <sup>39</sup> in iniquitate sua morietur, sanguinem autem ejus de manu tua requiram. Tu vero si prædixeris impio viam ejus, ut avertat se ab ea, et non se averterit a via sua : hic sua impietate morietur, et tu animam tuam <sup>40</sup> eripuisti.] Sed sufficiant hæc pauca de pluribus Prophetarum testimonia, "queis retunditur superbia vel ignavia sacerdotum contumacium, ne putent nos propria potius adinventione quam legis "sanctorum vel' auctoritate eis Testimonia ex talia denuntiare. Videamus igitur quid evangelica tuba Novo Testamento mundo personans inordinatis sacerdotibus eloquatur ; S. Matthæus. non enim de illis, ut jam diximus, qui apostolicam sedem legitime obtinent, quique bene norunt <sup>o</sup> largiri <sup>41</sup> spiritualia conservis suis 'in tempore cibaria,' "si qui tamen multi in præsentiarum sunt ; sed de pastoribus imperitis, <sup>42</sup> qui derelinquunt oves, et pas cunt vana, et non habent verba pastoris periti, <sup>43</sup> nobis sermo est. Evidens <sup>44</sup> ergo indicium est, non esse eum legitimum pastorem, sed <sup>45</sup> mediocre quidem Christianum, qui hæc non tam nostra, qui valde exigui sumus, quam Veteris Novique Testamenti decreta <sup>46</sup> recusarit vel inficiatus fuerit ; sicut bene quidam <sup>47</sup> nostrorum ait : 'Optabiliter cupimus, ut hostes Ecclesiæ sint nostri quoque absque ullo foedere hostes ; et amici ac defensores nostri non solum foederati, sed etiam patres ac domini habeantur.' Conveniant namque singuli vero examine conscientiam suam, et ita deprehendent <sup>48</sup> an secundum rectam rationem sacerdotali cathedræ <sup>49</sup> insideant. Videamus, inquam, quid Salvator mundi Factorque dicat. 'P Vos estis,' inquit, 'sal terræ ; quod si sal evanuerit, in quo salietur ? ad nihilum valet ultra, nisi ut <sup>50</sup> projiciatur foras <sup>51</sup> ut conculcetur ab hominibus.' Hoc unum testimonium ad confutandos impudentes quosque abunde sufficere posset, sed ut

<sup>35</sup> ea anima B.    <sup>36</sup> spiculatoris B.    <sup>37</sup> spiculatorem B.    <sup>38</sup> loquaris B.    <sup>39</sup> deest B.  
<sup>40</sup> eruiisti B.    <sup>41</sup> quibus B.    <sup>42</sup> sanctorumve V.    <sup>43</sup> spiritualia V.    <sup>44</sup> sed B.    <sup>45</sup> quia B.  
<sup>46</sup> vobis B.    <sup>47</sup> g<sup>1</sup> (i. e. igitur) B.    <sup>48</sup> ne add. V.    <sup>49</sup> recusaverit B.    <sup>50</sup> nrm B.  
<sup>51</sup> ad B.    <sup>52</sup> insident B.    <sup>53</sup> mittatur B.    <sup>54</sup> et B.

<sup>o</sup> Matt. xxiv. 46. I. as in MS. Corb. 1. and in Cod. Bezzæ.

<sup>p</sup> Matt. v. 13. I. V. but "et conculcetur." And "projiciatur" (for "mittatur") = Cod. Bezzæ,

MS. Clarom., MS. S. Gat., S. Cypr. Test. III. 87. p. 87, S. Hieron. c. Lucif. Opp. IV. 291 b.

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evidentioribus adhuc astipulationibus, quantis semetipsos intolerabilibus scelerum fascibus falsi hi sacerdotes opprimant, verbis Christi <sup>85</sup> comprobetur, aliqua annectenda sunt. Sequitur enim: ‘<sup>9</sup> Vos estis lux mundi. Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita, neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio, sed <sup>86</sup> super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt.’ Quis ergo sacerdotum hujus temporis ita ignorantiae <sup>87</sup> cæcitate possessus, ut’ lux clarissimæ lucernæ in <sup>88</sup> aliqua domo’ cunctis noctu residentibus, scientiæ simul et bonorum operum lampade <sup>89</sup> lucet? Quis <sup>90</sup> ita universis Ecclesiæ filiis <sup>91</sup> tutum, publicum, conspicuumque refugium, <sup>92</sup> ut sit’ civibus <sup>93</sup> firmissima forte æditi’ montis civitas vertice constituta, habetur? Sed <sup>94</sup> et quod sequitur, ‘<sup>95</sup> Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant <sup>96</sup> opera vestra’ bona, et magnificent Patrem vestrum Qui <sup>97</sup> in cœlis est.’ quis eorum uno saltem die potest implere? Quin potius densissima quædam eorum nebula, atraque peccaminum omni insulæ ita incumbit nox, <sup>98</sup> ut omnes pene a via recta avertat, ac per invios <sup>99</sup> impeditosque scelerum calles errare faciat; quorum non modo Pater <sup>100</sup> cœlestis non laudatur per opera, sed etiam intolerabiliter blasphematur. <sup>101</sup> Velim quidem hæc Scripturæ <sup>102</sup> Sacræ testimonia huic epistolæ inserta vel inserenda, sicut nostra mediocritas posset, omnia utcunque historico vel morali sensu interpretari. Sed, ne <sup>103</sup> in immensum’ modum opusculum hoc, his qui non tam nostra quam Dei despiciunt, fastidiunt, avertunt, <sup>104</sup> proteletur, simpliciter et absque ullo verborum <sup>105</sup> circuitione congesta vel congerenda sunt. Et post pauca: ‘<sup>106</sup> Qui enim solverit unum de mandatis istis minimis, et docuerit sic homines, minimus vocabitur in regno cœlorum.’ Et iterum: ‘<sup>107</sup> Nolite judicare, ut non judicemini: in quo enim iudicio judicaveritis, judicabitur de vobis.’ Quis rogo vestrum <sup>108</sup> respiciet id’ quod sequitur. ‘<sup>109</sup> Quid autem <sup>110</sup> vides,’ inquit, ‘festucam in oculo fratris tui, et trabem in oculo tuo non consideras? aut quomodo dicis fratri tuo, Sine <sup>111</sup> ejiciam festucam de oculo tuo, et

<sup>85</sup> comprobatur B. <sup>86</sup> supra B.V. <sup>87</sup> cæcitatem depellit ut cœu V. <sup>88</sup> aliquam domum B. <sup>89</sup> luceat V. <sup>90</sup> itaque B. <sup>91</sup> totum B. <sup>92</sup> ut est B. est ut V. <sup>93</sup> firmissima forte editi G. firma forte in æditi V. firmissima forte ut edita B. <sup>94</sup> docet B. <sup>95</sup> vest. op. B. <sup>96</sup> et add. B. but erased prima manu. <sup>97</sup> ita add. B. <sup>98</sup> impeditosque B. <sup>99</sup> scelestis B. <sup>100</sup> vellem B.V. <sup>101</sup> facere B. <sup>102</sup> in mensum B. <sup>103</sup> protollatur V. <sup>104</sup> circuitio B. <sup>105</sup> respiciet illud B. respicit id V. <sup>106</sup> inq. vid. B. <sup>107</sup> so G.V. ejiciam Joss. eciam (contracted) B.

<sup>108</sup> Matt. v. 14, 15. V. (“supra,” as in MS. B.=I.

<sup>109</sup> Matt. v. 16. I. V.: but “magnificent,” G. (in I. and V. “glorificent”) = MSS. Vercell. and Veron. (African), S. Germ. 1, Clarom., Maj. Mon., S. Hilary in Ps. lxi. &c. (Itala), and the

Rushworth Gospels (Scoto-Northumbrian).

<sup>110</sup> Matt. v. 19. I. (V. has “qui ergo.”)

<sup>111</sup> Matt. vii. 1, 2. I.

<sup>112</sup> Matt. vii. 3, 4. I. But, “consideras,” G. (in both I. and V., “vides”) = Cod. Vercell. (African).

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ecce <sup>77</sup>trabes in oculo tuo est.' Vel quod sequitur: '<sup>78</sup>Nolite dare sanctum canibus, neque miseritis margaritas vestras ante porcos, ne forte conculcent eas pedibus suis, et conversi <sup>79</sup>dirumpant vos:' quod sæpissime vobis evenit. Et populum monens, ne a dolosis doctoribus, ut estis vos, seduceretur, dixit: '<sup>80</sup>Attendite vobis a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in <sup>81</sup>vestitu ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces. A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. Nunquid colligunt de spinis uvas, aut de tribulis ficus? <sup>82</sup>Sic omnis arbor bona bonos fructus facit, et mala malos.' Et infra: '<sup>83</sup>Non omnis qui dicit Mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabit in regnum <sup>84</sup>cælorum: sed qui facit voluntatem Patris Mei Qui in cælis est, ipse intrabit in regnum' cælorum.' Quid sane vobis fiet, <sup>85</sup>qui, ut Propheta <sup>86</sup>dixit, labiis tantum et non corde <sup>87</sup>Deo creditis? Qualiter autem <sup>88</sup>impletis quod sequitur: '<sup>89</sup>Ecce,' inquit, 'Ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum,' qui versa vice, ut lupi in gregem ovium, proceditis; vel quod ait: '<sup>90</sup>Estote prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbæ?' Prudentes quidem estis ut aliquem ore <sup>91</sup>exitiabili mordeatis, non ut Caput vestrum, quod est Christus, objectu <sup>92</sup>quodammodo corporis defendatis, Quem totis operum malorum conatibus <sup>93</sup>conculcatis. Nec enim simplicitatem columbarum habetis, quin potius <sup>94</sup>corvino <sup>95</sup>assimilati nigrori, ac semel de arca, id est Ecclesia, <sup>96</sup>evolantes, <sup>97</sup>inventis carnalium voluptatum foetoribus, nusquam ad eam puro corde revolastis. Sed videamus et cætera: '<sup>98</sup>Nolite,' ait, 'timere eos qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere, sed timete Eum Qui potest <sup>99</sup>et animam et corpus' perdere in gehennam.' Quidnam horum feceritis, recogitate. Quem vero vestrum sequens testimonium non in <sup>100</sup>profundo cordis <sup>101</sup>arcano <sup>102</sup>vulneret, quod de pravis <sup>103</sup>antistitibus Salvator ad Apostolos loquitur? '<sup>104</sup>Sinite illos, cæci <sup>105</sup>sunt duces' cæcorum: cæcus autem si cæco ducatum præstet, ambo in foveam cadent.' Egent

<sup>77</sup> trabis B. <sup>78</sup> dirumpant B. <sup>79</sup> vestimentis B.V. <sup>80</sup> set B. <sup>81</sup> desunt B. <sup>82</sup> qd' B.  
<sup>83</sup> Deum creditis B. Deo adheretis V. <sup>84</sup> deest B. <sup>85</sup> exitiabili B. <sup>86</sup> quodam B.  
<sup>87</sup> conculcans B. <sup>88</sup> assimilati G. <sup>89</sup> a volitantes B. evolantes V. <sup>90</sup> inventes B.  
<sup>91</sup> et c. et a. B. <sup>92</sup> profunda B. profundi V. <sup>93</sup> so G. arcana Joss. B.V. <sup>94</sup> vulneret B.  
<sup>95</sup> antistibus B.V. <sup>96</sup> duces sunt B.

<sup>x</sup> Matt. vii. 6. I.  
<sup>y</sup> Matt. vii. 15-17. I. but "intrinsecus" = Vulg., "a fructibus" = Cod. Vercell. et Veron. and the last v. is probably abridged. G. = Luc. Cal. Pro S. Athan. I. Bibl. PP. IV. 140 g. in v. 15.  
<sup>z</sup> Matt. vii. 21. V. but = also Cod. Veron., and Corb. of I.

<sup>a</sup> Esai. xxix. 13; Matt. xv. 8; Marc. vii. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. x. 16. I. V.  
<sup>c</sup> Matt. x. 16. I. V. but "estote ergo."  
<sup>d</sup> Gen. viii. 7.  
<sup>e</sup> Matt. x. 28. V. (not Cod. Amiat.) but = also Cod. Brix. of I.; and G. om. "potius," before "timete."  
<sup>f</sup> Matt. xv. 14. = Cod. Vercell., and Cod. Amiat. of V.; but "cadent," for "cadunt," is peculiar to G. with S. Cypr. Epist. 43. p. 84.

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sane populi, <sup>7</sup> quibus præstis, vel potius quos <sup>8</sup> decepistis, audire. Attendite verba Domini ad Apostolos et turbas loquentis, quæ et <sup>9</sup> nos, ut audio, in medium crebro proferre non pudet. <sup>g</sup> Super cathedram Moysi sederunt Scribæ et Pharisei. Omnia ergo quæcunque dixerint vobis, servate et facite: secundum vero opera eorum nolite facere. Dicunt enim et ipsi non faciunt.' Periculosa certe ac supervacua sacerdotibus doctrina est, quæ pravis operibus obfuscatur. <sup>h</sup> Væ vobis hypocritæ, qui clauditis regnum cælorum ante homines, vos autem non intratis nec <sup>i</sup> introeuntes sinitis intrare.' Non solum enim præ tantis malorum criminibus quæ geritis in futuro, sed etiam pro his, <sup>j</sup> qui vestro quotidie exemplo pereunt, pœnali pœna <sup>k</sup> plectemini: quorum sanguis in die iudicii de vestris manibus requireretur. Sed quid mali quod servi parabola <sup>l</sup> prætenderit inspicite, dicentis <sup>i</sup> in corde suo, Moram facit Dominus meus venire.' Qui <sup>m</sup> pro hoc forsitan <sup>j</sup> incoeperat percutere conservos suos, manducans et bibens cum ebriis. Veniet' ergo, inquit, <sup>n</sup> Dominus servi illius in die <sup>o</sup> qua non sperat, et hora qua ignorat, et dividet eum, <sup>p</sup> a sanctis scilicet sacerdotibus, <sup>q</sup> partemque ejus ponet cum hypocritis, cum eis certe, qui sub sacerdotali tegmine multum obumbrant nequitia. <sup>r</sup> Illic, inquit, <sup>s</sup> erit fletus et stridor dentium; quibus in hac vita <sup>t</sup> non crebro evenit ob quotidianas Ecclesiæ matris ruinas filiorum, vel <sup>u</sup> desyderia regni cælorum. Epistola S. Pauli. Sed videamus quid Christi verus discipulus, Magister gentium Paulus, qui omni ecclesiastico <sup>v</sup> doctori imitandus est, <sup>10</sup> sicut et ego Christi, in tali negotio præloquatur in prima epistola dicens, <sup>m</sup> Quia <sup>11</sup> quum cognoverunt Deum, non sicut Deum magnificaverunt, aut gratias egerunt: sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis, et <sup>12</sup> occæcatum est <sup>13</sup> insipiens cor eorum; dicentes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt.' Licet hoc gentibus dici videatur, intuemini tamen quia competenter istius ævi sacerdotibus cum <sup>14</sup> populis coaptabitur. Et post

<sup>7</sup> qui B. <sup>8</sup> decipitis V. <sup>9</sup> vos B. V. <sup>i</sup> introientes B. <sup>g</sup> que B. <sup>k</sup> plectimini B. <sup>l</sup> protenderit B. <sup>m</sup> ob hoc f. coeperat V. <sup>n</sup> In add. V. <sup>o</sup> deest B. V. <sup>p</sup> desideria G. B. <sup>q</sup> deest B. <sup>r</sup> desunt B. sicut et ego sum discipulus Christi V. <sup>s</sup> non cognoverunt B. quum cognovissent V. <sup>t</sup> obscacatum B. obscacatum V. <sup>u</sup> deest B. <sup>v</sup> apostolis B.

<sup>g</sup> Matt. xxiii. 2, 3. V. but "vero opera" is peculiar to G. with the Rushworth and Hereford Gospels, and "ipsi" is from I.

<sup>h</sup> Matt. xxiii. 13. I. V.: but G. has "qui" with one MS. of V. (the Vallicell.), and "vos enim," with the Rushworth and Hereford Gospels.

<sup>i</sup> Matt. xxiv. 48. I. V.

<sup>j</sup> Matt. xxiv. 49—51. I. and Cod. Amiat. of V. For "veniet ergo," I. has "veniet autem," and V. om. the word.

<sup>k</sup> Matt. xxiv. 51. I. V.

<sup>l</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 1. I. V.

<sup>m</sup> Rom. i. 21, 22. = MS. Reg. of I. but "enim" om. before "se," and "occæcatum est," G.

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pauca: "Qui <sup>15</sup> commutaverunt,' inquit, 'veritatem Dei in mendacium, et coluerunt et servierunt creaturæ potius quam Creatori, Qui est benedictus in sæcula: propterea tradidit illos Deus in passiones ignominie.' Et iterum: "Et sicut non probaverunt Deum habere in <sup>16</sup> notitia, tradidit illos Deus in reprobum sensum, ut faciant quæ non conveniunt, repletos omni iniquitate, malitia, impudicitia, fornicatione, avaritia, nequitia, plenos invidia, homicidio,' [scilicet animarum populi,] 'contentione, dolo, malignitate, susurriones, detractores, Deo odibiles, contumeliosos, superbos, elatos, inventores malorum: parentibus inobedientes, insensatos, incompositos, sine misericordia, sine affectione; qui cum justitiam Dei <sup>17</sup> cognovissent, non intellexerunt, quoniam qui talia agunt, digni sunt morte.' Quisnam supradictorum his omnibus in veritate caruit? Si enim esset, forte caperetur subjecto sensu in quo ait: "Non solum qui faciunt ea, sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus,' nullo scilicet hoc malo eorum <sup>18</sup> exstante <sup>19</sup> immuni. Et infra: "Tu autem secundum duritiam tuam, et cor impenitens, thesaurizas tibi iram in die iræ, et revelationis justi judicii Dei, Qui reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.' Et iterum: "Non est enim acceptio personarum apud Deum. Quicumque enim sine lege <sup>20</sup> peccaverunt, sine lege <sup>21</sup> et <sup>22</sup> peribunt: quicumque in lege <sup>23</sup> peccaverunt, per legem judicabuntur'. Non enim auditores legis justi sunt <sup>24</sup> apud Deum', sed <sup>25</sup> factores legis justificabuntur.' Quid ergo severitatis ingruit his qui non solum implenda non faciunt, et <sup>26</sup> prohibita non declinant, sed etiam ipsam verborum Dei lectionem, vel tenuiter auribus ingestam, pro sævissimo <sup>27</sup> angue refugiant? Sed transeamus ad sequentia. "Quid <sup>28</sup> ergo,' inquit, 'dicemus? Permanebimus in peccato ut gratia abundet? absit. Qui enim mortui sumus peccato, <sup>29</sup> quomodo iterum vivemus in illo?' Et post aliquanta: "Quis <sup>30</sup> nos,' ait, 'sepa-

<sup>15</sup> communicaverunt B. <sup>16</sup> notitiam B. <sup>17</sup> cognovisset G. <sup>18</sup> exstantes B. <sup>19</sup> immunes B. <sup>20</sup> peccaverit B. peccaverint V. <sup>21</sup> deest B. <sup>22</sup> peribit B. <sup>23</sup> peccaverit, sine lege judicabitur B. peccaverint, per legem judicabuntur V. <sup>24</sup> desunt B. <sup>25</sup> forciores B. <sup>26</sup> phita (i. e. prophetica) B. <sup>27</sup> agni B. <sup>28</sup> igitur B. <sup>29</sup> qm (i. e. quoniam) Deo B. <sup>30</sup> vos B.

" Rom. i. 25, 26. V. but G. om. "amen." And both I. and Cod. Amiat. of V. read "mendacio."

" Rom. i. 28-32. V. But G. adds "impudicitia" (with Luc. Cal. Pro S. Athan. II. Bibl. PP. IV. 141 f.), has "inobedientes, insensatos" (for V. "non obedientes, insipientes"), and om. "ea" after "faciant," and "absque federe."

" Rom. i. 32. V.

" Rom. ii. 5, 6. = S. Cypr. Testim. III. 35, De

Bon. Patient, pp. 76, 211: and in v. 5, Luc. Cal. De Reg. Apost. Bibl. PP. IV. 159 h. And "sua" (for "ejus") = S. Cypr. ib., S. Aug. (once), S. Hieron. (once), Sedulius Scotus in loc., &c. &c.

" Rom. ii. 11-13. Cod. Amiat. of V., and I. but with "enim" added (= MS. Reg. of I.), and "et" om. after "peribunt."

" Rom. vi. 1, 2. V. but, "quomodo adhuc." "Iterum" pecul. to G.

" Rom. viii. 35. I. and Cod. Amiat. of V.

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rabit a charitate Christi? tribulatio? an angustia, an <sup>11</sup>persecutio, an<sup>12</sup> fames, an nuditas, an periculum, an gladius? Quem vestrum, <sup>13</sup>quæso, talis intimo corde occupabit affectus, qui non modo pro pietate non laboratis, sed etiam ut inique agatis et Christum offendatis, multa patimini? Vel quod sequitur; “Nox præcessit, dies autem appropinquavit. Abjiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum, et induamus arma lucis. Sicut in die honeste ambulemus, non in commensationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudiciis, non in contentione et æmulatione: sed induite Dominum Jesum Christum, et carnis curam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis.” Et iterum ad Corinthiōs in prima Epistola: “<sup>14</sup>Ut sapiens,” inquit, “architectus fundamentum posui, <sup>15</sup>alter superædificat’. Unusquisque autem videat quomodo superædificet. Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod <sup>16</sup>est JESUS CHRISTUS. Si quis autem <sup>17</sup>superædificet <sup>18</sup>super hoc aurum et argentum, <sup>19</sup>lapides pretiosos, ligna, fœnum, stipulam, <sup>20</sup>unumquodque opus manifestum erit; dies enim Domini declarabit illud, <sup>21</sup>quia in igne revelabitur, et uniuscujusque opus, quale sit, ignis probabit. Si cujus opus manserit,—omnia per ignem judicabuntur,—[qui superædificaverit, mercedem accipiet. <sup>22</sup>Si cujus opus arserit, detrimentum patietur.’ <sup>23</sup>“Nescitis quia templum <sup>24</sup>Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis? Si quis autem templum Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Deus.” Et iterum: “<sup>25</sup>Si quis videtur apud vos sapiens esse in hoc seculo, stultus fiat, ut sit sapiens. Sapientia enim hujus mundi, stultitia est apud Deum.” Et post aliquanta: “<sup>26</sup>Non bona<sup>1</sup> gloriatio vestra. Nescitis, quia modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit? Expurgate igitur vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova conspersio.’ Quomodo expurgabitur vetus fermentum, id est peccatum, quod <sup>27</sup>“a diebus indies cunctis conatibus cumulatur? Et iterum: “<sup>28</sup>Scripti

<sup>11</sup> desunt B.      <sup>12</sup> quero B.      <sup>13</sup> alter superædificet B. aliud super illud ædificat V.  
<sup>14</sup> est Dominus B. positum est quod est V.      <sup>15</sup> superædificat V.      <sup>16</sup> supra B. supra fundamentum V.  
<sup>17</sup> et add. B.      <sup>18</sup> cujusque V.      <sup>19</sup> quoniam B. qui V.      <sup>20</sup> set B.  
<sup>21</sup> nescit B.      <sup>22</sup> Domini B.      <sup>23</sup> vero B.      <sup>24</sup> desunt B.

(except “separavit,” in latter). So also Luc. Cal. De Morlend. pro Dei Fil. Bibl. PP. IV. 182 d, S. Aug., &c. &c.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xiii. 12, 13. V. : but, “induamus,” with MS. Reg. of I., and S. Cypr. De Zelo et Liv. p. 224, “induite” with I., and “concupiscentiis” with MS. Reg. of I. and Ambrosiast. ad loc. (“induamur, induimini, desideris,” in V.)

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. iii. 10—15. I. but corrected in vv. 10, 13. from V. And G. is peculiar in omitting, after “id quod,” “positum est quod;” in reading “Jesum Christum, . . superædificet super hoc” (omit-

ting fundamentum), “aurum et, unumquodque (for uniuscujusque), declarabit illud,” and in inserting “omnia per ignem judicabuntur qui,” omitting “quod.”

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. I. V.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. iii. 18, 19. V. but, “inter vos.”

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. v. 6, 7. V. but G. omits “est” after “Non,” with I. and Cod. Amiat. of V., and adds “igitur.”

<sup>6</sup> 1 Cor. v. 9—11. V. but “exire” in G. for “exiisse,” with S. Aug. De Fid. et Op. Opp. VI. 166 d : and for “ne commisceri si quis” (G.),

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vobis in epistola, ne commisceamini fornicariis; non utique fornicariis hujus mundi, aut avaris, aut rapacibus, aut idolis servientibus: alioquin debueratis de hoc mundo exire. Nunc autem scripsi vobis ne commisceri, si quis nominatur frater, et est fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, aut maledicus, aut ebriosus, aut rapax, cum hujusmodi nec "cibum quidem" sumere.' Sed latro nequaquam pro furto vel latrocinio furem alium damnat, quem potius optat, tueretur, amat, utpote sui sceleris consortem.] Item in Epistola ad Corinthios secunda: 'b Ideo,' inquit, 'habentes hanc administrationem, juxta quod misericordiam consecuti sumus, non deficiamus: sed "abjiciamus occulta dedecoris, non ambulantes in astutia neque adulterantes verbum Dei," per malum exemplum scilicet, "et per adulationem. In subsequentibus autem ita de malis doctoribus dicit: "c Nam "ejusmodi pseudoapostoli "sunt, operarii" subdoli, transfigurantes se in Apostolos Christi. Et non mirum: ipse enim Sathanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis. Non est magnum "igitur, si ministri ejus "transfigurentur ut angeli justitiæ, quorum finis erit secundum opera eorum.' Attendite quoque quid ad Ephesios dicat. An nescitis vos pro hoc in aliquo reos teneri? "d Hoc,' inquit, 'dico et testificor in Domino, ut jam non ambuletis sicut gentes ambulant in vanitate sensus sui, tenebris obscuratum habentes intellectum, alienati a via Dei per ignorantiam, quæ est in illis, propter cæcitatem cordis eorum, qui desperantes semetipsos tradiderunt impudiciæ in operationem omnis immunditiæ et avaritiæ.' Et quis vestrum sponte expleverit "e id quod sequitur: "e Propterea nolite fieri "imprudentes, sed intelligentes quæ sit voluntas Dei, et nolite inebriari vino, in quo est luxuria: sed replemini Spiritu Sancto? Sed "f et quod ad Thessalonicos dicit: "f Neque "enim fuimus apud vos aliquando in sermone adulationis, sicut "g scitis, neque

<sup>40</sup> quid. cib. B.<sup>40</sup> so G.B.V. abjiciamus Joss.<sup>41</sup> deest B.<sup>42</sup> hujusmodi V.<sup>43</sup> sic operarii sic B.<sup>44</sup> deest B.V.<sup>45</sup> transfigurentur V.<sup>46</sup> illud B.<sup>47</sup> imprudentes B.<sup>48</sup> deest B. <sup>49</sup> so G.V. sitis Joss. B.

V. has, "non commisceri si is qui," and om. "et" before "est." G. = Pacian. Epist. iii. Bibl. PP. IV. 242 c. Also I. and V. have "ejusmodi," and om. "quidem."

<sup>b</sup> 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2. V. but G. adds "hanc" with I. and Cpd. Amiat. of V., reads "administrationem" with Ambrosiast. ad loc. 8cc. and V., and has "deficiamus" (with Ambrosiast. ib.) and "abjiciamus" (for abdicamus) with S. Aug. De Spir. et Lit. Opp. X. 102 c.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 13-15. V. but, "ergo magnum si . . velut ministri justitiæ . . opera ipsorum."

<sup>d</sup> Ephes. iv. 17-19. I. V. but G. om. "et" after "sicut" with Cod. Amiat. of V. And V.

has also "a vita Dei, cordis ipsorum," and "immunditiæ omnis in avaritiæ." "a via" = S. Aug. in Ps. cxviii. Sermon. xviii. 3. Opp. IV. 1324 c.

<sup>e</sup> Ephes. v. 17, 18. V. but G. has "replemini" for "implemini," with Gaud. Brix. Sermon. ix. Bibl. PP. IV. 818 b.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Thes. ii. 5-8. V. but G. adds "apud vos" (with S. Aug. Epist. cxxvi. Opp. II. 371 d), om. "Deus testis est" after "avaritiæ," and has "gloriarum" for "gloriam," "possimus . . Christi" for "possemus vobis oneri esse ut Christi Apostoli," "parvulos" for "filios," adds "vel" before "tamen," and om. "Dei" after "Evangelium."

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"in occasione avaritiæ, nec quærentes ab hominibus <sup>g</sup>gloriari, neque a vobis, neque ab aliis; cum <sup>h</sup>possimus honori<sup>i</sup> esse, ut cæteri Apostoli Christi. Sed facti sumus sicut parvuli in medio vestrum, vel tanquam si nutrix foveat parvulos suos, ita <sup>h</sup>desyderantes vos cupide, volebamus vobis tradere non solum Evangelium, sed etiam animas nostras." "Si hunc vos Apostoli retinetis in omnibus affectum, ejus quoque cathedræ legitime <sup>i</sup>insidere noscatis. Vel etiam quod sequitur: "scitis," inquit, "quæ præcepta dederim vobis. Hæc est <sup>h</sup>voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra, ut abstineatis vos a fornicatione, et sciat unusquisque vestrum vas suum possidere in honore et sanctificatione, non in passione desiderii, sicut et gentes quæ ignorant Deum. [Et ne quis supergrediatur neque circumveniat in negotio fratrem suum; quoniam vindex est Dominus de his omnibus. Non enim vocavit nos Deus in immunditiam, sed <sup>h</sup>in sanctificationem. Itaque qui hæc spernit, non hominem spernit sed Deum." Quis etiam vestrum circumspecte cauteque custodivit id quod sequitur: "<sup>h</sup>Mortificate ergo membra vestra quæ sunt super terram, fornicationem, immunditiam, libidinem, et concupiscentiam malam," "propter quæ venit ira Dei in filios diffidentiae?" Videtis enim pro "queis peccatis ira Dei potissimum consurgat.] Audite itaque quid de vobis prophetico spiritu sanctus idem Apostolus vestrisque consimilibus prædixerit, ad Timotheum aperte scribens: "<sup>i</sup>Hoc enim <sup>h</sup>scitote, quod in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa. Erunt enim homines semetipsos amantes, cupidi, elati, superbi, blasphemi, parentibus inobedientes, ingrati, scelesti, sine affectione, incontinentes, immites, sine benignitate, proditores, protervi, <sup>h</sup>tumidi, <sup>h</sup>voluptatum amatores magis quam Dei, habentes quidem speciem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes. Et hos <sup>h</sup>devita," sicut et Propheta dicit: "<sup>i</sup>Odivi congregationem malignorum, et cum impiis non sedebo." [Et post aliquanta, quod nostro tempore videmus pullulare, ait <sup>h</sup>: "<sup>h</sup>Semper discentes, et nun-

<sup>g</sup> desunt B.    <sup>h</sup> gloriam V.    <sup>h</sup> possumus in honore V.    <sup>h</sup> desiderantes G.B.V.    <sup>h</sup> set B.  
<sup>h</sup> insedere B.    <sup>h</sup> desunt B.    <sup>h</sup> deest B.    <sup>h</sup> quibus B.    <sup>h</sup> scito V.    <sup>h</sup> timidi B.  
<sup>h</sup> voluntatum B.    <sup>h</sup> devicta B.    <sup>h</sup> enim add. B.

<sup>i</sup> 1 Thess. iv. 2-8. V. but "ut sciat." And G. om. "enim" after "scitis," and after "hæc est," "per Dominum Jesum" after "vobis," and "sicut prædiximus vobis et testificati sumus," after "omnibus."

<sup>h</sup> Col. iii. 5. V., 6. I.

<sup>i</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 1-5. V. but, "Hoc scito . . . scipso;" and G. has "inobedientes," om. "et" before "voluptatum," and reads "quidem speciem,"

with Cod. Amiat. of V.; and also om. "sine pace, criminales," before "incontinentes;" and adds "enim" after "erunt" (with S. Hieron. in Mich. VII. Opp. III. 1548 d).

<sup>i</sup> Psalm. xxvi. 5. (xxv. 5). I. Cod. Sangerman., but "malignorum," G. for "malignantium."

<sup>h</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 7-9. V. "quemadmodum autem . . . et hi."



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quam ad scientiam veritatis pervenientes: quemadmodum enim Jannes et Mambres restiterunt Moysi, ita <sup>66</sup> et isti <sup>70</sup> resistunt veritati: homines corrupti mente, reprobi circa fidem, sed ultra non proficient. Insipientia enim eorum manifesta erit omnibus sicut et illorum fuit.] Etenim evidenter ostendit qualiter se exhibeant suo officio sacerdotes, ita ad Titum scribens: <sup>1</sup> Te ipsum præbe exemplum bonorum operum, in doctrina, in integritate, in gravitate, verbum sanum habens, irreprehensibile; ut <sup>71</sup> is qui ex adverso est vereatur, nullum malum habens dicere de <sup>72</sup> nobis. Et iterum ad Timotheum: <sup>73</sup> Labora, inquit, sicut bonus miles Christi Jesu. Nemo militans Deo, implicat se negotiis secularibus, ut placeat Ei cui <sup>74</sup> se probavit. Nam et qui contendit in agone, non coronatur nisi legitime certaverit. Hæc quidem bonorum adhortatio. [Quod vero item comprehendit, malorum hominum, ut vos quibusque intelligentibus apparetis, denuntiatio est: <sup>75</sup> Si quis, inquit, aliter docet, et non acquiescit sermonibus sanis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et ei <sup>76</sup> quæ secundum pietatem est doctrinæ, superbus <sup>77</sup> est, nihil <sup>78</sup> sciens, sed languescens erga quæstiones et pugnas verborum, ex quibus oriuntur invidiæ, contentiones, blasphemiæ, suspiciones malæ, conflictationes <sup>79</sup> hominum mente corruptorum, qui veritate privati sunt, existimantium quæstum esse pietatem.] Sed quid sparsim positis amplius utentes testimoniis, sensuum ac diversorum <sup>80</sup> undis, in despecta <sup>81</sup> ingenii nostri <sup>82</sup> cymbula fluctuabimur? <sup>83</sup> Recurrere tandem aliquando usque ad lectiones illas, quæ ad hoc non solum ut <sup>84</sup> recitentur, sed etiam ad stipulentur benedictioni, qua initiantur sacerdotum vel ministrorum manus, eosque perpetuo doceant, uti ne a mandatis, quæ fideliter continentur in eis, sacerdotali dignitate degenerantes recedant, ex omni pene sanctarum Scripturarum textu merito excerptæ sunt, necessarium duximus; ut apertius cunctis pateat æterna supplicia mansura eos, et non esse sacerdotes vel Dei ministros, <sup>85</sup> qui earum doctrinas atque mandata opere, secundum vires suas, non <sup>86</sup> adimpleverint. Audiamus ergo quid princeps Apostolorum <sup>87</sup> beatus Petrus de tali negotio signaverit: <sup>88</sup> Benedictus, inquit,

<sup>66</sup> ut B. <sup>70</sup> ver. res. B. <sup>71</sup> hijs B. his V. and ex adverso V. <sup>72</sup> vobis B. <sup>73</sup> hec B. <sup>74</sup> qui B. <sup>75</sup> deest B. <sup>76</sup> scios B. <sup>77</sup> male add. B. <sup>78</sup> modis B. <sup>79</sup> et genii B. <sup>80</sup> cymbula B. <sup>81</sup> recurre B. <sup>82</sup> recitatur B. <sup>83</sup> quia carum B. <sup>84</sup> adimplerint B. <sup>85</sup> impleverint V. <sup>86</sup> deest B.

<sup>1</sup> Tit. ii. 7, 8. V. but "nihil habens malum," and G. adds "habens" after "sanum."

<sup>2</sup> 2 Tim. ii. 3-5. V. "certat in agone."

<sup>3</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 3-5. V. but G. has "languescens"

for "languens" with Sedul. Scotus ad loc. &c., and om. "et" before "qui."

<sup>4</sup> 1 Pet. i. 3-5. V. in part, but V. has "secundum misericordiam Suam magnam . . . spem"

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‘Deus et pater Domini nostri Jesu <sup>66</sup>Christi, Qui per magnam misericordiam Suam <sup>67</sup>regeneravit nos in spem vitæ æternæ, per resurrectionem a mortuis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, in hæreditatem incorruptibilem, immarcessibilem, incontaminatam, conservatam in coelis in <sup>68</sup>vos, qui in virtute Dei custodimini.’ Quare enim insipienter a vobis violatur talis hæreditas, quæ non sicut terrena <sup>69</sup>decidua, sed immarcessibilis atque æterna’ est? Et post aliquanta: ‘<sup>70</sup>Propter quod succincti estote lumbos mentis vestræ, sobrii, perfecte sperantes in eam, quæ offertur vobis, gratiam in revelatione <sup>71</sup>Jesu Christi.’ Rimamini namque pectoris vestri profunda, an sobrii sitis, et perfecte sacerdotalem gratiam examinandam in Domini revelatione conservetis. Et iterum dicit: ‘<sup>72</sup>Quasi filii benedictionis, non configurantes vos illis prioribus ignorantie vestræ <sup>73</sup>desyderiis, sed secundum Eum Qui vos vocavit sanctos, et vos sancti in omni conversatione estote. Propter quod scriptum est: Sancti estote, <sup>74</sup>quia <sup>75</sup>Ego sum sanctus.’ Quis rogo vestrum ita sanctitatem <sup>76</sup>toto animi ardore <sup>77</sup>sectatus est, ut hoc quantum in se est avide festinaret implere? Sed videamus <sup>78</sup>quid in ejusdem secunda lectione contineatur: ‘<sup>79</sup>Charissimi,’ inquit, ‘animas vestras <sup>80</sup>castificate ad obediendum fidei per spiritum in charitate, <sup>81</sup>in fraternitate, ex corde vero invicem diligentes <sup>82</sup>perseveranter, quasi renati non ex semine corruptibili, sed incorruptibili <sup>83</sup>verbo Dei vivi, et permanentis in æternum.’ Hæc quidem ab Apostolo mandata, et in die <sup>84</sup>vestræ ordinationis’ lecta, ut ea indirupte <sup>85</sup>custodiretis, sed nequaquam a vobis in judicio impleta, sed nec multum cogitata vel intellecta sunt. Et infra: ‘<sup>86</sup>Deponentes igitur omnem malitiam, et omnem dolum, et <sup>87</sup>simulationem, et invidiam, et detractiones, sicut modo geniti infantes, <sup>88</sup>rationabiles, et sine dolo lac concupiscite, ut eo crescatis in salutem, quoniam dulcis est Dominus.’ Recogitate an hæc quoque surdis auribus a vobis audita crebrius conculcentur. Et

<sup>66</sup> deest B.      <sup>67</sup> regnaverit B.      <sup>68</sup> vobis V.      <sup>69</sup> deest B.      <sup>70</sup> dñi nři add. B.  
<sup>71</sup> desideris G.B.      <sup>72</sup> quoniam B.      <sup>73</sup> sanctus E. s. B. et Ego s. sum V.      <sup>74</sup> deest B.  
<sup>75</sup> secutus est ut B.      <sup>76</sup> qui B.      <sup>77</sup> sanctificate V.      <sup>78</sup> et B.      <sup>79</sup> invicem add. B.  
<sup>80</sup> per verbum V.      <sup>81</sup> ord. vest. B.      <sup>82</sup> custodieritis B.      <sup>83</sup> omnem add. B.      <sup>84</sup> rationabile B.

vivam . . . a mortuis Domini nostri Jesu Christi  
 .. et incont. et immarc. .. in vobis.”

<sup>70</sup> 1 Pet. i. 13. V. but G. adds “estote,” and has “sperantes” for “sperate,” and “revelatione” for “revelationem:” the last with L. and Cod. Amiat. of V.

<sup>71</sup> 1 Pet. i. 14-16, nearer V.: but V. has, “filii obedientie .. configurati prioribus .. vocavit vos sanctum, et ipsi in o. c. s. sitis, quoniam ..

Sancti eritis quoniam.”

<sup>79</sup> 1 Pet. i. 22, 23. L. but G. adds “charissimi,” and has “castif.” (castificantes, V.) for “sanctificate,” “diligentes” for “diligite,” and “verbo” for “per verbum.”

<sup>80</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 1-3. V. but, “simulationes et invidias et omnes .. rationabile, sine .. ut in eo .. si tamen gustatis quoniam.”

[GOLD. EPIST. a. A. D. 547.]

iterum: "Vos autem genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, <sup>7</sup>populus in adoptionem, ut <sup>8</sup>virtutes annuncietis Ejus Qui de tenebris vos vocavit in illud tam admirabile <sup>9</sup>lumen Suum." Non solum enim per vos virtutes Dei non annuntiantur <sup>10</sup>vel meliorantur, sed etiam pravissimis vestris apud incredulos quosque despiciuntur exemplis. Audistis forte in eodem die, quod in lectione Actus Apostolorum lectum <sup>11</sup>est,—<sup>12</sup>Petro 'in medio' discipulorum surgente, qui dixit: 'Viri fratres' oportet scripturam impleri, quam prædixit Spiritus Sanctus per os David de Juda.' Et paulo post: 'Hic itaque <sup>13</sup>acquisivit agrum de mercede iniquitatis.' Hoc, securo <sup>14</sup>vel potius hebeti corde, <sup>15</sup>quasi non de vobis <sup>16</sup>lectum fuisset, audistis. Quis, quæso, vestrum non quærit 'agrum de mercede iniquitatis?' Judas namque loculos compilabat, vos Ecclesiæ donaria filiorumque animas ejus vastatis. Ille adiit Judæos ut <sup>17</sup>Deum venderet, vos tyrannos et patrem vestrum diabolum ut Christum despiciatis. Ille triginta <sup>18</sup>argenteis venalem habuit omnium Salvatorem, vos vel uno <sup>19</sup>obolo. Quid plura? Fertur vobis in medium <sup>20</sup>Matthiæ in confusionem vestram exemplum, sanctorum quoque Apostolorum electione vel judicio Christi non propria voluntate sortiti, <sup>21</sup>ad quod cæci effecti non videtis <sup>22</sup>quam longe a meritis ejus distetis, dum in <sup>23</sup>amorem et affectum Judæ traditoris sponte corruistis. Apparet ergo eum qui vos sacerdotes, sciens, ex corde dicit, non esse eximium Christianum. Sane quod <sup>24</sup>sentio, proferam. Posset quidem lenior fieri increpatio, sed quid <sup>25</sup>prodest vulnus manu tantum palpare unguentove ungere, <sup>26</sup>quod tumore jam vel foetore sibi horrescens, cauterio <sup>27</sup>et publico ignis medicamine eget, si tamen ullo modo sanari possit, ægro nequaquam medelam quærente, et <sup>28</sup>ab hoc medico longius recedente? O inimici Dei et non sacerdotes, <sup>29</sup>veterani malorum et non pontifices, traditores et non sanctorum Apostolorum successores, <sup>30</sup>et non Christi <sup>31</sup>ministri. <sup>32</sup>Auscultastis quidem secundæ lectionis Apostoli Pauli verborum sonum, sed in nullo modo monita virtutemque servastis, et simulachrorum modo, quæ non vident neque audiunt,

<sup>7</sup> populus acquisitionis V.    <sup>8</sup> virtutis B.    <sup>9</sup> nomen B.    <sup>10</sup> desunt B.V.    <sup>11</sup> desunt B.  
<sup>12</sup> acquisivit B.    <sup>13</sup> heb. c. vel pot. B.    <sup>14</sup> desunt B.    <sup>15</sup> fuisset lectum B.    <sup>16</sup> electum fuisset V.  
<sup>17</sup> Dominum B.    <sup>18</sup> argenteos B. and obolo G.B.V. obolo Joss.    <sup>19</sup> ad quod hic B.  
<sup>20</sup> quia l. a m. e. distatis V.    <sup>21</sup> morem et a. J. t. s. corruistis V.    <sup>22</sup> sensu B.    <sup>23</sup> valet B.  
<sup>24</sup> quid timore B.    <sup>25</sup> vel B.    <sup>26</sup> ob V.    <sup>27</sup> veterani B. o licitatores V.    <sup>28</sup> impugna-  
tores add. V.    <sup>29</sup> ministris B.    <sup>30</sup> auscultastis B.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 9. V. but for "in adoptionem" (=S. Aug. Cont. Secund. xvii. Opp. VIII. 528 c. S. Ambros. &c.), "acquisitionis," and om. "illud tam." I add "illud." It must be noticed that all these quotations from S. Peter are taken from

the British ordinal.

<sup>10</sup> Act. i. 15. l. 16. V.

<sup>11</sup> Act. i. 18. l. 1; "possedit" in V.

<sup>12</sup> Act. i. 23-26.

[GILD. EPYST. 2. A. D. 547.]

eodem die <sup>a</sup>altari astitistis, tunc et quotidie vobis intonantis: ¶ Fratres, inquit, <sup>b</sup>"fidelis sermo est, et omni acceptione dignus." Ille dixit fidelem et dignum, vos ut infidelem et indignum spreveritis. <sup>c</sup>"Si quis Episcopatum cupit, bonum opus <sup>d</sup>"desiderat." Vos Episcopatum magnopere avaritiæ gratia, non <sup>e</sup>"spiritualis profectus <sup>f</sup>"obtentu cupitis, et bonum <sup>g</sup>"opus illi condignum nequaquam <sup>h</sup>"habetis. <sup>i</sup>"Oportet ergo huiusmodi irreprehensibilem esse." In hoc namque sermone lachrymis magis quam verbis opus est, acsi dixisset Apostolus cum esse omnibus irreprehensibiliorem debere. <sup>k</sup>"Unius uxoris virum." Quid ita apud <sup>l</sup>"nos quoque contemnitur quasi non audiretur vel idem dicere <sup>m</sup>"et virum uxorum?" <sup>n</sup>"Sobrium, prudentem." Quis etiam ex vobis hoc aliquando inesse sibi <sup>o</sup>"saltem optavit?" <sup>p</sup>"Hospitalem." <sup>q</sup>"Id si forte casu evenerit, popularis auræ potius quam præcepti gratia factum, non prodest, Domino Salvatore ita dicente: <sup>r</sup>"Amen dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam." <sup>s</sup>"Ornatum," <sup>t</sup>"non <sup>u</sup>"vinolentum, non percussorem, sed modestum, non litigiosum, non cupidum." O feralis immutatio, O horrenda præceptorum cœlestium conculcatio! Nonne infatigabiliter ad hæc expugnanda, vel potius <sup>v</sup>"obruenda, actuum verborumque arma corripitis, pro <sup>w</sup>"queis conservandis atque firmandis, si necesse fuisset, et poena ultro <sup>x</sup>"subeunda, et vita ponenda erat? Sed videamus et sequentia. <sup>y</sup>"Domum," inquit, "suam bene regentem, filios habentem subditos, <sup>z</sup>"cum omni castitate." Ergo imperfecta <sup>aa</sup>"est patrum castitas, si <sup>ab</sup>"eidem non <sup>ac</sup>"et filiorum accumuletur. Sed quid erit, ubi nec pater, nec filius mali genitoris exemplo pravatus, conspicitur castus? <sup>ad</sup>"Si quis autem domui <sup>ae</sup>"suz præesse nescit, quomodo Ecclesiæ Dei diligentiam adhibebit? Hæc sunt verba quæ indubitatis <sup>af</sup>"effectibus approbantur. <sup>ag</sup>"s Diaconos similiter pudicos, non bilingues, non vino <sup>ah</sup>"multum deditos, non turpe lucrum sectantes, habentes <sup>ai</sup>"mysterium <sup>aj</sup>"fidei

<sup>a</sup> altare B. alteri V. <sup>b</sup> fideles B. <sup>c</sup> set B. <sup>d</sup> cupit V. <sup>e</sup> spiritalis B. V.  
<sup>f</sup> obtentum G. <sup>g</sup> deest B. <sup>h</sup> nos B. <sup>i</sup> virum uxorum B. et virum uxoris V.  
<sup>j</sup> aliquando optavit B. <sup>k</sup> id est si forte B. id forte V. <sup>l</sup> vinolentum B. <sup>m</sup> observanda B.  
 (nec observanda). <sup>n</sup> quibus B. <sup>o</sup> subdenda B. <sup>p</sup> cum omni caritate B. in omni castitate V.  
<sup>q</sup> deest B. <sup>r</sup> eadem non B. non item V. <sup>s</sup> est B. i. e. esset. <sup>t</sup> sui B.  
<sup>u</sup> deest B. affectibus V. <sup>v</sup> multo V. <sup>w</sup> ministerium B. V. <sup>x</sup> deest B.

¶ 1 Tim. i. 15. I., and partly in iii. 1. These quotations are also from the ordinal.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 1. I.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 2. I. V. but "Episcopum" for "huiusmodi." <sup>c</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 2. I. V.

<sup>d</sup> Matt. vi. 2, 5, 16. V.

<sup>e</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 2, 3. I. V. G. om. "pudicum" with I. and Cod. Amiat. of V., but om. also

docibilem (I.) = doctorem (V.).

<sup>f</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 4. first clause = I., but last clause = V.

<sup>g</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 5. I. V. but G. has "adhibebit" for "habebit."

<sup>h</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 8-10. V. but "non multo vino," and "et hi autem." The reading of B., "ministerium," is in Sedul. Scotus in Rom. II.

[GILD. EPIST. A. A. D. 547.]

in conscientia pura. "Hi autem probentur primum, et sic ministrent, nullum crimen habentes." His nimirum horrescens diu immorari, unum veridice possum dicere, quin hæc omnia in contrarios actus mutantur, ita ut clerici, quod non absque dolore cordis fateor, impudici, bilingues, ebrii, turpis lucri cupidi, habentes fidem et, ut verius dicam, infidelitatem in conscientia impura, non probati in bono, sed in "malo opere" præsciti ministrantes, "et innumera" crimina "habentes, sacro ministerio" adsciscantur. Audistis etiam illo die, quo multo dignius multoque rectius erat, ut ad carcerem vel catastam poenalem quam ad sacerdotium traheremini, Domino sciscitanti, Quem Se esse putarent discipuli, Petrum respondisse: "§ Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi;" eique Dominum pro tali confessione dixisse: "h Beatus es Simon Bariona, quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi, sed Pater Meus Qui in coelis est." Ergo Petrus a Deo patre doctus, recte "Christum confitetur": vos autem moniti a patre vestro diabolo, inique Salvatorem malis actibus denegatis. Vero sacerdoti dicitur: "i Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam Meam:" vos quidem assimilamini "j viro stulto, qui ædificavit domum suam super arenam." Notandum "vero est, quod insipientibus in ædificanda domo arenarum pendulæ mobilitati Dominus non "cooperetur, secundum illud: "k Fece-  
runt sibi reges, et non per Me." Itidemque quod sequitur eadem sonat dicendo: "l Et portæ inferni non prævalebunt," ejusque "peccata intelliguntur. De vestra "quid exitiabili structura pronuntiatur"? "m Venerunt flumina, "et flaverunt venti, et impegerunt in domum illam, et cecidit, et fuit ruina ejus magna." Petro "ejusque successoribus dicit Dominus: "n Et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum:" vobis vero: "o Non novi vos, "discedite a Me operarii iniquitatis," ut separati sinistrae "partis cum hoedis, eatis 'in ignem "æternum.' Itemque omni "sancto sacerdoti promittitur: "p Et quæcunque "solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in cœlis: et quæcunque" ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata

" Hic B. " malopere B. " in uniuersa B. " habente B. " assicantur B.  
" conf. Christum B. " ergo B. " comparetur B. cooperatur V. " peccati B.  
" quid exitiabili s. p. B. quidem exitiabili factura pronuntiantur V. " deest V. " eius-  
demque B. " discite B. " patris G. " eterni B. (?) " deest B. " desunt B.

§ Matt. xvi. 16. I. V.  
h Matt. xvi. 17. I. V.  
i Matt. xvi. 18. I. V.  
j Matt. vii. 26. I. V.  
k Ose. viii. 4. G. from Hebr. And see above, p. 67, note 2.  
l Matt. xvi. 18. I. V. but "inferorum" I.; "inferi" V.  
m Matt. vii. 27. Cod. Brix. of I.; V. has "ir-

ruerunt .. ruina illius;" but Cod. Amiat. "ejus."  
n Matt. xvi. 19. I. V.  
o Matt. vii. 23. = Cod. Vercell. of I. fere = MS. Colbert.  
p Matt. xvi. 19. = Cod. Veron., Cod. Brix., and Cod. Corbei. of I., but the clauses in reverse order; and ligaveris and solveris (for ligaveritis, solveritis, of MS. Colbert.) are also in V.

[GILD. EPST. A. A. D. 547.]

et in coelis.' Sed quomodo vos aliquid solvetis ut sit solutum et in coelis, a coelo <sup>71</sup>ob scelera <sup>72</sup>adempti, et immanium peccatorum <sup>73</sup>funibus compediti, ut Salomon quoque <sup>74</sup>ait: '<sup>75</sup>Criniculis peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringitur?' Quaque ratione aliquid in terra ligabitis quod <sup>76</sup>supra <sup>77</sup>modum etiam ligetur, <sup>78</sup>præter vosmetipsos, qui ita ligati iniquitatibus in hoc mundo tenemini, ut in coelis nequaquam ascendatis, <sup>79</sup>sed in infausta Tartari ergastula', non conversi in hac vita ad Dominum, decidatis? Nec sibi quisquam sacerdotum de corporis mundi solum conscientia supplaudat, cum eorum <sup>80</sup>queis præest, si <sup>81</sup>qui propter ejus imperitiam vel desidiam seu adulationem <sup>82</sup>perierint, in die judicii de ejusdem manibus, veluti interfectoris, animæ exquirantur. Quia nec dulcior mors, <sup>83</sup>quæ infertur a bono quoque homine quam malo'. Alioquin non dixisset Apostolus, velut paternum legatum suis successoribus derelinquens: '<sup>84</sup>Mundus ego sum ab <sup>85</sup>omnium sanguine. Non enim subterfugi quo minus annuntiarem vobis omne <sup>86</sup>mysterium Dei.' Multumque nam usu ac frequentia peccatorum inebriati, et incessanter irruentibus vobis scelerum cumulatorum acsi undis quassati, unam veluti post naufragium, in qua ad vivorum terram evadatis, poenitentiae tabulam toto animi nisu <sup>87</sup>exquirite, ut avertatur furor Domini a vobis misericorditer dicentis: '<sup>88</sup>Nolo <sup>89</sup>mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat.' Ipse omnipotens Deus totius consolationis et misericordiae paucissimos bonos pastores conservet ab omni malo, et municipes faciat, [subacto communi hoste,] civitatis Jerusalem coelestis, hoc est, sanctorum omnium congregationis, Pater et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, Cui sit honor, et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen <sup>90</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> ob scelera *add. B.*    <sup>72</sup> adepti *B.*    <sup>73</sup> finibus *B.*    <sup>74</sup> deest *B.*    <sup>75</sup> funiculis *B. V.*  
<sup>76</sup> ultra *B.*    <sup>77</sup> modum *V.*    <sup>78</sup> propter *V.*    <sup>79</sup> set in faustis Tartari ergastulis *B.*    <sup>80</sup> qui-  
bus *B.*    <sup>81</sup> deest *V.*    <sup>82</sup> perierunt *B.*    <sup>83</sup> quam quæ infertur ab uno quoque homineque  
malo *V.*    <sup>84</sup> omni *B.*    <sup>85</sup> ministerium *B. V.*    <sup>86</sup> exquiratis *B.*    <sup>87</sup> autem *add. G.*  
<sup>88</sup> Explicit liber Sancti Gildæ abbatis et historiographi Anglorum et cetera *add. B.:* heading the pages  
also, Gest' Gildæ.

<sup>89</sup> Prov. v. 22. LXX. = S. Aug. in Ps. xxxiv. and lvii. Opp. IV. 234 f, 544 a: but elsewhere S. Aug. has "funiculis," as also Fulgentius De Rem. Pecc. c. xxvi. In V., "funibus."

<sup>90</sup> Act. xx. 26, 27. V. but both I. and V. have "omne consilium." And G. is peculiar in "ab o. s." for "a. s. o."

<sup>91</sup> Ezek. xxxiii. 11. LXX. G. fere = V.

A. D. 565 × 570. (?) *Ex Epistola Gildæ Altera* \*.

<sup>1</sup> *De Excommunicatione dicit Gildas*.—Non <sup>a</sup> Noe Cham filium suum magice artis scribam, <sup>a</sup> aut <sup>a</sup> arca aut mensæ<sup>a</sup> commonione uoluit arcere. Non <sup>b</sup> Abraham <sup>a</sup> Neel et <sup>b</sup> Ezcol in<sup>a</sup> debellatone V. Regum exorruit. Non <sup>c</sup> Loth <sup>b</sup> Sodomitum conuiuia <sup>c</sup> execratur. Non <sup>d</sup> Isaac mensæ participationem Abimelech et <sup>b</sup> Oczat et <sup>b</sup> Picus <sup>d</sup> duci militum negat, sed post cibum et potum iurauerunt sibi motuo. Non <sup>e</sup> Iacob extimuit <sup>e</sup> communicari filiis <sup>e</sup> suis, quos nouit uenerari idola. Non <sup>f</sup> Ioseph rennuuit Faraoni mensæ et <sup>e</sup> scipha participari. Non Aaron sacerdotis <sup>f</sup> dolorum Madian mensam reppulit. <sup>f</sup> Nec <sup>g</sup> Moyses simul cum <sup>g</sup> Ethor <sup>g</sup> hostias et conuiuium pacificum <sup>g</sup> init. Non <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> Dominus Noster Jesus<sup>h</sup> Christus <sup>h</sup> publicanorum conuiuia diuitabat, ut omnes peccatores et meretrices saluaret †.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>20</sup> *Gil. dic. de abstinentia ciborum*.—Abstinentia corporalium ciborum <sup>21</sup> absque caritate inutilis est. Meliores sunt ergo, qui non magno opere

\* From MS. 279. C. C. C. Camb. 9th or 10th cent. (C). Parts of the same passages, from the same (lost) work (app. an Epistle of Gildas, are embodied (under his name) in a Collection of Canons in 65 or 66 books, much used by Sooto-continental monasteries, and dating in the first half of the 8th century, of which a MS., 9th cent., is at S. Gall, no. 243 (G), transcribed by a Saxon Eadbert. From the same collection, which consists of extracts, mixed together, (1) from Scripture and the Fathers, and (2) from Irish Canons, Patrick, Gildas, and Theodore, D'Achery (*Spicil. I.* 492), and Martene and Durand correcting and supplementing him, have printed the latter portion, from two MSS. (D), belonging respectively to Corbey (*Cod. Paris.* 3182, *olim* Bigot. 89, 11th or 12th cent.) and to S. Germain's (*Cod. Paris. S. Germ.* 121, *olim* 572 Corbel. 8th cent.). Glay (*Catal. &c. des MSS. de la Bibl. de Cambrai*, 122, 123) describes another MS., 8th cent., transcribed by order of Alberic, Bp. of Cambrai and Arras A.D. 763–790, containing also memoranda in the

Irish language, but having only 38 of the ordinary 66 (or 65) books. And Usher used another, of the whole collection, among the Cotton MSS., which has been since burned.

The style of the extracts here printed is very like that of Gildas: but the allusion to the tonsure in the last paragraph (which is not in the Corpus MS.) belongs apparently to a later date than his; although to one prior to the actual adoption of the Roman tonsure either by the Irish (prob. A.D. 630 southern Irish and 704 northern) or by the British Church (A.D. 768). Gildas wrote the Epistle in Ireland, apparently (at least it occurs invariably in connection with Irish documents, and the copyist of the Cambridge MS. is unmistakably Irish); and therefore, conjecturally, about A.D. 565 × 570. Wilkins, Conc. I. 4, has printed the first two fragments from the Camb. MS.

† C. C. C. C. 279, p. 48; S. Gall. 243. p. 159, 160; D'Ach. I. 501; Wilk. I. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Gildas ait G.D. <sup>2</sup> ab D.

Mambræ in G. Heschel in D.

<sup>3</sup> leg. Ahuzzath. Oczaz G.D.

<sup>12</sup> om. G.D.

<sup>13</sup> scypho G.D.

<sup>17</sup> inuit G.D. <sup>18</sup> om. G.D.

<sup>5</sup> arce aut mense G.

<sup>6</sup> Sodomitum G.D.

<sup>9</sup> Phicol G.D.

<sup>14</sup> Necnon G.D.

<sup>19</sup> paganorum G.D.

<sup>4</sup> Aner G.D.

<sup>7</sup> execratur G.

<sup>10</sup> ducis G.D.

<sup>15</sup> retro G.

<sup>20</sup> Gildas ait G.D.

<sup>8</sup> Heschol in

<sup>11</sup> exccratur G. exccratur est D.

<sup>16</sup> hospitium D.

<sup>21</sup> sine G.D.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. vii. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xiv. 24.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xix. 12, 14.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xxvi. 26, 30.

<sup>e</sup> Gen. xlii. 1; xli. 6, 7.

<sup>f</sup> Gen. xli. 40; xli. 8.

<sup>g</sup> Exod. xviii. 12.

<sup>h</sup> Matt. ix. 10; xxi. 31, &c.

[GILD. EPST. II. A. D. 565 X 570.]

ieiunant, nec supra modum a <sup>i</sup> creatura Dei se abstinēt, <sup>k</sup> cor <sup>m</sup> intrinsecus <sup>n</sup> nititum coram <sup>n</sup> Deo sollicite seruantes, a Quo sciunt exitum uitæ; quam illi qui carnem non edunt, nec <sup>n</sup> cibis sæcularibus dilectantur, neque uehiculis equisque uehuntur, <sup>n</sup> et pro his quasi superiores ceteris se putantes; quibus <sup>l</sup> mors <sup>n</sup> intrat per fenestram eleuationis\*.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>m</sup> De <sup>m</sup> *Novissimis Diebus*.—<sup>c</sup> Instabunt tempora pessima; et erunt homines sui amatores, auari, adrogantes, superbi, blasphemi, parentibus inoboedientes, ingrati, impuri, sine adfectione, sine pace, accusatores, intemperantes, crudiles, odio habentes bonum, proditores, temerari; inflati uoluntatum amatores magis quam Dei; habentes formam pietatis et uirtutem eius abnegantes. Multi peribunt agentes mala, ut ait <sup>n</sup> Apostolum, <sup>c</sup> habentes zelum Dei sed non secundum scientiam; ignorantes Dei iustitiam, et suam querentes statuere, iustitiæ Dei non sunt subiecti. Omnes fratres culpantes sunt, qui suas secum <sup>p</sup> adinuentiones et presumptiones non fecerunt. <sup>n</sup> Hii <sup>n</sup> autem pane ad mensuram utuntur, pro hoc <sup>n</sup> sine mensura gloriantur: dum aqua utuntur, simul odii <sup>n</sup> potantur: dum <sup>n</sup> siccis ferculis, simul et detractationibus, fruuntur: dum <sup>n</sup> uigilias extendunt, aliquos somno <sup>n</sup> dimersos notant: <sup>n</sup> pedibus et membris dicentes cæteris, Si non caput fueris ut ego sum, ad nihili te computabo: quod non <sup>n</sup> tam pro dilectionis causa promitt[it]ur quam dispectus, dum principalibus decretis meditantur. Seruos dominis, uulgus regibus, auro plumbum, argento ferrum, <sup>n</sup> ulnum preferunt. Ita ieiunium caritati, uigilias iustitiæ, propriam adinuentionem concordie, clausulam <sup>n</sup> cellæ, <sup>n</sup> humilitati, postremo hominem Deo <sup>n</sup> anteponant: <sup>n</sup> non intendentes quod Euangelium, sed quod uoluntas iubet; quid Apostolum, sed qui[d] superbia doceat; non intendentes <sup>n</sup> statum siderum in cælo inæqualem esse et angelorum officia inæqualia. Hii

\* C. C. C. C. 279, p. 49, 50; G. 243, p. 20; D'Ach. I. 494; Wlk. I. 4.

<sup>n</sup> autem add. G. <sup>n</sup> sic in C. <sup>n</sup> Domino G.D. <sup>n</sup> prandis G.D. <sup>n</sup> om. G.D. <sup>n</sup> intra-  
vi per fenestras elationis G.D. <sup>n</sup> Habet tantum C. C. C. C. 279, uelut ad fecerunt. <sup>n</sup> sic in C.  
<sup>n</sup> habentes habentes C. <sup>n</sup> Gildas in Epistolis suis add. D. <sup>n</sup> dum p. in mensura vescuntur D.  
<sup>n</sup> ipso add. D. <sup>n</sup> poculo add. D. <sup>n</sup> sanctis ferculis vescuntur, detractationibus utuntur D.  
<sup>n</sup> uigiliis expendunt D. <sup>n</sup> prenos vituperant D. <sup>n</sup> om. D. uelut ad ita. <sup>n</sup> am in add.  
supra lin. C. <sup>n</sup> supple capiti (?) ante ulnum. <sup>n</sup> Ecclesie D. <sup>n</sup> severitatem add. D.  
<sup>n</sup> anteponunt D. <sup>n</sup> om. D.

<sup>i</sup> Tim. iv. 4. I. V.<sup>k</sup> Ps. l. 12.<sup>o</sup> Rom. x. 2, 3. G.<sup>i</sup> Jer. ix. 21. I.<sup>m</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 1. V. I.<sup>p</sup> Ps. xcix. (xcviii.) 8; cvi. (cv.) 29, 39.<sup>n</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 1-5. G.: quoted from V. above<sup>q</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 41.

on p. 101.



[GILD. EPIST. II. A. D. 565 x 570.]

ieiunant, quod nisi <sup>a</sup>propter alias uirtutes <sup>a</sup>adsectantur, nihil prodest. <sup>a</sup>Illi caritatem, quæ summa <sup>r</sup>plenitudo legis est, intentione perficiunt; <sup>a</sup>a Deo docti, cum Spiritus Sancti cithare dicunt, <sup>a</sup>Quasi pannus menstruate omnes iustitiæ nostræ. <sup>a</sup>Hii autem folles diaboli dicunt, forsitan melioribus <sup>t</sup>quorum <sup>u</sup>ident angeli faciem Patris, <sup>u</sup>Residite a nobis quia immundi estis. Quo respondit Dominus, <sup>x</sup>Isti fumus erunt in furore Meo, et ignis ardens cotidie. <sup>y</sup>Non spernentes fratres, dicit Dominus, <sup>p</sup>auferes beatos esse, sed pauperes non <sup>a</sup>animosus sed <sup>x</sup>mittes, neque <sup>i</sup>inuidiosus sed <sup>a</sup>lugentes uel propria uel aliorum peccata; <sup>b</sup>qui esuriunt et sitiunt, non qui aquam cum ceterorum dispectu, sed <sup>i</sup>iustitiam; nec pro nihilo alios ducentes, sed <sup>e</sup>misericordes; non qui superbo sed <sup>d</sup>mundo corde, non alīs seueri sed <sup>e</sup>pacifici; non qui inferunt bella, sed <sup>f</sup>qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, <sup>a</sup>habitari uidelicet <sup>s</sup>regnum cælorum \*.

\* \* \* \* \*

[<sup>a</sup>Gildas dicit;]—<sup>a</sup>De monachis qui ueniunt <sup>u</sup>de loco uiliore ad <sup>i</sup>perfectiorem, quorum abbas ita degenerauit ab opere Dei, ut meretur ad mensam sanctorum non recipi, <sup>s</sup>sed et fornicationis crimine non suspicionis sed <sup>m</sup>mali euidentis honorari,—suscipite <sup>s</sup>sine ullo scripulo <sup>m</sup>monachus tales ad vos <sup>u</sup>de flamma inferni confugientes, nequaquam <sup>e</sup>eorum consulto abbate. Illos uero, quorum abbatem de mensa sanctorum propter infamiam non arcemus, non debemus illo nolente suscipere. Quanto magis uenientes <sup>a</sup>a sanctis abbatibus, et nullo alio modo suspectis, nisi quod <sup>u</sup>habent peccora et uehicular, uel pro consuetudine patriæ uel <sup>s</sup>sua infirmitate, quæ minus ledunt habentes, si cum humilitate et patientia, <sup>q</sup>quam aratra trahentes et <sup>s</sup>soffosoria figentes terræ cum præsumptione et superbia. Quicquid

\* C. C. C. 279, p. 50-54; D'Ach. I. 506 G., the leaf which should have contained a part (in part). The passage is wholly wanting in of it (Hii autem pane .. nostræ) being cut out.

<sup>a</sup> per aliquos D. <sup>a</sup> asseratur D. <sup>u</sup> Qui vero charitatem perficiunt D. <sup>a</sup> om. D.  
<sup>a</sup> Reliq., uelut ad cælorum om. G.D. <sup>u</sup> sic in C. leg. habituri. <sup>a</sup> add. G. Gildas ait D.  
<sup>a</sup> om. G.D. <sup>u</sup> ad vos add. G.D. <sup>a</sup> perfectionem G.D. <sup>a</sup> om. G.D. <sup>a</sup> male uidentis  
 onerari G.D. <sup>a</sup> enim add. G. etiam add. D. <sup>u</sup> sic in C. monachos G.D. <sup>a</sup> quasi add. G.  
<sup>u</sup> illorum G.D. <sup>u</sup> de G.D. <sup>u</sup> habeat G. habet D. <sup>u</sup> pro add. G. <sup>a</sup> ol. add. supra  
 lin. C. <sup>a</sup> soffosoria G. soffosoria D.

<sup>r</sup> Rom. xiii. 10. I. V.  
<sup>b</sup> Esai. lxiv. 6. V. "universæ."  
<sup>c</sup> Matt. xviii. 10. I. V.  
<sup>d</sup> Esai. lxxv. 5. V. "Recede .. me .. immun-  
 dus es."  
<sup>e</sup> Esai. lxxv. 5. V. "tota die."  
<sup>f</sup> Matt. v. 3. I. V.  
<sup>g</sup> Matt. v. 4. I. V.

<sup>a</sup> Matt. v. 5. I. V.  
<sup>b</sup> Matt. v. 6. I. V.  
<sup>c</sup> Matt. v. 7. I. V.  
<sup>d</sup> Matt. v. 8. I. V.  
<sup>e</sup> Matt. v. 9. I. V.  
<sup>f</sup> Matt. v. 10. I. V.  
<sup>g</sup> Matt. v. 10. I. V.

[GILD. EPIST. II. A. D. 865 X 870.]

<sup>66</sup> autem monacho de rebus secularibus <sup>66</sup> superhabundat, ad luxurias et diuitias debet refferri: et quod necessitate <sup>66</sup> et non uoluntate habere compellitur, ut non <sup>66</sup> penuaria cadat, non illi ad malum <sup>66</sup> reputabitur. <sup>66</sup> Capitibus namque præcipua corporis ornamenta dilata non debent inferiora dispicere, et manum cotidiana commoda superbire superioribus fas non est. Nonne hæc nec ille possunt sibi motuo dicere; <sup>66</sup> Operam uestram non necesse habemus, quæ ad commonem eiusdem corporis pertinent utilitatem. Hæc diximus, ut sciant summi sacerdotes, quod, sicut non debent inferiores clerici eos dispicere, ita et illi nec clericos, sicut nec caput quidem cætera membra \*.

\* \* \* \* \*

[<sup>66</sup> *Gildas ait* :]—<sup>70</sup> Abas districtioris regulæ non <sup>71</sup> amittat monachum alterius abbatis paulo remissioris: <sup>72</sup> et qui remissior est, non reteneat monachum suum ad <sup>73</sup> districtiora <sup>74</sup> tendentem. Habent quippe sacerdotes et <sup>75</sup> Episcopi terribilem Iudicem, Cui pertinet, <sup>76</sup> non nobis, de illis <sup>77</sup> in utroque sæculo iudicare †.

\* \* \* \* \*

[<sup>77</sup> *Gildas ait* :]—<sup>78</sup> Maledictus qui transfert terminos ... uel proximi sui'.

<sup>66</sup> Unusquisque permaneat in eo in quo vocatus est <sup>79</sup> apud Deum'', ut <sup>80</sup> ne primarius nisi uoluntate motetur <sup>81</sup> subiecto, neque subiectus <sup>82</sup> sine <sup>83</sup> senioris consilio locum prioris obtineat.

<sup>66</sup> Quæ sunt honesta nostra, his honorem habundant[i]orem circumdamus.'

Iudicare ergo satis salubre est subiectos Episcopis abbatibusque, quorum <sup>66</sup> sanguinem, si eos non bene regnant, <sup>66</sup> de manibus requirit Dominus.'

Inoboedientes uero patribus sint <sup>84</sup> sicut Gentiles et publicani: et omnibus hominibus tam bonis quam malis præter suos subiectos illud Apostoli, <sup>66</sup> Existimantes omnes homines, <sup>66</sup> rel.

\* C. C. C. C. 279, p. 54-56; G. 243, p. 155, 156; D'Ach. I. 500.

† C. C. C. C. 279, p. 56, 57; G. 243, p. 4, 155, 156; D'Ach. I. 493, 500.

<sup>66</sup> om. G.D. <sup>66</sup> superabundauerit G.D. <sup>66</sup> om. D. <sup>66</sup> penuria G.D. <sup>66</sup> deputabitur G. <sup>66</sup> reliq. usque ad membra om. G.D. <sup>66</sup> add. G. Gildas dicit D. <sup>66</sup> Abbas .. remissioris om. D. <sup>66</sup> admittat G. <sup>66</sup> Abbas remissus D. <sup>66</sup> districtiorem G. <sup>66</sup> se add. D. <sup>66</sup> et add. G.D. <sup>66</sup> om. G.D. <sup>66</sup> add. G. Gildas D. <sup>66</sup> om. G.D. <sup>66</sup> om. G.D. <sup>66</sup> nec G.D. <sup>66</sup> subiectorum G.D. <sup>66</sup> nisi G.D. <sup>66</sup> seniorum G. <sup>66</sup> reliq. usque ad translatum om. G.D.

<sup>66</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 21. G.

<sup>66</sup> Deut. xxvii. 17. I. V.

<sup>66</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 24. V. "in hoc."

<sup>66</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 23. V. "inhonesta."

<sup>66</sup> Ezech. xxxiii. 6, 8. I. V.

<sup>66</sup> Matt. xviii. 17. = I. MS. Gat.

<sup>66</sup> Phil. ii. 3. (?)

[GILD. EPIST. II. A. D. 565 X 570.]

Peruenit illud iudicium pro incerto exitu vitæ, legentes in Scriptura  
 p Apostolum perditum cupiditate, et q latronem confessione in Para-  
 disum translatum\*.

\* \* \* \* \*

[<sup>85</sup> *Item.*].—Conepiscopos autem et conabbates <sup>86</sup>et non subiectos  
 non iudicare melius est: <sup>87</sup>fortentes uero alicuius nequam fama  
 putare nullo modo ad intigrum arguant, sed leniter increpant cum  
 patientia: quos pro conscientia, ut possint, debent quasi <sup>88</sup>susceptos  
 uitare, nec tamen ut reos ueros excommunicare et mensa uel pace  
 arcere, cum ratio aliqua necessitatis aut conuentus uel locutionis  
 exigerit: sed illis denuntietur, quod non recte agant: quia non pos-  
 sumus eos pro hoc damnare. Dum r commonicant illi ‘indigne,’ forte  
 nos per cogitationes malas s dæmonibus communicamus. Quos uero  
 scimus sine ulla dubitatione esse fornicatores, nisi legitimo ordine  
 peniteant, a pace et mensa, cuiuscunque ordinis legitime fuerunt,  
 arcemus. Ut est illud, “Si quis frater nominatur, et est <sup>89</sup>fornicator,’  
*rel.* Et propter principalium uitiorum causas euidenter probatas,  
 nulla alia ratione, debemus fratres a communicatione altaris et mense,  
 cum tempus poposcerit, arcere †.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Gildas*:—Ueritas sapienti nitet, (<sup>90</sup> *Pet.* u In ueritate mendacium  
 numquam est,) cuiuscunque ore fuerit prolata ‡.

\* \* \* \* \*

§ *Gildas*:—<sup>91</sup>En s adsentiente’ Aaron in culpando <sup>92</sup>Moisi propter  
 uxorem Ethiopissam, lepra Maria damnatur: quod nobis timendum,  
 qui <sup>93</sup>bonis principibus detrahimus propter mediocres culpas ||.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Item*:—Navi fracta, qui potest natare, natet ¶.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Gildas ait*:—Britones toti mundo contrarii, moribus Romanis ini-  
 mici, non solum in missa, sed <sup>94</sup>in tonsura etiam’: cum Judæis

\* C. C. C. C. 279, p. 57, 58; G. 243, p. 141,  
 142; D’Ach. I. 500.

† C. C. C. C. 279, p. 58, 59; G. 243, p. 4;  
 D’Ach. I. 493.

‡ C. C. C. C. 279, p. 34; G. 243, p. 65;

D’Ach. I. 496.

§ The extracts which follow are from G. 243,  
 collated with D. They are not in C. C. C. C. 279.

|| G. 243, p. 134; D’Ach. I. 499.

¶ G. 243, p. 156; D’Ach. I. 500.

<sup>85</sup> *add. D.* <sup>86</sup> necnon consubjectos *G.D.*

<sup>87</sup> *om. G.D. usque ad est. Pro Pet. leg. Joan. (?)*

<sup>88</sup> *etiam in tonsura D.*

<sup>89</sup> *reliq. usque ad arcere om. G.D.*

<sup>90</sup> *om. D.*

<sup>91</sup> *Moyse D.*

<sup>92</sup> *sic in C.*

<sup>93</sup> *nobis D.*

p Matt. xxvi. 14, 15, &c.

q Luc. xxiii. 40–43.

r 1 Cor. xi. 29.

s 1 Cor. x. 20.

t 1 Cor. v. 11. V. “is qui,” for “quis,” and

om. “et.” And see above, p. 99, note s.

u 1 Joan. ii. 21, “omne mendacium ex veri-  
 tate non est.”

x Num. xii. 1–10.

[GILD. EPIST. II. A. D. 565 X 570.]

umbrae <sup>10</sup>magis futurorum seruientes <sup>11</sup>quam ueritati. Romani dicunt, <sup>12</sup>Britonum tonsura a Symone Mago sumpsisse exordium traditur, cuius tonsura omnem capitis anteriorem partem ab aure ad aurem tantum contingebat, pro <sup>13</sup>excellencia ipsa Magorum tonsura, qua sola frons anterior tegi solebat, <sup>14</sup>priorum. Auctorem uero huius tonsurae in Hibernia subulcum Regis Loigairi filii <sup>15</sup>Neil extitisse Patricii sermo testatur; ex quo Hibernenses pene omnes hanc tonsuram sumserunt \*.

<sup>10</sup> om. D. <sup>11</sup> quae D. <sup>12</sup> quorum tonsura aure D. om. reliq. <sup>13</sup> leg. expellenda, e conj. Usher. <sup>14</sup> so D. priorum auctorum autem G. for. leg. Primum auctorem uero <sup>15</sup> illis D.

<sup>1</sup> Hebr. viii. 5; x. 1.

\* G. 243, p. 224; D'Ach. I. 505.

[Ante A.D. 570.]—\* *Incipit prefatio Gildæ de Penitentia.*

I. Presbiter aut diaconus faciens fornicationem naturalem sive sodomitam, <sup>1</sup>prelato ante monachi voto, III. annis peniteat; veniam omni hora roget, superpositionem faciat in unaquaque ebdomada, exceptis L. diebus post Passionem; pane sine mensura, et ferculo aliquatenus butiro <sup>2</sup>impingato, die Dominico, ceteris uero diebus <sup>3</sup>paxmati panis mensura, et <sup>4</sup>miso paruum impingato, horti holeribus, ovis paucis, Britannico formello utatur, himina Romana lactis pro fragilitate corporis istius eui, tenuclæ uero vel balthutæ lactis sextario Romano sitis gratia, et <sup>5</sup>aquæ talimpulo, si operarius est. Lectum non multo feno instructum habeat. Per tres quadragesimas superaddat aliquid, prout uirtus admiserit. Semper ex intimo corde defeat culpam suam; oboedientiam <sup>6</sup>pre omnibus libentissime excipiat; post annum et dimedium Eucharistiam sumat, et ad pacem ueniat, psalmos cum fratribus canat, ne poenitus anima tanto tempore cælistis medicinæ <sup>7</sup>intereat.

II. Si quis inferiore gradu positus monachus, III. annis peniteat, sed mensura <sup>8</sup>grauetur panis. Si operarius, sextarium de lacte Romanum, et alium de tenuclæ, et aquam quantum sufficiat pro sitis ardore, sumat.

<sup>1</sup> prolo to Martene. <sup>2</sup> impingato M. <sup>3</sup> paximati M. <sup>4</sup> misocio M. <sup>5</sup> aquatili potu Cumm. II. 23. <sup>6</sup> pro M. <sup>7</sup> Forcan addend. inopia <sup>8</sup> non gravetur Cumm. II. 24.

\* From MS. Paris. 3182 (olim Bigot. 89), pp. 280, 281; cent. XI. or XII., as printed by Wasserschleben, *Bussorön. der Abendl. Kirche*, pp. 105–108, Halle, 1851; previously printed from the same MS. by Martene and Durand, *Thea. Nov. IV.* 7, 8. Many of its canons are

repeated in the Penitential attributed to Cummeanus, in the Roman Penitential, in Bæda's Penitential, and in that in XXXV. chapters (*Wasserschleb. ib.* 505 sq.), also attributed (erroneously) to Cummeanus.

[PREF. GILD. DE PENIT. 2. A. D. 570.]

- III. Si vero sine monachi voto presbiter aut diaconus peccaverit, sicut monachus sine gradu sic peniteat<sup>6</sup>.
- IV. <sup>7</sup>Si autem peccatum voluerit monachus facere, anno et dimedio. Habet tamen abas huius rei moderandæ facultatem, si oboedientia ejus placita fuerit Deo et abati suo.
- V. Antiqui patres XII. presbitero, et VII. diacono penitentia statuerunt.
- VI. Monachus furatus vestem vel aliquam rem, II. annis ut supra peniteat, si junior <sup>8</sup>sit; si senior, anno integro. Si vero monachus non fuerit, eque anno, et maxime <sup>9</sup>III XLmis.
- VII. Si monachus exundante ventre <sup>10</sup>evomerit sacrificium in die, cenam suam non presumat; et si non infirmitatis causa, VII. superpositionibus; si infirmitatis et non voracitatis causa, IV. superpositionibus, debeat culpam.
- VIII. Si autem non sacrificium, diei superpositione et multa increpatione plectatur.
- IX. Si casu negligens quis sacrificium aliquod perdat, per III. XLmas peniteat, relinquens illud feris et alitibus devorandum.
- X. Si quis autem ebrietatis causa psallere non potest stupens <sup>11</sup>elinguis, cena privatur.
- XI. <sup>12</sup>Peccans cum pecode, anno; si ipse solus, III. quadragesimas diluat culpam.
- XII. Qui communicaverit a suo abate excommunicato, XL.
- XIII. <sup>13</sup>Manducans morticinam insciens, XL.
- XIV. Sciendum est tamen, quod quanto quis tempore moratur in <sup>14</sup>peccatis, tanto ei augenda penitentia est.
- XV. Si cui inponitur opus aliquod, et contemptus gratia illud non fecerit, cena careat; si vero oblivione, demedium cotidiani victus.
- XVI. Si autem sumat alterius opus, illud notum faciat abati cum verecundia, excepto eo nullo audiente; et sic peragat, si jubetur.
- XVII. Nam qui iram corde multo tempore retinet, in morte est. Si autem confitetur peccatum, XL. jejundet; et si ultra in peccato persistat, duas XLmas. Et si idem fecerit, abscida-

<sup>6</sup> et postea recipiat gradus suos *add. Cumm. II. 25.* <sup>7</sup> Si autem presbiter aut diaconus post tale peccatum voluerit monachus fieri, in districto proposito exilii *Cumm. II. 26.* <sup>8</sup> est *M.* <sup>9</sup> in XLmis *M.* <sup>10</sup> evomerit *M.* <sup>11</sup> in linguis, superponat *Cumm. I. 9.* elinguis c. p. *M.* <sup>12</sup> *Bæd. Penit. III. 25.* <sup>13</sup> *M. m. inscius M. Cf. Theodor. Penit. I. vii. 6.* <sup>14</sup> peccato *M.*

[PREF. GILD. DE PENIT. 2. A. D. 570.]

tur a corpore sicut membrum putredum, quia furor homicidium nutrit.

XVIII. Offensus quis ab aliquo, debet hoc <sup>14</sup> indicere abati, non tamen accusantis sed medentis affectu, et abas decernat.

XIX. Qui non <sup>15</sup> occurrit ad <sup>16</sup> consummationem, canat VIII. in ordine psalmos; si excitatus veniat post misam, quidquid cantaverunt, replicet ex ordine, fratres; si vero ad secundam venerit, cena careat.

XX. Si quis errans commotaverit aliquid de verbis sacris ubi periculum adnotatur, triduanum aut III. superpositiones faciat.

XXI. Si <sup>17</sup> sacrum terratenus negligendo ceciderit, cena careat.

XXII. Qui voluntate obsceno liquore maculatus fuerit dormiendo, si cervisa et carne habundat coenubium, <sup>18</sup> III. noctis horis stando vigilet, si sane virtutis est. Si vero pauperem victum habet, XXVIII. aut XXX. psalmos canet stando suplex, <sup>19</sup> aut opere extraordinario pendat.

XXIII. Pro bonis <sup>20</sup> regibus sacra debemus offerre, pro malis nequaquam.

XXIV. Presbyteri vero pro <sup>21</sup> suis Episcopis non prohibentur offerre.

XXV. Qui arguitur pro aliquo delicto, et quasi inconsultans refrenatur, cena careat.

XXVI. Qui sarculum perfrangit, et ante fracturam non habuit, aut illud extraordinario opere restituat, aut superponat.

XXVII. Qui viderit aliquem ex fratribus abatis transgredi precepta, debet abatem non celare, sed ante admoneat peccantem, ut solus quod male agit confiteatur abati, <sup>22</sup> non tam delator quam veritatis regulæ exsecutor inveniatur.

Huc usque Gildas.

<sup>14</sup> indicare M.    <sup>15</sup> occurrit M.    <sup>16</sup> secundi Psalmi add. Penit. XXXV. Capp. c. XXXI.  
<sup>17</sup> sacrificium Cumm. XIII. 5.    <sup>18</sup> est add. M.    <sup>19</sup> cum M.    <sup>20</sup> rebus Pen. Rom.  
 IX. 4; Cumm. XIII. 1.    <sup>21</sup> om. M.    <sup>22</sup> Forsan addend. ut

c. A. D. 544 × 565, or shortly after. *Mission of British Church to Ireland, to restore the Faith, under the auspices of S. David, S. Gildas, and S. Cadoc* <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence of this is (1) the distinct assertion in the Life of Gildas by the monk of Ruys, that he went to Ireland to "restore ecclesiastical order," because the Irish had "lost the Catholic faith," at the request of King Ainmire (A. D. 568–571), supported by the special notices in the Irish annals (A. D. 565, 570) of Gildas' journey thither and death (see above, p. 45, note †), and by the place

occupied by Gildas in Irish collections of canons of the 6th or 7th centuries, which is second only to that of S. Patrick: (2) by the statement of Tirechanus in the *Catal. SS. Hibern.* (see below, under the Irish Church), c. A. D. 750, that the second order of Irish saints, beginning A. D. 544, received their Order of mass from David, Cadoc, and Gildas: and (3) by the legends of Irish saints of the same period, which take them

## [BRIT. CH. IN RELATION TO IRISH.]

for instruction, commonly to Britain, sometimes to the three British saints above named, and above all to S. David. E. g. S. Finnian of Clonard,—"Cum apud civitatem Kilmunensem in Britannia applicuissent, ibi tres viros sanctos S. David, S. Cathmaelum [= S. Cadoc] et S. Gildam invenit" (*Vita ap. Colg., Act. SS.* 393). S. Molagga or Molac, who survived the plague of A.D. 664, went to Britain to S. David (*Id. ib.* 147). So also S. Bar of Cork (*Ricem., V. S. David., in Cambro-Brit. SS.* 132), and S. Aidus or Maidoc or Moedhog, "qui et Aidanus" (*Id. ib.* 133, and *Colg. ib.* 209), the Bishop of Ferns; and "pene tertia pars vel quarta Hibernie servit David," according to the same authority (*Ricem. ib.*). See also

what is said of S. Senanus (*Colg. Act. SS.* 526). S. Canice or Cannechus "perrexit trans mare in Britanniam ad virum sapientem et religiosissimum Doc" (*al. Docum*), "legitque apud eum sedule et bonos mores didicit" (*V. S. Cana. p.* 3, *Dubl.* 1853, as quoted by *Dr. Todd, S. Patrick, p.* 100). See also the evidence quoted below, that other Irish saints of the same period sought education at Whithorne; sc. the other Finnian (of Magh-bile), S. Enna, S. Tigernach, S. Eugenius or Eoghan. On the other hand, S. Modonnoc, a disciple of S. David, is said to have gone to Ireland (*Ricem. V. S. David., as above, 133, 134*).—For the connexion of S. David and of Gildas with Brittany, see below in its place under the Bréton Church.

A. D. 563. *Mission of S. Columba from Ireland to Northern Britain* ("de Scotia in Britanniam"—from Ireland into Scotland): see *Adamnan., V. S. Columba., and below under the Scotch Church* <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> S. Columba's was only one, but the greatest, of Irish attempts at this period to Christianize Northern Britain. See below under A.D. 500–600, p. 121, note <sup>2</sup>, for those of S. Moluag (ob. A.D. 592) and S. Donnan (ob. A.D. 617), and under A.D. 671 for that of S. Maclrua; respectively to Argyle, Egg, and Applecross. Other attempts of the kind were less lasting: e. g. that of S. Comgal of (the Irish) Bangor, who seven years after its foundation, and therefore A.D. 559 or 566, "in

Britanniam navigavit, volens quosdam sanctos ibi visitare et ibi manere ad tempus, et constituit ibi monasterium in quadam villa in regione Heth" (*V. S. Comgall, ap. Act. SS. Mat. 10, II.* 585). S. Comgal died A.D. 601 (*Ann. IV. Mag., and see Lanigan, Ecol. Hist. II.* 68). Heth = Ethica = Tyree (*Reeves ad Adamn. V. S. Col. p.* 48). A list of Irish missionaries, whose attempts resembled S. Comgal's, is in *Reeves, ib. Append. to Pref.* pp. lxxiv, lxxv.

Shortly before A. D. 569, <sup>a</sup> *Synod of Llanddewi-Brefi.* And A. D. 569, <sup>b</sup> *Synod of Lucas Victoriae.*

[The second of these Synods is recorded in *Ann. Camb.* (in their later form).—CXXV. Annus. Synodus Victoriz apud Britones congregatur. (A. D. 569, *M.H.B.* 831.)

The common account of both is from *Rhyddmarch's V. S. David.* (11th century, in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 136, sq.), copied from him by *Girald. Camb. (V. S. David., in Wharton, A. S. II.* 638, 639); but it is purely <sup>c</sup> fabulous, and is directed to the establishment of the apocryphal supremacy of S. David and his see over the entire British Church. It also attributes to them, the crushing of Pelagianism in Britain, whence the name of the second as given in *Ann. Camb.* and *Rhyddmarch*, viz. Victoriz (without the "luci"). The following documents, preserved in the north of France, obviously through Brittany, suggest a different character and purpose for them.]

<sup>a</sup> The date of the second Synod is from the *Ann. Camb.* The first is implied by *Rhyddmarch* to have not long preceded it; a supposition agreeing with Gildas' statement of the purity of the British Church c. A.D. 516, and its subsequent falling off (if the Synods really had any-

thing to do with putting down Pelagianism), and with the date of S. David's death, A.D. 601, by whom both Synods were held, and whose Episcopate of S. David's, according to the legend, began with them. Pelagianism was still imputed to the Irish Church A.D. 640 (*Bed. H. E. II.* 19).

[SYNODS OF S. DAVID, A. D. 569.]

<sup>b</sup> The locality of the first Synod, Llanddewi Brefi, near the Roman station of Loventium, rests upon Rhyddmarch. That of the second was probably in the neighbourhood of Llanddewi, but is unknown. The omission of *Llous*, apparently, led to the afterthought of the common explanation of the name. There is a wooded spot four miles from Llanddewi Brefi, and therefore close also to Loventium, and to a Roman tumulus still existing, called however *Llwyn Garu* (= *Lucus Amoris*); which may perhaps be the place. A battle was probably fought there, and apparently

with loss to the Romans. Garu is changed now into Garw, or 'rough.'

<sup>c</sup> Rhyddmarch expressly states that all records of either Synod at S. David's were lost in his time, through the incursions of Northmen; for which see abundant evidence in *Ann. Camb., Brut y Tywysog*, and the *Ann. Mon.* in *Wharton, A. S. II.* 649. That the Synods were confirmed "*Romana auctoritate*," rests therefore upon Rhyddmarch in the 11th century; and the assertion is obviously absurd as applied to the Welsh Church of the 6th.

\* *Incipit nunc Sinodus Aquilonalis Britanniae.*

- I. Cum muliere vel cum viro peccans quis expellatur, ut alterius patriæ coenubio vivat, et peniteat confessus III. annis clausus, et postea frater illius altari subjectus, anno uno diaconus, III. presbyter, IV. Episcopus et abas; suo quisque ordine privatus doctoris judicio peniteat.
- II. Qui se ipsum <sup>22</sup>inquinauerit, annum clausus peniteat; puer XII. annorum XL. aut III. XLmis. <sup>24</sup>I. diaconus anno clausus, et cum fratribus peniteat demedio. Sacerdos uno anno clausus, et cum fratribus altero.
- III. Monachus consecrata furatus exilio anno <sup>25</sup>uno, et altero cum fratribus peniteat. Si autem <sup>26</sup>iteraverit, exilium patietur.
- IV. Furatus cybum, XL.; si iterato, tres XLmas; si tertio, anno; si quarto, jugi exilio sub alio abate peniteat.
- V. Dilatus et dilator <sup>27</sup>consimili persona judicentur. Si dilatus negaverit, anno <sup>28</sup>simili peniteat, <sup>29</sup>in septimana' II. diebus pane aquaque, et <sup>30</sup>biduano in fine cujusque mensis, omnibus fratribus subponentibus, et Deum eis judicem <sup>31</sup>contestantibus.
- VI. Permanentes autem in obstinatione, anno <sup>32</sup>emenso, <sup>33</sup>alterius communioni' sub iudice flamma <sup>34</sup>sotiantur, et Dei judicio relinquantur.
- VII. Si quando alter fuerit confessus, quantum laboris alteri <sup>35</sup>intulit, tantum sibi multiplicetur.

<sup>22</sup> coinquinaverit *Martene*. <sup>23</sup> *om. Wasserschl.* <sup>24</sup> *om. Wasserschl.* <sup>25</sup> intraverit *M.*  
<sup>26</sup> consimile persone *Cumm. XI. 9.* <sup>27</sup> simul *Cumm. ib.* <sup>28</sup> in unaquaque ebdomada  
*Cumm. ib.* <sup>29</sup> biduana *Cumm. ib.* <sup>30</sup> fore *add. Cumm. ib.* <sup>31</sup> emisso *Cumm. XI. 10.*  
<sup>32</sup> altaris communione *Cumm. ib.* <sup>33</sup> sociantur *Cumm. ib.*; sociantur *M.* <sup>34</sup> intulerit *Cumm.*  
<sup>35</sup> *ib.*; *M.*

\* From MS. Paris. 3182 (ol. Bigot. 89), p. 281: as printed by Wasserschleben, *Bussordnung. der Abendlând. Kirche*, pp. 103, 104: printed also from the same MS. by Martene and

Durand, *Theas. Non. IV. 9.* Some of the canons are repeated in the (so-called) Penitential of Cummeanus.



[SYNODS OF S. DAVID, A. D. 569.]

† *Incipit Altera Sinodus Luci Victoriae.*

- I. Faciens furtum semel, anno I.; si plura, II. annis.
- II. Qui occidit fratrem suum non ex odii meditatione, si iracundia subita, triennio peniteat.
- III. Adulter quoque et ipse triennio.
- IV. Qui prebent ducatum barbaris, <sup>38</sup> XIII. annis; tamen, si non acciderit stragis Christianorum, et sanguinis effusio, et dira captivitas. <sup>37</sup> Si autem evenerit, agant residuo vitæ penitentiam, relictis armis. Si autem voluerit, et non ad vota sibi barbaros ad Christianos educere, residuo vite sue peniteat.
- V. Qui perjurium jurat, IV. <sup>38</sup> annos. Qui deducit alium in perjurium ignorantem, VII. <sup>38</sup> annos. Qui deductus est ignorans et <sup>39</sup> post scit, anno uno. Qui vero suspicatur, quod in perjurium deducitur, tamen jurat, pro consensu II. annis.
- VI. Qui mechatur matris est, III. annis, cum peregrinatione perenni.
- VII. Qui cum cane vel <sup>40</sup> quocunque peccaverit animali, II. annis et dimedio.
- VIII. Qui facit scelus virile ut sodomite, IV. annis. Qui vero in femoribus, III. annis. Manu autem sive alterius sive sua, II. annis.
- IX. Totum hoc quod diximus, si post votum perfectionis fecerit homo. Si autem ante votum, annus diminuitur de omnibus <sup>41</sup>; de reliquis vero, ut debet, minuitur, dum non vovit.

<sup>38</sup> XIII. *M.* III. *Bom. Pœn. IX. 6, Cumm. VI. 28.* <sup>37</sup> Sin vero, rejectis armis, usque ad mortem mundo mortui vivant *Cumm. ib.* <sup>38</sup> annis *M.* <sup>39</sup> postea *M.* <sup>40</sup> cum *add. M.* <sup>41</sup> his tribus *add. M.*

† From the same MS., p. 282: as printed by Wasserschleben, ib. 104: also in *M.* and *D.* peated in the Roman Penitential, and in the (so-called) *Cummeanus*.  
*Theo. Nov. IV. 9.* Some of its canons are re-

† *Incipiunt Excerpta Quædam de Libro Davidis.*

- I. Sacerdotes in templo Dei ministraturi gule gratia vinum aut <sup>42</sup> ciceram per negligentiam et non ignorantiam bibentes, <sup>43</sup> III. diebus peniteant. Si autem per contemptum arguentium, XL.
- II. Inebriati autem per ignorantiam, XV. diebus; si per negligentiam, XL.; si per contemptum, III. XLmis.

<sup>42</sup> ciceram *M.* <sup>43</sup> IV. *M.*

† From the same MS., pp. 282, 283; as printed by Wasserschleben, ib. 101, 102: also in *M.* and *D.*, *Theo. Nov. IV. 10.* Rhyddmarch informs us, that the decrees of the two Synods,

“quæ ore firmaverat, solus ipse Episcopus [David] sua sancta manu literis mandavit” (*V. S. David.*, p. 139).

[EXCERPT. DE LIB. S. DAVID.]

- III. Qui cogit aliquem humanitatis gratia ut <sup>a</sup> ebrietur, similiter ut ebrius peniteat.
- IV. Qui vero effectu hodie seu luxuriæ, ut turpiter confundat vel irrideat, ad ebrietatem alios cogit, si non satis penituerit, sic peniteat ut homicida animarum.
- V. Cum muliere dispensata Christo maritove, sive cum jumento vel cum masculo fornicantes, de reliquo mortui mundo Deo vivant.
- VI. Qui autem cum virgine vel vidua necdum dispensata peccaverit, dotem det parentibus ejus, et anno uno peniteat. <sup>a</sup> Si non habuerit dotem, III. annis peniteat'.
- VII. Episcopus homicidium voluntate faciens, vel quamlibet fornicationem dolumve, XIII. annis peniteat; presbyter autem VII. cum pane et aqua, et ferculo in die Dominico vel sabbati; diaconus VI.; sine gradu monachus, IV.; nisi infirmitas impediat illos.
- VIII. Qui in sompnis cum voluntate pollutus est, surgat canatque VII. psalmos; et in die illo in pane et aqua vivat. Sin autem, XXX. psalmos canat <sup>a</sup>.
- IX. Volens autem in sompnis peccare, sed non potuit, XV. psalmos; si autem peccaverit, sed non pollutus est, <sup>a</sup> XXIII.; si sine voluntate pollutus, XV.
- X. Antiqui decrevere sancti, ut Episcopus pro capitalibus peccatis <sup>a</sup> XXIII. annis peniteat, presbyter XII., diaconus VII.: sic virgo, lectorque, et religiosus: ebibatus autem IV.
- XI. Nunc autem presbyteri ruentis penitentia est, diaconique et subdiaconi, virginisque et <sup>a</sup> cujusque hominis, hominem ad mortem tradentis, et cum paecodibus vel cum sua sorore vel cum mariti uxore fornicantis, et venenis hominem occidere volentis, triennium. Primo anno super terram, secundo lapidi caput imponendum, tertio super axem jaceat, <sup>a</sup> solo pane et aqua et sale et leguminis talimpulo vescatur. Ceterique malint XXX. triduanos vel cum superpositionibus, cum cybo lectoque supradicto, annona ad nonam usque ad alteram. Alia est penitentia III. annis, sed himina de cervissa vel lacte, cum pane saleque; altera e duabus noctibus cum prandii ratione, et ordine XII. horis noctium dierumque Deum supplicare debent.
- XII. Hinc autem presbytero offerre sacrificium, vel diacono tenere calicem, non licet; aut in sublimiorem gradum ascendere.

<sup>a</sup> inebrietur *M.* <sup>a</sup> om. *Wassersch.* <sup>a</sup> XXIII. *M.* <sup>a</sup> cujuslibet *M.* <sup>a</sup> soloque *M.*<sup>a</sup> Repeated in *Penit. XXXV. Capp. c. x. § 4*, as "*Scotorum Judicium.*"

[EXCERPT. DE LIB. S. DAVID.]

XIII. Usuram-accipiens perdat ea quæ accipit.

XIV. Preda vel fraude vescit, "semiannis.

XV. Virgini osculum in secreto prebens, triduanum peniteat.

XVI. In ecclesia mendacium jurans, quadruplum pro quo juraverat, reddat <sup>b</sup>.<sup>a</sup> semiannus M.<sup>b</sup> Other canons, apparently Welsh and of the period of S. David, but of the Welsh origin of which there is some doubt, will be found in Appendix A.A. D. 589. <sup>a</sup> *Ann. Camb.*—CXLV. Annus. Conversio Constantini ad Dominum. (*M.H.B.* 831.)<sup>a</sup> A.D. 588, *Ann. Tigern.* (*O'Conor*, II. 157); A.D. 587, *Ann. Ulton.* (*O'Conor*, IV. 30). Constantine was King of Damnonia (see above, p. 49 in Gildas' first Epist.), and left his kingdom to enter S. David's monastery (*Ricemarch.*, V. S.*David.*, *Cambro-Brit.* SS. p. 129), going thence "in aliam longinquam patriam," where he founded a monastery (*Id. ib.*). See below in Append. E. His legend takes him on to Ireland, and then to Scotland (*Aberdeen Brev. March* 11).A. D. <sup>a</sup> 500–600. <sup>b</sup> *British Monastery at Candida Casa (Whitby), frequented by Irish for instruction.**Acta S. Tigernach.*—Puer (Tigernachus) ..... S. Monenni disciplinis et monitis in Rosnatensi monasterio, quod alio nomine Alba vocatur, diligenter instructus, etc. (*Colgan, Actt.* SS. 438.)*Acta S. Eugenii.*—Quos duos viros sanctos (Eugenium et Tigernachum) sanctus et sapiens Nennio, qui Mancennus dicitur, de Rosnatiensi monasterio, a rege Britannię petens liberos accepit; apud quem sub ecclesiastica disciplina nutriti dociles legerunt. (*Id. ib.*, and so also further on in the same Life.)*Acta S. Endei.*—Dixit soror sua ei (Endeo), ... Vade ad Britanniam ad Rosnatum monasterium, et esto humilis discipulus Manseni magistri illius monasterii. (*Id. ib.*)*Acta S. Finani.*—Pontifex nomine Nennio, cum suis, ..... de Britannia venientes, etc. ... Cum eodem (Nennio) repatriante, navigavit (Finanus), et in ejus sede, quæ Magnum vocatur Monasterium, regulas et institutiones monasticę vitę aliquot annis probus monachus didicit. (*Id. ib.*)<sup>c</sup><sup>a</sup> *Venantius Fortunatus*, c. A.D. 580, testifies to the then existence and orthodoxy of the British Church.*Poem. VIII.* v. 289–292:*Æthiopes, Thraces, Arabes, Dacus, Indus,  
Alanus,  
Aurora et Vesper, Perna, Britannus, adest:  
Intrantes in regna Dei, pietate redempti,  
Gaudia visuri Regis in arce poli.*(*Brower.*, pp. 204, 205.)*V. S. Martini III. in fin.:*Quid sacer ille simul Paulus tuba gentibus  
ampla?Per mare, per terras, Christi præconia fun-  
dens,Europam, atque Asiam, Libyam, sale, dog-  
mate complens;Et qua sol radiis tendit, stylus ille cucur-  
rit;

Arctos, merides, hinc plenus vesper et ortus:

Transit et Oceanum, vel quâ facit insula  
portum,

Quasque Britannus habet terras, atque ultima  
Thyle. (Brower., p. 321.)

*Ad Justin. Junior. Imp. &c.:*

Reddite vota Deo, quoniam nova purpura,  
quicquid

Concilium statuit Calcedonense, tenet.

\* \* \* \*

Currit ad extremas fidei pia fabula gentes,  
Et trans Oceanum terra Britannia fovet.

(*Ib.* p. 348.)

See also the end of the last-quoted poem, *ib.*  
p. 350.

<sup>b</sup> See *Colgan, Act. SS.* p. 439; and *O'Connor, Rer. Hb. III.* 169, who apply the passages to Bangor in Wales. But *Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. of Irel.* I. 424, 437, II. 25, refers them with more reason to Candida Casa. They are all of late date. S. Finan or Finnian of Maghbie (not of Clonard), S. Endrus or Enna of Aran, and S. Eugenius

or Eoghan of Ard Rath, all belong to the same second order of Saints in the Catal. of Tirechanus, and therefore flourished A.D. 544-599: and Finnian is dated by his Life in the reigns of Tuathal and Diarmid, i. e. A.D. 533-565, and died A.D. 588 (*Ann. Tigern.*). The Tigernach here meant died A.D. 548 (*Ann. IV. Mag.*), or 550 (*Ann. Ulton.*).

\* Two missionary efforts from Ireland to Scotland belong to this period—that of S. Molug or Lugaith, to (the Scotch) Lismore [*Ann. Tigern.* a. 592. "Obitus Lugide Lismore, i. e. Moluc,"—i. e. of Lughaidh = Lua = Luag = Molug, at Lismore in (the subsequent diocese of) Argyll. See *Reeves, Add. Notes to Adamn. V. S. Columb.* p. 371]—and that of S. Donnán to the island of Egg, martyred A.D. 617 [*Ann. Tigern.* a. 617; and see *Reeves, ib.* pp. 304, 373.]

For Welsh Bishoprics, founded during this century, see below in Appendix C.

*Latter part of 6th or beginning of 7th Century. \* Breinniau Arvon*  
*= Privileges of Arvon.*

I. [Fourteen civil privileges granted to the men of <sup>b</sup>Arvon.]

II. Ac obyt a amhehuo vn or  
breynheu hene, clas \* Bancor arey  
<sup>d</sup> Beuno ac keydu.

II. And if there be who shall  
doubt one of these privileges, the  
community at <sup>c</sup>Bangor and that  
of <sup>d</sup>Beuno shall uphold them.

\* From the Venedotian form of the Laws of Howel Dda (*Anc. Laws of Wales*, I. 104-107), but dating in the latter half of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century, the privileges purporting to be granted by Run, son of the Maelgwn who died A.D. 547 King of Gwynedd, to the men of Arvon. The legend however of Beuno connects him with King Cadfan, who is usually assigned to the beginning of the 7th century; and reigned

A.D. 575-610 according to the *Ann. Mon.* (*op. Wharton, A. S. II. xxxii.*).

<sup>b</sup> The district of Caernarvonshire between Bangor and Clynog.

<sup>c</sup> viz. the Bishops' see.

<sup>d</sup> At Clynog Vann; said however to have been founded in the beginning of the 7th century.

A. D. 601. \* *Synod at Caerleon-upon-Usk, under S. David.*

*Ann. Camb.*—CLVII. Annus. Sinodus Urbis Legion ... David Episcopus Moni Judeorum <sup>b</sup>. (*M.H.B.* 831.)

*Ann. Menev.*—Synodus Urbis Legionum ordinata a S. David Menevensi Archiepiscopo. (*Wharton, A. S. II. 643.*) <sup>c</sup>

\* Probably connected with, possibly the same as, the Conferences with S. Augustin, A.D. 602 or 603.

<sup>b</sup> viz. his death. Moni Judeorum = Kilmone, the Irish name for Hen Menev, Vetus Rubus, or S. David's.

<sup>c</sup> The following, from Will. Malm. (*Antiq. Glaston.*), is no doubt due to a Saxon monk of Glastonbury some centuries subsequent to the date it bears; but it may perhaps record or refer to a

fact:—"Anno Dominice Incarnationis sexcentesimo primo, rex Domnonie terram, quæ appellatur Yneswitrin, ad ecclesiam vetustam concessit quæ ibi sita est, ob petitionem Worgret abbatis, in quinque casatis.—'Ego Mawron Episcopus hanc chartam scripsi: ego Worgret ejusdem loci abbas subscripsi.'" The British were not driven from the neighbourhood of Glastonbury much before A.D. 652-658 (*Angl. Sax. Chron.*).

A.D. 602 or 603. <sup>a</sup> *Conferences between the British Bishops and S. Augustine at S. Augustine's Oak, at which the British Church refuses submission to the Papal appointment of S. Augustine as her Metropolitan* <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See below under the Saxon Church; and for the grounds of the schism which began formally from these Conferences, below in Appendix D.

<sup>b</sup> The answer attributed to Dinoh (Spelm. I. 108, 109; Wilkins, I. 26, 27) is here given on account of its notoriety. It was copied in the beginning of the 17th century by Spelman, from

a MS. in the possession of Mr. Peter Mostyn, which he thought to be ancient, or a copy of an ancient MS. Two copies of it exist—in *Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. I. 56*, and *Claud. A. VIII. 76*. It is given here from the former, with the various readings of the latter. See *Smith ad Bæd. App. X.* The Latin is Spelman's.

Bid <sup>1</sup> ispis a diogel i chwi yn, bod in holl vn ac <sup>2</sup> arral, <sup>3</sup> yn widd' ac <sup>4</sup> ynn ostingedig' i eglwys Duw ac ir Paab o Ruvain ac i boob <sup>5</sup> kyar Gristidion dwyuo, <sup>6</sup> y garu pawb yn i radd mewm kariad <sup>7</sup> perfaith, ac i helpio <sup>8</sup> paub o hennant, <sup>9</sup> ar air' a <sup>10</sup> gueithred i vod ynn tñant <sup>11</sup> y Duw': ac amgenach <sup>12</sup> veyddod no hwn nidawen i vod, ir neb <sup>13</sup> ir yddich' chwi yn henwi yn Baab, ne in daad o daade, yw gleimio ac yw ovunn: ar <sup>14</sup> uvyddod hwn ir <sup>15</sup> iddin <sup>16</sup> ni yn <sup>17</sup> varod yw roddi ac yw dalu iddo ef, ac i pob Krisidion yn <sup>18</sup> dragwiddol. <sup>19</sup> Hevid ir ydym in dan <sup>20</sup> lywodrath Esgob Kaerllion ar Wysc, yr hwn ysydd yn <sup>21</sup> oligwr dan <sup>22</sup> Duw arnom in, y wueuthud i in <sup>23</sup> gadwr ffordd ysbrydol.

Notum sit et absque dubitatione vobis, quod nos omnes sumus et quilibet nostrum obedientes et subditi Ecclesie Dei et Papæ Romæ et unicuique vero et pio Christiano, ad amandum unumquemque in suo gradu in perfecta charitate, et ad juvandum unumquemque eorum verbo et facto fore filios Dei. Et aliam obedientiam quam istam non scio debitam ei, quem vos nominatis esse Papam, nec esse patrem patrum, vindicari et postulari. Et istam obedientiam nos sumus parati dare et solvere ei et cuique Christiano continuo. Præterea nos sumus sub gubernatione Episcopi Caerlegionis super Osca, qui est ad supervidendum sub Deo super nobis, ad faciendum nos servare viam spiritualem.

<sup>1</sup> yspys <sup>2</sup> arall <sup>3</sup> ynuvydd <sup>4</sup> ynnostyngedig <sup>5</sup> kyur <sup>6</sup> i <sup>7</sup> perfaith <sup>8</sup> pawb  
<sup>9</sup> a gair <sup>10</sup> gweithred <sup>11</sup> i Dduw <sup>12</sup> vuyddod <sup>13</sup> ir yddych <sup>14</sup> uvyddod <sup>15</sup> yddym  
<sup>16</sup> in <sup>17</sup> barod <sup>18</sup> dragwiddol <sup>19</sup> Heryd <sup>20</sup> lywodraeth <sup>21</sup> olygwr <sup>22</sup> Dduw  
<sup>23</sup> gadwr

A. D. 604 x 610. *Letter of Laurentius Archbishop of Canterbury to the British Bishops.*

*Beda, H. E. II. 4.* [A.D. 731.]—Misit idem Laurentius, cum coepiscopis suis, <sup>a</sup> etiam Brittonum sacerdotibus literas suo gradui condignas, quibus eos in unitate catholica confirmare satagit. Sed quantum hæc agendo profecerit, adhuc <sup>b</sup> præsentia tempora declarant. (*M. H. B.* 153.)

<sup>a</sup> So. as well as to those of Ireland.—At this period also, viz. A.D. 605–623, "Fergna Brit" (i. e. the Briton) was abbot of Hy. See *Reeves*

ad *Adamn. V. S. Columb., Addit. Notes*, pp. 372, 373.

<sup>b</sup> A. D. 731.

A. D. <sup>a</sup> 613. *Slaughter of the British Monks of Bangor Tiscoed at Caerleon (Chester) by Etbelfrid of Northumbria.*

*Beda, H. E. II. 2.* [A.D. 731.]—Siquidem post hæc ipse de quo diximus rex Anglorum fortissimus Ædilfrid, collecto grandi exercitu,

[BRIEF. CH. IN RELATION TO SAXON.]

ad civitatem Legionum, quæ a gente Anglorum Legacæstir, a Brittonibus autem rectius Carlegion appellatur, maximam gentis perfidæ stragem dedit. Cumque bellum acturus videret sacerdotes eorum, qui ad exorandum Deum pro milite bellum agente convenerant, seorsum in tutiore loco consistere, sciscitabatur qui essent hi, quidve acturi illo convenissent. Erant autem plurimi eorum de monasterio Bancor, in quo tantus fertur fuisse numerus monachorum, ut cum in septem portiones esset cum præpositis sibi rectoribus monasterium divisum, nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet, qui omnes de labore manuum suarum vivere solebant. Horum ergo plurimi ad memoratam aciem, peracto jejunio triduo, cum aliis orandi causa convenerant, habentes defensorem nomine Brocmailum, qui eos intentos precibus a barbarorum gladiis protegeret. Quorum causam adventus cum intellexisset rex Ædilfrid, ait: Ergo si adversum nos ad Deum suum clamant, profecto et ipsi quamvis arma non ferant, contra nos pugnant, qui adversis nos imprecationibus persequuntur. Itaque in hos primum arma verti jubet, et sic ceteras nefandæ militiæ copias non sine magno exercitus sui damno delevit. Extinctos in ea pugna ferunt, de his qui ad orandum venerant, viros circiter mille ducentos, et solum quinquaginta fuga esse lapsos. Brocmail ad primum hostium adventum cum suis terga vertens, eos quos defendere debuerat, inermes ac nudos ferientibus gladiis reliquit. Sicque completum est præsagium sancti pontificis Augustini, quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore ad cœlestia regna sublato, ut etiam temporalis interitus ultione sentirent perfidi, quod oblata sibi perpetuæ salutis consilia spreverant. (*M.H.B.* 150, 151.)

*Ann. Camb.*—<sup>b</sup> CLXIX. Annus. Gueith (sc. bellum) Cair Legion, et ibi cecidit Selim filii Cinan. (*M.H.B.* 832.)

*Ann. Tigernach.* A. D. 613.—Prælium Carleonense ubi sancti occisi sunt, et cecidit Solon filius Conani rex Britonum, et Cetula rex cecidit. Æthelfridus victor erat, qui postea statim obiit. (*O'Conor*, II. 182: and to the same effect, *Ann. Ulton.*, a. 612, *ib.* IV. 39.)

<sup>a</sup> In one MS. of the Anglo-Sax. Chron. the date is A.D. 605, in another A.D. 607; [and the *Ann. Innisfall.* have A.D. 606 (*O'Conor*, II. 11);] but either date is merely an inference from Bæda, on the assumption that the last date

mentioned by him is the date of this battle also.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 613. *M.H.B.* And a "considerable time" after Augustin's death, could not have been much earlier.—Ethelfrid was not a Christian.

A. D. 616 × 627. <sup>a</sup> *Asserted Baptism of Edwin of Northumbria by a British Priest.*

*Nennius, Append.* [9th century].—<sup>b</sup> Eoguin filius Alli ... occupavit

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° Elmet et expulit Certic regem illius regionis. Eanfled filia illius duodecimo die <sup>d</sup> post Pentecosten baptismum accepit cum universis hominibus suis de viris et mulieribus cum ea. Eadguin vero ° in sequenti Pascha baptismum suscepit, et XII. millia hominum baptizati sunt cum eo. Si quis scire voluerit quis eos baptizavit, <sup>f</sup> Run map Urbgen baptizavit eos, et per XL. dies non cessavit baptizare omne genus Ambrorum, et per prædicationem illius multi crediderunt in Christo. (*M.H.B.* 76.)

*Ann. Camb.*—s CLXXXII. Annus. Etguin baptizatus est, et Run filius Urbgen baptizavit eum. (*M.H.B.* 832.)

\* This looks like an exact copy of Bæda's account (*H. E.* II. 9. 14), only substituting Run for Paulinus, the Briton for the Italian. Edwin, who was expelled from his kingdom when only three years old (*Flor. Wig. Append. M. H. B.* 639), was brought up in a Christian court in Wales (*Rees*, 303, from the *Bonedd y Saints* in the *Myvyr. Archæol.* II. 40; consistent also with *Bæd. H. E.* II. 12). In one MS. of Nennius it is added, that "sic mihi RENCHIDUS Episcopus et Elbodeus Episcoporum sanctissimus tradiderunt: Run map ur Beghen: id est, Paulinus." But that Run actually was Paulinus (*Hodgeson Hinde, Hist. of Northumberland.*), is a mere guess. There was a Romanus who preceded Paulinus in the Saxon see of

Rochester A.D. 624–627 (*Bæd. H. E.* II. 8, 20); and Ronan a Scot, and Romanus a Kentish presbyter, took the Roman side in the Paschal controversy decided at Whitby A.D. 663 (*Id. ib.* III. 25). Possibly the similarity of these names, or one of them, to that of the Briton Run or Rum may have helped to cause the confusion.

<sup>b</sup> So. Eadwin of Northumbria.

<sup>c</sup> A.D. 616. See *Bæd. H. E.* IV. 23, *Ann. Camb.* s. 616.

<sup>d</sup> A.D. 626.

° A.D. 627.

<sup>f</sup> Run, son of Urien, was a Cumbrian chief celebrated by Taliesin. He may possibly have become a priest subsequently.

s A.D. 626.

A.D. 631 (632). *Ann. Ulton.*—Combustio ° Bennchoir Moer in Britannia. (*O'Comor*, IV. 45.)

\* Bangor Maur: i. e. Bangor on the Menai, distinguished from the Irish Bangor as being "in Britannia," and from Bangor Yuced (the monks of which were slaughtered in 613) by the epithet of "Maur."

S. Furseus, A.D. 630 x 640, "pauis cum fratribus per Britones in provinciam Anglorum devenit" (*Bæd. H. E.* III. 19), coming from Ireland to (Anglian and just converted) Suffolk.

A. D. 664. *British Bishops (probably ° Cornish) join Wini, the Saxon Bishop of Wessex, in consecrating Ceadda to York.*

*Bæda, H. E.* III. 28. [A. D. 731.]—Ab illo (Wini) est vir præfatus (Ceadda) consecratus antistes, adsumtis in societatem ordinationis duobus de Brittonum gente Episcopis, qui Dominicum paschæ diem... secus morem canonicum a quarta decima usque ad vicesimam lunam celebrant. (*M.H.B.* 206.)

\* The terms upon which the Church of Wessex stood respectively to those of Cornwall and of Wales in the time of Aldhelm (*Epist. ad Gerunt.*

A.D. 705), seem to determine these Bishops to have been Cornish.

A. D. 670. *British Church Endowments claimed by the Saxon Church.*

*Eddius, V. Wilfridi* XVII. [A. D. 709 x 720, writing of A. D. 670, and possibly referring to times before A. D. 616.]—° Stans itaque

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sanctus Wilfridus Episcopus ante altare conversus ad populum, coram regibus enumerans regiones quas ante reges ... illi dederunt, lucide enuntiavit: necnon et ea loca sancta in diversis regionibus, quæ bclerus Britonum aciem gladii hostilis manu gentis nostræ fugiens deseruit. (*Gale*, I. 60.)

\* At the consecration of Ripon church, A.D. 670.

† The British were driven out of Elmet A.D. 616 (*Boed. H. E. IV. 13*; *Nennius, Appendix; Ann. Camb.* a. 616). And Loidis had become Saxon territory A.D. 627 (*Boed. H. E.*

*II. 14*), and A.D. 655 (*Id. ib. III. 24*). And there had possibly been further Saxon conquests in Cumbria before A.D. 670 (see *Sin. Dun.* in *V. S. Culbert.*). If therefore Wilfrid referred to British church-lands round Ripon, his words reach back to before A.D. 616.

A. D. 671. \* *Ann. Tigern.*—Maelruba in Britanniam navigat: and, A. D. 673.—Maelcoba fundavit ecclesiam de Abercrossan (*O'Connor*, II. 207, 208: adding his death also, as Maelruba, A. D. 722, *ib.* p. 371).

\* Similarly *Ann. Ulton.* A.D. 670, 672, and 721 (*ib. IV. 58, 59, 77*): and the *Ann. IV. Mag.* (*ib. III. 226, 251*) and *Ann. Clonmac.*—Applecross was in Rosshire, but still said to be in "Britain." See below, under the Scottish

Church, for this further great effort from Ireland, headed by an Abbot of (the Irish) Bangor (so *Ann. IV. Mag.*), to follow up S. Columba's and other missions of the century previous, by a more northern settlement.

A. D. 672. *Ann. Tigern.*—\*Combustio Bennchoriæ Brittonum. (*O'Connor*, II. 208.)—A. D. 671. *Ann. Ulton.*—Combustio Bennchari Britonum. (*O'Connor*, IV. 59).

\* The *Ann. IV. Mag.* date this event A.D. 670 (*O'Connor*, III. 225).

A. D. 677. *Ann. Tigern.*—Beccanus Riumcan quievit in \*insula Britannia. (*O'Connor*, II. 210.)

\* Probably in Scotland. The superscription of Cummeanus' *Epist. ad Septimum* (*ap. Usker, Epist. Hib. Syll.*, IV. 432, ed. Elrington, written c. A.D. 634), runs thus—"Dominis sanctis et in Christo venerandis, Segieno Abbati Co-

lumbæ, etc. etc., Beccanoque solitario, charo carne et spiritu fratri, cum suis sapientibus," etc.—The *Ann. IV. Mag.* date Beccan's (B. Rumindensis) death in 675, XVII. Martii (*O'Connor*, III. 227).

*Earlier part of the 7th century.* \* *Acts of Church Discipline towards Welsh Princes, attributed to early Bishops of Llandaff.*

\* The *Liber Landavensis* records the excommunication, 1. of Meurig (L. L. 139, 140), and 2. of Morgan (L. L. 143-145), kings of Glamorgan, both of them for murder after swearing amity upon relics in the Bishop's presence, and 3. of Gwaednerth king of Gwent for fratricide (L. L. 172, 173), by Oudoceus Bishop of Llandaff (probably beginning of 7th century); 4. of

Tewdwr king of Dyfed, by Bishop Gwrwan (about the same date, L. L. 158-160); 5. of Clydri, and 6. of Gwrgan, kings of Ergyng (or Archenfield), by Bishop Berthgwyn, successor of Oudoceus (L. L. 168, 169, 180, 181), the former two for a like crime to that of Meurig, the last for incest with his stepmother. Gwaednerth was also sentenced to a year's pilgrimage to



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Brittany. And in each case lands were given to the see of Llandaff by the culprit when reconciled, of which gifts the record of the facts was drawn up to serve as a title-deed. The book however in which these records occur is a compilation of the 12th century. Nor can any of the documents from which it was apparently compiled claim earlier date than the 10th, or pos-

sibly in some cases the 9th. They are omitted therefore here, as not being contemporary or genuine records. (And they are printed at length also in the *Lib. Landas.* itself, and in *Wilkins*, I. 17, 18, 196, 197.) But the bare facts alleged by them may probably be admitted upon their evidence, and are likely in themselves.

*Latter part of the 7th Century. \* Irish canons condemn the Britons for their separation from the rest of the Western Church.*

*Ex Collectione Canonum Hibernensium*: lib. XX. c. 6.—*Institutio Romana dicit*;—*Cavendum ne ad alias provincias aut Ecclesias referantur causæ, quæ alio more et alia religione utuntur: sive ad Judæos, qui umbræ magis quam veritati deserviunt; aut ad Britones, qui omnibus contrarii sunt et a Romano more et ab unitate Ecclesiæ se abscedunt; aut hæreticos, quamvis in ecclesiasticis causis docti et studiosi fuerint.*

\* From S. Gall MS. 243, p. 54. The words of the canon are partly borrowed from words attributed, but with questionable accuracy, to Gildas (see above, pp. 112, 113); but as a "Romana institutio," it must date after Augustine, A.D. 600; and as adopted by the Irish Church or by any part of it, after A.D. 630. On the other hand, the collection of canons in which it occurs was known and in use among foreign Irish monks in the earlier half of the 8th century, i.e. before A.D. 763 at latest. (See above, p. 108, note \*.) Also in A.D. 768 the British Church conformed, or began to conform, to the Roman Easter.

On the Anglo-Saxon side, see a like condemnation of the British Church in Theodore's Penitential, A.D. 668 x 690, below in its place in this work.

The canon attributed to S. Patrick, which provides that "*Clericus qui de Britannis ad nos*" (*Scotos in Hibernia*) "*venit sine epistola, etsi habitet in plebe, non licitum ministrare*" (*Wilk. I. 3*), belongs to a set of canons plainly subsequent to the adoption by the Irish of the Roman tonsure, i.e. not earlier than the middle of the 7th century, and probably contemporary with that given above in the text. It will be found below in its place under the Irish Church.

## APPENDIX A.

### SEVENTH CENTURY (?). CANONES WALLICI (?).

#### <sup>1</sup> *Incipit Judicium Culparum* \*.

##### C. I.

Si quis homicidium ex <sup>2</sup> intentione commiserit, ancillas III. et servos III. reddat <sup>3</sup> et securitatem accipiat'.

##### C. 2<sup>4</sup>. [*Big.* 3.]

(*Legg. Wallicæ, lib. II. c. XLIX. § 3, 4; Ancient Laws of Wales, II. 875.*)

<sup>5</sup> Si quis iudicio fuerit competitus' <sup>6</sup> et præstando verum durus esse voluerit' <sup>7</sup> et ipsam intentionem fuerit interfectus', ancillas <sup>8</sup> II. et servos <sup>9</sup> II. <sup>10</sup> reddi <sup>11</sup> debere præcipimus. <sup>12</sup> Quodsi manum aut pedem vel quemlibet membrum perdidit, similiter duas partes præti se noverit accepturum'.

<sup>17</sup> Incipiant excerpta de libris Romanorum et Francorum *Bigot*. Excerpta de Libris Romanis et Francorum *Lugd.* <sup>2</sup> contentione *Bigot*. <sup>3</sup> securus fiat *Big. Lugd.* <sup>4</sup> *Bigot. introduces here another chapter (2):—*Si quis invidia homicidium fecerit, ancillas IV. totidemque servos reddat, et ipse securitatem habebit. (*Legg. Wallicæ, lib. II. c. XLIX. § 2. in Ancient Laws of Wales, London, 1841, vol. II. p. 875.*) <sup>5</sup> Si q. fuerit homicida in iudicio compulsus *Big.* Si q. f. in j. compulsus *Wall.* <sup>6</sup> et præstandi rationes diras noluerit *Big.* et dandi rationes durus e. v. *Wall.* <sup>7</sup> et inficiatus fuerit *Big.* et invitus fuerit *Wall.* <sup>8</sup> V. *Big. Wall.* <sup>9</sup> totidem *Big. Wall.* <sup>10</sup> red-dere *Wall.* <sup>11</sup> deest *Big. Wall.* <sup>12</sup> Manum et quamlibet membrorum debilitatem faciens, accipiet in iudicio *Big.* Manum, oculum, et quodcumque membrum debilitatum fuerit, idem accipiet in iudicio, si non se redimeret *Wall.*

\* From MS. Paris. S. Germani (olim Corbeiens.) No. 121, sec. VIII.: in Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen der Abendlând. Kirche*, pp. 124 sq.: with variations from an almost identical collection of canons from MS. Paris. No. 3182 (olim *Bigot* 89), sec. XI. or XII., in Martene and Durand, *Thes. Nov. IV.* 13 sq. The latter appears to be also in a MS. in the Library at Lyons, No. 203, fol. 9 sq.; see the *Serapeum*, Pt. III. p. 120, quoted by Wasserschleben. Their Welsh origin is probable, (1) because of the nature of the penalties (ancillas III. reddat &c.), and from can. 29, (2) from their connection in the MS. *Bigot* with the documents printed above (the Penitential of Gildas, and the canons of Llandewi Brefi and "Locus Victoriae," and the Excerpta de Libro Davidis), which are undoubtedly Welsh, and in the MS. S. Germ. with Irish

documents of a like date with their own, (3) from the recurrence, almost verbatim, of several canons of the collection in the Latin abridgment of the Laws of Howel Dda, 10th century, which seems to imply them to have been among the older laws which were worked up into Howel's code. On the other hand, two of the three MSS. assign them to "Romans and Franks." Wasserschleben unhesitatingly pronounces them Welsh, from the internal evidence, and from their recurrence in the later Welsh code; but it should be observed, that the later MS. (*Bigot*.) agrees more closely with Howel's code than the first (8th century) MS. does. On the whole, they may be pronounced probably Welsh; and if so, belong to that period (c. A.D. 550-650) during which both the Welsh Church and Welsh principalities appear to have become organized.

## C. 3. [4.]

(Legg. Wall. ib. § 5.)

<sup>13</sup> Si quis homicidii causa fuerit suspicatus' et non <sup>14</sup> ei titulus comprobandi, XL. et VIII. <sup>15</sup> viris nominatis', ex quibus XXIV. in ecclesia jurent eum <sup>16</sup> esse veracem', <sup>17</sup> sic sine causa discedat'. <sup>18</sup> Quodsi non <sup>19</sup> juraverit, ancillas <sup>20</sup> III. et servos <sup>21</sup> III. reddat et <sup>22</sup> securitatem accipiat'.

## C. 4. [5.]

(Legg. Wall. ib. § 6.)

Si servus ingenuum occiderit et <sup>23</sup> culpa <sup>24</sup> ingenui fuerit hoc', de fuste aut <sup>25</sup> dextrali aut dubio' aut de cultello fuerit <sup>26</sup> interemptus, <sup>27</sup> ipse homicida parentibus <sup>28</sup> tradatur, <sup>29</sup> et quidquid faciendi voluerint habeant potestatem'.

## C. 5. [9.]

(Legg. Wall. ib. § 7.)

<sup>30</sup> Si quis dominus servum' arma portare <sup>31</sup> permisserit et ingenuum hominem occiderit, ipsum <sup>32</sup> et alium juxta se noverit redditurum'.

## C. 6. [7.]

(Legg. Wall. ib. § 8.)

Si quis ingenuus servum alterius sine <sup>33</sup> culpa occiderit, servos duos domino <sup>34</sup>. Quod <sup>35</sup> si culpa fuerit servi alius, alius servus domino reformetur'.

## C. 7. [8.]

(Legg. Wall. ib. § 11, 12. p. 876.)

<sup>36</sup> Si quis rixa mactaverit hominem sive manum sive pedem sive oculum excusserit', ancillam <sup>37</sup> sive servum' se <sup>38</sup> redditurum cognoscat. Quodsi pollicem <sup>39</sup> manus <sup>40</sup> excusserit, <sup>41</sup> ancille medium, id est dimidium pretii sive servi medium reddat'.

<sup>13</sup> Si alicui homicidium imponitur Wall. Si q. h. c. suspicatus Big. <sup>14</sup> est add. Big. Wall. <sup>15</sup> homines nominatos congregabit Big. hominum nominatorum juramento se purgabit Wall. <sup>16</sup> esse ab homicidio immunem Wall. <sup>17</sup> sine culpa excedat Big. desunt Wall. <sup>18</sup> Si Big. <sup>19</sup> juraverint Wall. <sup>20</sup> V. Big. Wall. <sup>21</sup> VII. Big. <sup>22</sup> securus fiat Big. securus sit Wall. <sup>23</sup> plaga Big. <sup>24</sup> ingenuus aut Big. <sup>25</sup> de securi bidubioque Big. <sup>26</sup> interfectus Big. et culpa .. interemptus desunt Wall. <sup>27</sup> deest Big. Wall. <sup>28</sup> traditur Big. Wall. <sup>29</sup> et habent libertatem fac., quod voluerint Big. habeant potestatem fac. de eo q. v. Wall. <sup>30</sup> Si autem dom. servo Big. Wall. <sup>31</sup> commiserit Big. <sup>32</sup> et alium servum se nov. redditurum Big. Wall. <sup>33</sup> causa Wall. <sup>34</sup> restituat add. Big. occ., servum pro servo reddat Wall. Quod . . . reformatur desunt Wall. <sup>35</sup> si pro qua culpa fecerit servi, servus pro servo Big. <sup>36</sup> si quis in rixa manum vel p. aut oculum hominis maculaverit Big. Wall. hominis deest Wall. <sup>37</sup> servumque Wall. <sup>38</sup> redditurum Big. Wall. <sup>39</sup> a manu Wall. <sup>40</sup> exciderit Big. Wall. <sup>41</sup> medium damni poni precipimus Big. medium manus in precium reddere precipimus Wall.

## C. 8. [10.]

(Legg. Wall. ib. § 13.)

Si quis hominem <sup>43</sup> lancea aut gladio <sup>44</sup> ferierit, <sup>45</sup> sic ut interiora inspiciat', <sup>46</sup> argenti libras tres noverit se rediturum'.

## C. 9. [11.]

(Legg. Wall. ib. § 14.)

Si quis <sup>47</sup> alterius caput percusserit <sup>48</sup> sic ut cerebri cutem inspiciat', argenti <sup>49</sup> libras VI. cogatur exsolvere'.

## C. 10. [14.]

(Legg. Wall. ib. § 17.)

<sup>50</sup> Si quis alium lancea ferierit et brachium aut pedem foraverit', <sup>51</sup> sic ut membrum non noceat', argenti <sup>52</sup> libras III. se daturum cognoscat'.

## C. 11. [18.]

(Legg. Wall. ib. c. lvii. § 1. p. 879.)

Si quis <sup>53</sup> in villam suam' caballum aut bovem aut <sup>54</sup> quod sibi libet furtum' ligatum <sup>55</sup> aut occisum' <sup>56</sup> invenerit, <sup>57</sup> dare idoneos juratores præcipimus', <sup>58</sup> et nihil damni <sup>59</sup> habeat; <sup>60</sup> quodsi non <sup>61</sup> juraverint, reddat'.

## C. 12. [15.]

(Legg. Wall. ib. c. xlix. § 9. p. 876.)

Si quis homicidium fecerit et fugam petierit, parentes ipsius <sup>62</sup> habēant spacium intra dies XV., <sup>63</sup> ut aut partem restituant et securi insedeant, aut ipsi de patria vadant'; post hoc <sup>64</sup> si ipse interemtor' venire voluerit, <sup>65</sup> reddat medium quod restat' <sup>66</sup> et vivat securus'. <sup>67</sup> Quodsi interim occisus fuerit', <sup>68</sup> mancipium et quæ acceperint faciant restaurari'.

<sup>43</sup> lanc. gladiove Big. g. aut l. Wall. <sup>44</sup> percusserit Wall. <sup>45</sup> et int. insp. Big. ita ut int. appareant Wall. <sup>46</sup> arg. l. t. exsolvat Big. duas libras pettolvat Wall. <sup>47</sup> alicujus Wall. <sup>48</sup> usque ad cerebri pampas Big. usque ad cerebrum Wall. <sup>49</sup> libr. III. reddat Big. Wall. <sup>50</sup> Si quis lancea aut in brachio aut in sura alterius foramen fecerit Big. Si quis in brachio vel sura lancea foramen fecerit Wall. <sup>51</sup> tamen membro n. n. Big. tamen membrum non debilitaverit Wall. <sup>52</sup> libr. II. reddere cognoscat Big. II. libr. reddat Wall. <sup>53</sup> desunt Big. <sup>54</sup> quamlibet pecudem furti Big. <sup>55</sup> vel quod occ. fuerit Big. <sup>56</sup> invenerit in villam Big. <sup>57</sup> detis juramento III. idoneos Big. <sup>58</sup> quod Big. <sup>59</sup> habent Big. <sup>60</sup> si quis Big. <sup>61</sup> juraverit, solvat Big. <sup>62</sup> jura reddant (intra dies paucos Big.) Big. Wall. <sup>63</sup> aut patriam relinquunt vel dimidium precii reddant Wall. postea parentes patriæ restituantur et aut ipsi de patria vadant vel precium dimidium reddant et sic securi in sedibus sedeant Big. <sup>64</sup> si reus Big. Wall. <sup>65</sup> redd. quod restat pretii Big. dimidium quod restat de precio solvat Wall. <sup>66</sup> desunt Wall. <sup>67</sup> Si int. a cognatis occisi occ. f. Big. qui si int. occ. f. causa ejusdem homicidii Wall. <sup>68</sup> mancipia, ancillæ vel servi, quæ acceperant debitores, parentibus restituantur Big. totum galanas, quod pro eo ante redditum fuerat, retro reddatur Wall.

## C. 13. [16.]

(Legg. Wall. ib. § 10.)

Si quis <sup>68</sup>ad alterum' lanceam miserit, <sup>69</sup>inlesso homine', argenti libram <sup>70</sup>cogatur exsolvere'.

## C. 14. [21.]

<sup>71</sup>Si segetem alterius preserit, quantum juraverit dominus messis' cum alio idoneo, quidquid damni pertulerit, sine dubio restauretur.

## C. 15. [22.]

<sup>72</sup>Si porci alterius super annonam noctu manserint' per partem majorem, <sup>73</sup>quadrisextarium reddat'.

## C. 16. [23.]

<sup>74</sup>Si quis causa fornicationis suspicionem habuerit, et non est ei titulus adprobandi, in tribus bassilicis cum propinquis suis a minoribus usque ad majorem omnibus juret, et nullam habeat causam. Quodsi non juraverint, ancillam reddat'.

## C. 17. [24.]

<sup>75</sup>Si quis aetiam aut vaccam aut quam sibi libet pecus perdiderit, cum quo eam invenire potuerit et cum illo III. mensibus fuerit conprobatum, præcipimus triplum accipiendum'.

## C. 18. [26.]

<sup>76</sup>Si quis parvulus usque ad annos XV. quodlibet dilectum commiserit, nihil sub iudice reputatur', nisi disciplinam accipiat; post hanc vero suam ætatem, <sup>77</sup>et quod furabitur, restituat'.

## C. 19. [25.]

<sup>78</sup>Si porci alterius glandes ingressi fuerint capti, porcastrum se daturum cognoscat'. <sup>79</sup>Quodsi spontaneus eos minaverit', porcum majorem <sup>80</sup>se daturum non dubitet'.

## C. 20.

Si quis furtum servus fecerit vel dilectum, fragillis cædatur et quod furabitur restituat.

<sup>68</sup> *desunt Big. Wall.* <sup>69</sup> et homo inlesus erit *Big.* et inde homo lesus fuerit *Wall.* <sup>70</sup> *exsolvat Big.* reddere debet *Wall.* si plaga fuerit, legibus se noverit redditurum *add. Big. ad fin.* <sup>71</sup> Si in messe quant. jur. d. de messe *Big.* <sup>72</sup> Si porcus per ann. noctuam manserit *Big.* <sup>73</sup> noctis, quatuor sextaria reddat; si vero per minorem noctis partem, sextarium reddat *Big.* <sup>74</sup> Si q. causa for. approbatur, si non jurav., anc. redd. *Big. cætera desunt.* <sup>75</sup> Si quis sustulerit de homine equum aut vaccam aut quamlibet pecudem, et quodcunque eum repetierit, debitor reddat cum nutrimento suo. Quodcunque probatum fuerit, recipiendum præcipimus *Big.* <sup>76</sup> Parvulus usque ad annum XII. pro dilecto nihil *Big.* <sup>77</sup> quidquid delinquat vel furab., retribuat *Big.* <sup>78</sup> Si p. in glande ingr., quotiens capti porcator reddat *Big.* <sup>79</sup> Si ipse sponte eos minaverat *Big.* <sup>80</sup> reddat *Big.*

## C. 21. [27.]

Si quis ingenuus furtum fecerit et <sup>81</sup> in ipso commisso' morietur, nullus <sup>82</sup> a suis habeat quæstionem'.

## C. 22. [27. b., see note 82.]

Si quis ingenuus aut servus faciens furtum noctu et in ipso commisso lancea fuerit feritus et mortuus fuerit, qui eum occiderit, nullam habeat causam reddendi.

## C. 23. [28.]

Si quis furti causa suspicionem habuerit et non <sup>83</sup> est ei titulus <sup>83</sup> conprobandi, <sup>84</sup> res ipsius intra dies aliquot signatur', <sup>85</sup> usque aut mendacium ejus aut verum pervenerit in lucem'.

## C. 24. [29.]

<sup>86</sup> Si quis iudicium conpetitus fuerit et' venire noluerit, <sup>87</sup> hoc testibus adprobatur', argenti libram unam cogatur exsolvere, et quicquid ad eum fuerit repetitum, sine <sup>88</sup> delatione restituat <sup>89</sup>.

## C. 25.

Si quis agrum comparaverit, si culpam non fecerit, heres heredi hereditatem relinquat.

## C. 26.

Si quis sponte reliquit, nullam habeat vim repetenti, lesus secundum plagam se noverit rediturum.

## C. 27. [17.]

<sup>90</sup> Si quis causa fornicationis alterius uxorem infecerit, capti morte moriantur', <sup>91</sup> et qui eos interfecerit', nullam se timeat habere causam.

## C. 28. [19.]

Si quis servum <sup>92</sup> aut ancillam, aut quemlibet pecus', aut aliquem rem comparaverit, et cum ipso fuerit consignatum, <sup>93</sup> nisi auctorem præstiterit, aut fidejussores habuerit', <sup>94</sup> furem se noverit componendum.

<sup>81</sup> captus fuerit, ipse *Big.* <sup>82</sup> ab eis accipiat questionem. Hoc usque ovem vel porcum. Quodsi minus, triplum restituat. Fur per noctem occidi licet, per diem non licet; qui occiderit in nocte, nullam causam habeat *Big.* <sup>83</sup> *deest Big.* <sup>84</sup> rei ips. intra d. XX. consignetur *Big.* <sup>85</sup> usque quo veritas probetur *Big.* <sup>86</sup> *deest Big.* <sup>87</sup> Si q. ad judic. conpetitus *Big.* <sup>88</sup> hoc ut in testibus probetur *Big.* <sup>89</sup> dilatione *Big.* <sup>90</sup> *Big.* introduces here another chapter (30), which is wanting in *Sangerman*.: Si quis ributum non opportune sed ad judicem a tributario compulsus fuerit, si mense ante prædicto neglexerit, pignus det, et si neglexerit mense secundo, duplum restituat. <sup>91</sup> Si quis fornicatus fuerit cum alterius uxore aut sorore aut filia, morte moriatur *Big.* <sup>92</sup> qui autem occiderit *Big.* <sup>93</sup> servamque vel quamlibet pecorem *Big.* <sup>94</sup> si auctor, aut fidejussorem non habuerit *Big.* <sup>95</sup> de furto *Big.*

## C. 29. [20.]

Si quis <sup>94</sup> calfaicum aut Saxonieum caballum conparaverit <sup>95</sup> aut quemlibet speciem, hoc testibus <sup>96</sup> conprobetur, <sup>97</sup> et cum ipso consignatum fuerit, <sup>98</sup> invicem sibi testes adequant; si ita <sup>99</sup> equales, dividant.

## C. 30. [20.]

<sup>1</sup> Quodsi quis repetit testes et non habuerit, sed mendacium conatur inquirere, triplum se noverit <sup>2</sup> redditurum.

## C. 31. [21.]

Si <sup>3</sup> cujus animalia in herba vicini sui intacta <sup>4</sup> manserint, <sup>5</sup> stagni libras VIII. reddat. Quodsi in pastu fuerint capta, stagni libras IV. reddat.

## C. 32. [31.]

Si quis ancillam aut servum perdiderit et <sup>6</sup> alium suspectum habuerit, XXIV. <sup>7</sup> viris nominatis <sup>8</sup> et XII. ex eis jurent eum esse veracem; <sup>9</sup> quodsi non juraverint, absque jure reddat.

## C. 33. [32.]

Si quis caballum perdiderit, <sup>10</sup> invocatis viris <sup>11</sup> VI., ex quibus III. jurent, et nihil damni consequetur.

## C. 34.

Quodsi vaccam aut bovem perdiderit, invocatis ex omnibus IV., ex quibus duo jurent, et nihil damni consequentur.

## C. 35.

Si quis percusserit alterum sic ut os suum superius fregerit, vaccas III. reddat.

## C. 36. [13.]

(*Legg. Wall. ib. § 16.*)

<sup>12</sup> Si quis alterum in faciem alapa ferierit sic ut sanguis aut livido appareat, argenti libram unam reddat.

<sup>94</sup> de Gallis vel de Saxonibus vel de qualibet gente *Big.* <sup>95</sup> in *Big.* <sup>96</sup> conprobet *Big.*  
<sup>97</sup> si autem *Big.* <sup>98</sup> et invicem testes adequaverint *Big.* <sup>99</sup> equali *Big.* <sup>1</sup> Si test.  
 non hab. et *Big.* <sup>2</sup> restitutum qui conatur *Big.* <sup>3</sup> quis *Big.* <sup>4</sup> commiserit et mans.  
 in ea *Big.* <sup>5</sup> propter animalia II. unum scripulum reddat, si in fastigium herbe fuerint capta,  
 propter animalia IV. unum scripulum reddat. Si in messe, quantum juraverit dominus de messe cum  
 alio idoneo, quicquid damni pertulerit, sine dubio restauretur *Big.* (See above, C. 14, note 71.) <sup>6</sup> sus-  
 picionem *Big.* <sup>7</sup> viri nominatim segregerentur *Big.* <sup>8</sup> ex quibus XII. jurent *Big.*  
<sup>9</sup> si non, reddat qui adprobatur *Big.* <sup>10</sup> invocandis *Big.* <sup>11</sup> VIII. jurent, nihil  
 sequitur *Big.* <sup>12</sup> Si q. alterius in fac. alapam percusserit, ut s. a. liv. app., se ancillam noverit  
 redditurum *Big.* Si quis autem in facie alicui alapam dederit, ita ut livor aut sanguis inde manaverit  
 vel appareat, ancillam reddat *Wall.*

## C. 37.

Si quis intercedendo litem feritus fuerit, secundum plagam mediam compositionem præcipimus accipere.

## C. 38. [33.]

Si quis servus servum <sup>13</sup> alterius occiderit, vivus <sup>14</sup> communis dominorum exsistat.

## C. 39. [34. 35.]

<sup>15</sup> Cujus animal sive bos sive vacca alium ex cornu' occiderit, vivus <sup>16</sup> et mortuus <sup>17</sup> communes ejus erunt'. Quodsi taurus vacam aut bovem occiderit, <sup>18</sup> dominus nullam habeat causam reddendi'.

## C. 40. [37.]

<sup>19</sup> Si laicus clericum qualibet causa <sup>20</sup> competere voluerit', Episcopi <sup>21</sup> veniant arbitrio'.

## C. 41. [37.]

Si clericus laicum <sup>22</sup> competere voluerit', ad iudicis <sup>23</sup> poenitentiam debent <sup>24</sup> venire.

## C. 42. [38.]

Si quis in <sup>25</sup> mortem hereditatem dimiserit, quicquid coram testibus <sup>26</sup> demandaverit, omnia <sup>27</sup> manere præcipimus <sup>28</sup> nec removeri'.

## C. 43. [42.]

Si qua contentio circa finem territorii fuerit exorta, <sup>29</sup> testes requirantur', et finis, qui prius fuerat, ipse permaneat.

## C. 44. [43.]

Clericus vero si <sup>30</sup> causa fuerit competitus et <sup>31</sup> nulla in eum fama fuit cognita', <sup>32</sup> ipsius jure causa definiatur'.

<sup>13</sup> *deest Big.* <sup>14</sup> *communis Big.* <sup>15</sup> *Si bos vel vacca alium Big.* <sup>16</sup> *ac Big.*  
<sup>17</sup> *in commune dominorum exsistat Big.* <sup>18</sup> *culpa prima non causam habeat, altera causam componat Big.* *Big. adds at the end of this another chapter (36): Si quis jurandi causa fuerit iudicio adductus a iudice vel maioribus natu et nihil cognoscat se si voluerit devitare, hoc præcipimus jure permanere.* <sup>19</sup> *Quodsi Big.* <sup>20</sup> *repetierit Big.* <sup>21</sup> *judicant inter illos Big.*  
<sup>22</sup> *competit Big.* <sup>23</sup> *adstantiam Big.* <sup>24</sup> *pervenire Big.* <sup>25</sup> *morte Big.* <sup>26</sup> *commendaverit Big.* <sup>27</sup> *permanere Big.* <sup>28</sup> *nisi sint iniqua Big.* *There follow here in Big. three chapters (39, 40, 41), wanting in Sangerman.* *C. 39: Si quis servum vel ancillam vel vernaculum sua voluntate et libertate donaverit, nullus repetere permittatur.* *C. 40: Si quis sponte sua quamlibet rem alteri donaverit, hoc private præcipimus possidere.* *C. 41: Si qua causa ante iudicata, a nullo permittamus dijudicari.* <sup>29</sup> *testibus requiratur Big.* <sup>30</sup> *qua add. Big.* <sup>31</sup> *nul-*  
*lam jam infamiam antea portaverat Big.* <sup>32</sup> *in ipsius iuramento causa finiatur Big.*



## C. 45. [43.]

Quodsi antea <sup>33</sup> famam portavera', indictis juratoribus, <sup>34</sup> laico more causa definiatur'.

## C. 46. [37.]

Si quis commisso dilecto <sup>35</sup> exportare voluntate' confessionem venerit <sup>36</sup> ad sacerdotem', a nullo eum damnari præcipimus.

## C. 47. [37.]

<sup>37</sup> Quodsi negare voluerit et ab alio fuerit conprobatum', et <sup>38</sup> si in rebelli tempore hoc fecisse cognoscetur', pretium <sup>39</sup> suum in iudicio' reddat et triplum se <sup>40</sup> daturum cognoscat'.

## C. 48. [44.]

Si quis <sup>41</sup> Deum invocaverit <sup>41</sup> in fidejussorem et contemserit <sup>41</sup> Eum, <sup>42</sup> a iudici condictione' dampnetur.

## C. 49. [45.]

Si quis agrum aut villam conparaverit et ipse <sup>43</sup> capitulas furtum fecerit, morte morietur et <sup>44</sup> terram quam emerat <sup>45</sup> in fisco revertetur'.

## C. 50. [45.]

Quodsi filius aut filia <sup>46</sup> aut frater furtum fecerit et fugam petierit', ancillam <sup>47</sup> aut servum' reddat et <sup>48</sup> agrum possideat. Quodsi <sup>49</sup> inocentes permanserint', heres <sup>50</sup> heredibus derelinquat'.

## C. 51. [12.]

(*Legg. Wall. ib. § 15.*)

Si quis <sup>51</sup> alapa alium occiderit', <sup>52</sup> sic ut' nec sanguis nec livido <sup>53</sup> appareat, <sup>54</sup> solidos V. exsolvat'.

## C. 52. [46.]

Si quis <sup>55</sup> ante ecclesiam litem fecerit', argenti libram unam <sup>56</sup> cogitur exsolvere, et hoc ægentibus <sup>57</sup> elemosina feneretur'.

<sup>33</sup> infamiam portavit *Big.*      <sup>34</sup> sed laico ordine causam libet *Big.*      <sup>35</sup> sponte ad *Big.* For exportare in the text, read ex spontanea.      <sup>36</sup> sacerdoti *Big.*      <sup>37</sup> "In *Cod. Sangerm.* the words must obviously be here supplied: Si quis alieno aliquid abstulerit, reddat." So Knust (the copyist of the MS.), ap. Wasserschleben.—Si quod aliis abstulerit, reddat. Si ab alio fuerit conprobat *Big.*      <sup>38</sup> rebellis fuerit *Big.*      <sup>39</sup> rei abstractæ *Big.*      <sup>40</sup> noverit componendum *Big.*      <sup>41</sup> deest *Big.*      <sup>42</sup> iudicii conditione *Big.*      <sup>43</sup> capitale *Big.*      <sup>44</sup> terra *Big.*      <sup>45</sup> fisco revertatur *Big.*      <sup>46</sup> ex dono furtum pariter et fugam fecerit *Big.*      <sup>47</sup> et servum fisco *Big.*      <sup>48</sup> ex agro exsul *Big.*      <sup>49</sup> innocens permanserit *Big.*      <sup>50</sup> hereditati relinquitur *Big.*      <sup>51</sup> alapam alteri impejerit *Big.* alicui dederit alapam *Wall.*      <sup>52</sup> desunt *Big. Wall.*      <sup>53</sup> inde add. *Wall.*      <sup>54</sup> II. sol. inde persolvat *Wall.*      <sup>55</sup> ad ecclesiam arma portaverit et litem commiserit *Big.*      <sup>56</sup> ecclesie cogatur *Big.*      <sup>57</sup> in elemosinam meretur et sinatur *Big.*, which here inserts another chapter (47), wanting in *Sangerman.*: Si quis filiam marito tradiderit, legitimam dotem accipiat. Quodsi casu mortis illum emisit et ipsa alteri viro nubere voluerit, filii dotem accipiant. Quodsi hos non habuerit, patri dari iubetur.

[CANONES WALLACE. SEVENTH CENTURY.]

## C. 53.

Si quis alterum flagillo percusserit, argenti libram exsolvat unam; si ante ecclesiam, ecclesiæ elemosina deputetur.

## C. 54. [48.]

Si quis ancillam aut servum emerit et ante impletum annum vitium in <sup>56</sup>eum apparuerit, priori domino <sup>59</sup>reddi jubemus.

## C. 55. [48.]

Quodsi annus transierit, quicquid in <sup>60</sup>mancipium vitii fuerit, nullam <sup>61</sup>venditor habeat <sup>62</sup>causam.

## C. 56. [49.]

Si quis caballum comparaverit, <sup>63</sup>in mense uno si vitium non apparuerit, nullo modo <sup>64</sup>revertetur.

## C. 57.

Si quis caballum ante latronem excusserit, si in una patria, VI. scripulos accipiat; si in alia, flumine transmisso, tertiam partem pretii ejus accipiat.

## C. 58. [50.]

Si quis alterum <sup>65</sup>fuste ferierit et sanguinem <sup>66</sup>discurrerit, vaccam reddat; <sup>67</sup>quodsi majorem fecerit, secundum <sup>68</sup>componendi præcipimus aliam.

C. 59. <sup>69</sup>[52.]

Si ancillam aut servum in fugam preserit parte qua poterunt evadere per duo milia sive in tertiam partem pretii eorum merito accipiat. Aliter si ancilla fuit, libras II. merito accipiat, qui capit eam; si servus, III. stagni libra unam accipiat.

## C. 60. [53.]

Si quis caballum <sup>70</sup>indicaverit et <sup>71</sup>eum capere potuerit, <sup>72</sup>merito tertiam pretii ejus accipiat sive unam unciam.

## C. 61. [53.]

<sup>73</sup>Nullus villæ capitalis alterii silvam deteneat, nec humidam nec siccam, nec algam maris, nisi per boves, per herba det.

<sup>60</sup> eo Big. <sup>61</sup> suo add. Big. <sup>62</sup> mancipio vit. videtur Big. <sup>63</sup> derat Big. <sup>64</sup> rejiciendi add. Big. <sup>65</sup> et usque ad mensem vitium non habuerit Big. <sup>66</sup> rejiciatur Big. <sup>67</sup> deest Big. <sup>68</sup> effuderit Big. <sup>69</sup> et si maj. plagam fec. Big. <sup>70</sup> judicium componi præcipimus Big., which here inserts another chapter (51), wanting in *Sangerman*.: Si quis caballum a latrone abstulerit, si valuerit argenti libram, accipiat unciam; sin minus, dimidium uncie accipiat. <sup>71</sup> Big. C. 52: Si quis ancillam alterius apprehenderit fugientem et a domino suo potuerit evadere, stagnum ferrum merito accipiat. <sup>72</sup> alterius non add. Big. <sup>73</sup> ipse Big. <sup>74</sup> unciam dare debuit Big. <sup>75</sup> Nullus alterius silvam, lesam, et algam devorat Big.

## C. 62. [53.]

<sup>74</sup> Si quis fecerit aliud, reprobatur'.

## C. 63. [54.]

<sup>75</sup> Si quis caballum alterius inpastoriaverit, et suum pastoriaverit, si pastori-  
am agnoverit, sine dubio cum caballo non dubitet invadere, et suum pro-  
prium eum esse præcipimus'.

## C. 64. [55.]

Si quis <sup>76</sup> capitalis vicinum minaverit, etiamsi voluntarius ire' voluerit, sive  
domum sive hortum <sup>77</sup> vendendi <sup>78</sup> habet potestatem, <sup>79</sup> præter sepes <sup>80</sup> qui  
circumit meses et herbas'.

## C. 65. [57.]

Si laicus clericum <sup>81</sup> ferierit, et dictis <sup>82</sup> manum redimat et <sup>83</sup> ad pœniten-  
tiam veniat'.

## C. 66. [56.]

Si quis <sup>84</sup> vero clericus laicum ferierit, <sup>85</sup> secundum plagam <sup>86</sup> laico ordine  
sine dubio reddat.

## C. 67. [58.]

Si quis <sup>87</sup> litem intercederit et a mendace feritus fuerit', secundum plagam  
<sup>88</sup> legibus se noverit <sup>89</sup> componendum. <sup>90</sup> Quodsi verace fuerit feritus', <sup>91</sup> me-  
diam a verace et mediam a mendace compositionem jubemus accipere'.  
<sup>92</sup> Hoc et de morte simili modo dicimus'.

[Here ends the collection in *Cod. S. Germani*; in *Cod. Bigol.* are four  
additional chapters, as follows:—]

## C. 59.

Si quis legitimæ legis voluntate patrum nuptam filio junxerit et juxta hoc  
concubinam ancillam sibi habere præsumserit, ipse ab Ecclesia Dei et omni  
Christianorum mensa sit extraneus, nisi ad pœnitentiam revocetur.

<sup>74</sup> Quod graviter fecerit, et ipse effectiorem reddere præcipimus *Big.* <sup>75</sup> Si quis caballum  
alterius tulerit et in pedicam ruerit, ad suum proprium reddere præcipimus *Big.* <sup>76</sup> villam  
vendere capitalem vicino minanti aut sponte *Big.* <sup>77</sup> deest *Big.* <sup>78</sup> habeat *Big.*  
<sup>79</sup> et *Big.* <sup>80</sup> quæ gignunt meses et herbam *Big.* <sup>81</sup> percusserit *Big.* <sup>82</sup> legibus  
m. suam *Big.* <sup>83</sup> pœn. agat *Big.* <sup>84</sup> deest *Big.* <sup>85</sup> sed *Big.* <sup>86</sup> laici *Big.*  
<sup>87</sup> intercedendo litem plagatus fuerit et mendax eum percusserit *Big.* <sup>88</sup> deest *Big.* <sup>89</sup> red-  
diturum *Big.* <sup>90</sup> aut veraci *Big.* <sup>91</sup> dimidium verax et dimidium mendax  
jubemus medietatem solvere *Big.* <sup>92</sup> Simili modo et de morte sic sanximus *Big.*

## C. 60.

Si quis ancillam suam sibi in matrimonio habere voluerit et de rebus suis habet potestatem, si voluerit postea venundare eam, non conceditur. Quodsi eam venundare voluerit, eum damnari iubemus et ancillam illam in sacerdotis ponimus voluntatem.

## C. 61.

Si quis Catholicus capillos promiserit more barbarorum, ab Ecclesia Dei alienus habeatur et ab omni Christianorum mensa, donec delictum emendat.

## C. 62.

Si canis quidlibet manducet, prima culpa nihil reddatur pro illo, nisi semetipse. Quodsi iterum peccaverit, dominus canis quod comederit ille reddat.

## APPENDIX B.

### \* DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE BRITISH LITURGY.

I. † *Account of the Origin of the Scottish Liturgy, and of the British (after A.D. 429), assumed to be the same, tracing it through Germanus and Lupus to S. Mark, and distinguishing it from the Gallican: drawn up by some foreign Scoto-Irish Monk, probably in the 8th century.*

<sup>1</sup> [Si sedulo inspiciamus cursus au]tores, in exordium repperimus decantatum fuisse, non sicut aliqui imperiti fuisse vel variæ objectioni<sup>2</sup> protulerunt, <sup>3</sup> et adhuc multi conantur <sup>4</sup> [facere].

*Cursus Romanus.* Beatus Trosimus, Episcopus Arelatensis, et Sanctus Photinus martir et Episcopus Lugdunensis, discipulus S. Petri<sup>5</sup>, sicut et refert Josephus et Eusebius Cæsariensis Episcopus, cursum Romanum in Galeis tradiderunt.

*Cursus Gallorum.* Inde postea relatione beati Photini martyris, cum quadraginta et octo martiribus retrusi<sup>6</sup> in ergastulum, relatione ad beatum Clementem IV. loci<sup>7</sup> successorem beati Petri Apostoli deportaverunt, et beatum Irenæum Episcopum beatus Clemens ordinavit. Hoc in libro sancti ipsius Irenæi Episcopi et martiris reperies. Edoctus a beato Policarpo<sup>8</sup> Hismerniorum Episcopum<sup>9</sup> et<sup>9</sup> muraayre, qui fuit discipulus Johannis Apostoli, sicut refert historiographus Josephus et Irenæus<sup>10</sup> Episcopus in suo libro.

<sup>1</sup> add. Sp.—line cut off in Cleop. E. 1. <sup>2</sup> pertulerunt Sp. <sup>3</sup> om. Sp. <sup>4</sup> forc' in Cleop. E. 1. fore Sp. <sup>5</sup> Apostoli add. Sp. <sup>6</sup> om. Sp. <sup>7</sup> successoris Sp. <sup>8</sup> sic, both in Cleop. E. 1. and in Sp. leg. Smyrnæorum Episcopo. <sup>9</sup> martyrem Sp. leg. martyre. <sup>10</sup> Episcopi Sp.

\* No relics of any British Liturgy prior to the 8th century are known to exist. Fragments of a Cornish Liturgy of (probably) a century later, and of a S. David's Missa of a century later still, and of Liturgies either Irish or allied to Irish, of similar dates, will be found below in their respective places.

† Printed by Spelman, I. 176 sq. (and from him by Wilkins, Conc. IV. App. 741, 742), from a MS. now known to exist only in Spelman's and in another copy, viz. Cleop. E. 1, but which Spelman took from a "codex MS. vetustissimus, caractere quidem non plane Saxonico sed insueto magis, et Latinitate adeo rudi sæpe et male coherente," &c., which he assigns to the 9th century. From internal evidence the paper must have been written before the Rule of Columbanus was superseded on the continent

by the Benedictine, and therefore scarcely later than the 8th century; yet some time after the death of Attala of Bobbio, A.D. 627, *Ma-bill. Act. SS. B-n.* It is here printed *verbatim* from Cleop. E. 1, with Spelman's variations in the margin. It has really nothing whatever to do with the British Liturgy. Its evidence, so far as it is worth anything, asserts the original *Irish* Liturgy, used by S. Patrick, to have been neither Roman nor Gallican, but Alexandrian; but it ignores the subsequent introduction of British, and those different, Liturgies into Ireland by Gildas, S. David, and Cadoc: while it says nothing at all of the British Liturgy itself prior to 429, and blunderingly assumes the introduction of Germanus' or the Alexandrian Liturgy into Britain as well as Ireland by S. Patrick, as Archbishop of both Churches.

Johannes Evangelista primum cursum Gallorum decantavit; inde postea beatus Policarpus discipulus sancti Johannis; inde postea Irenæus qui fuit Episcopus Lugdunensis Gallei, tertius <sup>9</sup> ipse, <sup>10</sup> ipsum cursum <sup>11</sup> decantaverunt in <sup>12</sup> Galleis. Inde <sup>13</sup> per diversorum prudentium virorum' et modulationibus, series scripturarum Novi ac Veteris Testamenti <sup>14</sup> diversorum prudentium virorum' paginis, non de propriis sed de sacris Scripturis, <sup>15</sup> reciproca, <sup>16</sup> anathephonas, et <sup>17</sup> responsus seu sonus, et aleluyas composuerunt; et <sup>18</sup> per universum mundum peragravit, atque per universum orbem terrarum <sup>19</sup> Ecclesiæ ordo cursus <sup>20</sup> Gallorum diffusus' est. <sup>21</sup> Quem beatus Hieronimus presbiter et Germanus et Lupus Episcopi, Pelagianam hæresim'—(non sicut multi opinantur, <sup>22</sup> et Gallicanus quidam clericus Britto modulatione deditus, quod ipsum edidisset, quod non <sup>23</sup> fecit)—quod beatus Hieronimus presbiter, Germanus, et Lupus, Pelagianam hæresim vel Gallianam (quæ nomen ipsius titulatur) ex Britannis et Scotiis provinciis expulerunt.

*Cursus* Unde <sup>24</sup> et alium cursum, qui dicitur <sup>25</sup> præsentī tempore Scot-  
*Scotlorum.* torum, <sup>26</sup> quæ sit opinione, jactatur. Sed beatus Marcus Evangelista, sicut refert Josephus et Eusebius in quarto libro, <sup>27</sup> totum Ægyptum vel Italiam taliter prædicaverunt sicut unam Ecclesiam, ut omnis sanctus, vel Gloria in Excelsis Deo, vel Oratione Dominica, et Amen, universi tam viri quam foeminae decantarent. Tanta fuit sua prædicatio unita. Et postea <sup>28</sup> in Italia' Evangelium ex ore Petri Apostoli edidit.

Beatus Hieronimus affirmat, ipsum cursum, qui dicitur <sup>25</sup> præsentī tempore Scotorum, beatus Marcus decantavit, et post ipsum Gregorius <sup>29</sup> Nanzianzenus, quem Hieronimus suum magistrum esse affirmat. Et beatus Basilius frater ipsius sancti Gregorii, Antonius, Paulus, Macarius, vel Johannes, et Malchus, secundum ordinem patrum decantaverunt.

Inde postea beatissimus Cassianus, qui <sup>30</sup> Linerensi monasterio beatum Honorium habuit comparem. Et post ipsum beatus Honoratus primus <sup>31</sup> abba, et S. Cæsarius Episcopus qui fuit in Arelata, et beatus Porcarius abbas qui in ipso monasterio fuit, ipsum cursum decantaverunt; qui beatum <sup>32</sup> Lopum [<sup>33</sup> et] beatum Germanum <sup>34</sup> monachos in eorum monasterio habuerunt. Et ipsi sub normam <sup>35</sup> reguli ipsum cursum ibidem decantaverunt, et postea in <sup>36</sup> Episcopatus cathedra summi honoris <sup>37</sup> perseverandi sanctitatis eorum sunt adepti. Et postea in Britanniis vel Scotiis prædicaverunt, quæ Vita Germani Episcopi <sup>38</sup> Autisiodorensis et Vita beati Lupi <sup>39</sup> adfirmant. Qui beatum Patricium <sup>40</sup> spiritaliter litteras sacras docuerunt atque <sup>41</sup> innutrierunt,

<sup>9</sup> sic in Sp., blank in Cleop. E. 1. <sup>10</sup> sic in Cleop. E. 1. and in Sp. <sup>11</sup> decantavit Sp.  
<sup>12</sup> sic in Cleop. E. 1. and in Sp. <sup>13</sup> om. Sp. <sup>14</sup> these words are repeated as above, in  
Cleop. E. 1. <sup>15</sup> recipient Sp. <sup>16</sup> antiphonias Sp. leg. antiphonas. <sup>17</sup> responsoria Sp.  
<sup>18</sup> om. Sp. <sup>19</sup> om. Sp. <sup>20</sup> om. Sp. <sup>21</sup> om. Sp. <sup>22</sup> ut Sp. <sup>23</sup> tacit Sp.  
<sup>24</sup> om. Sp. <sup>25</sup> præsentē Sp. <sup>26</sup> que .. in Sp. <sup>27</sup> totam Sp. <sup>28</sup> om. Sp. <sup>29</sup> Nan-  
zenzenus Sp. <sup>30</sup> Livorense Sp. sc. Lirinensi. <sup>31</sup> abbas Sp. <sup>32</sup> sic, both in Cleop. E. 1. and  
in Sp. <sup>33</sup> add. Sp. <sup>34</sup> monachus Sp. <sup>35</sup> sic, both in Cleop. E. 1. and in Sp.  
<sup>36</sup> Episcopatu cathedram conj. Usher. <sup>37</sup> pro reverentia Sp. <sup>38</sup> Antisiodorensis Sp.  
<sup>39</sup> adfirmat Sp. <sup>40</sup> sic in Sp. —taliter in Cleop. E. 1. <sup>41</sup> enutrierunt Sp.

et ipsum Episcopum pro eorum prædicatione Archiepiscopum in Scotiis et Britanniis posuerunt; qui vixit annos centum quinquaginta <sup>40</sup> et tres, et ipsum cursum ibidem decantavit.

Et post ipsum beatus Wandilochus senex et beatus <sup>41</sup> Gomogillus, qui habuerunt in eorum monasterio <sup>42</sup> monachos circiter tria millia'.

Inde beatus Wandilochus in prædicationis ministerium <sup>43</sup> a beato' Gomogillo missus est, et beatus Columbanus, partibus Galliarum; destinati sunt <sup>44</sup> Luxogilum monasterium, et ibidem ipsum cursum decantaverunt.

Et inde postea perccebit <sup>45</sup> forma sanctitatis eorum per universum orbem terrarum, et multa cœnobîa ex eorum doctrina tam virorum quam puellarum sunt congregata.

Et postea inde sumpsit exordium sub beato Columbano, quod ante beatus Marcus Evangelista decantavit. Et si nos non creditis, inquire in Vita beati Columbani et beati <sup>46</sup> Eustacii abbatis: plenius invenietis; et dicta beati <sup>47</sup> Athleti abbatis Edbovensis'.

*Cursus alius Orientalis.* Est alius cursus orientalis a sancto Cromacio, et Eliodoro, et beato Paulino, seu <sup>48</sup> Athanasio Episcopo, editus, <sup>49</sup> qui in Gallorum <sup>50</sup> consuetudine non habetur; quem sanctus Maccarius decantavit, hoc est, per duodenas, hoc est, unaquæque <sup>51</sup> ora<sup>o</sup>.

*Cursus S. Ambrosii.* Est et alius cursus, quem refert beatus Augustinus Episcopus, quem beatus Ambrosius <sup>52</sup> papa propter hereticorum ordinem dissimilem composuit, <sup>53</sup> qui in Italia antea decantabatur.

*Cursus S. Benedicti.* Est et alius cursus beati Benedicti qui ipsum singulariter pauco discordante a <sup>54</sup> cursu Romano <sup>55</sup>; in sua regula <sup>56</sup> repperies scriptum. Sed tamen beatus Gregorius, urbis Romæ pontifex, quasi priviledgium monachis, ipsum sua autoritate in Vita S. Benedicti in libro Dialogorum affirmavit; ubi dixit, 'Non aliter sanctus vir docere <sup>57</sup> poterat, nisi sicut ipse beatus Benedictus vixit.'

<sup>40</sup> om. Sp.      <sup>41</sup> sc. Comgallus.      <sup>42</sup> monachus circiter tria millia Sp.      <sup>43</sup> abbato Sp.  
<sup>44</sup> sc. Luxovium or Luxeuil.      <sup>45</sup> formam Sp.      <sup>46</sup> Eastasi Sp.      <sup>47</sup> Athleti abbatis Ebo-  
 vensis Sp.      sc. Attala, abbot of Bobbio.      <sup>48</sup> et add. Sp.      <sup>49</sup> que Sp.      <sup>50</sup> consuetudinem Sp.  
<sup>51</sup> i. e. oratio. ora Sp.      <sup>52</sup> om. Sp.      <sup>53</sup> quem Sp.      <sup>54</sup> curso Sp.      <sup>55</sup> quem add. Sp.  
<sup>56</sup> repperis Sp.      <sup>57</sup> om. Sp.

II. MASKELL, \**Mon. Ritual.* vol. III., mentions several rites peculiar at first to the early Anglo-Saxon Church, and apparently to the Northumbrian branch of it, and subsequently (for a time) borrowed thence by the Churches of northern France; of which one certainly, viz. the anointing of the hands at ordination (see Gildas, *Epist. I.* as above, p. 102), and therefore possibly the others, were borrowed from the British Church. The close connection of

\* *Prelim. Dissert.*, p. cxi., and pp. 198, 199, 200, 207, 262, 268. See also Greenwell's edition of *Egbert's Pontifical*.

the Scottish and Northumbrian Churches strongly increases the probabilities of such an origin for them. They are—

1. Anointing of hands of deacons at ordination.
2. Anointing of hands as well as head of Priests, and of Bishops, at ordination; and of the head twice, in the case of Bishops. So *Maskell*; but see the passage quoted below on pp. 153, 154, from the *Vita S. Kentigerni*.
3. Prayer at the giving of the stole to Deacons at ordination.
4. Rite of delivering the Gospels to Deacons at ordination.
5. Rite of investing Priests with the stole at ordination.

III. A statement respecting British Liturgies, differing from S. Patrick's, and introduced into Ireland in the latter half of the 6th century by S. David, S. Cadoc, and Gildas, is made in the *Catal. Sanctorum* attributed to Tirechanus, c. A. D. 750, for which see the document itself in its place under the *Irish Church*. That the British Liturgy was one peculiar to Britain, is also asserted by some one under the name of Gildas (above, p. 112), but certainly Irish, and of later date than Gildas, probably of the 7th century. See also below, p. 153.

IV. The Lessons of Scripture used at ordination by the British Church appear to be peculiar to the British Ordinal, and to be taken from a Latin version peculiar to the British Church. See Gildas, *Epist. I.*, as above, pp. 102–107, and notes; and in Appendix G. below. See also below, p. 153.



## APPENDIX C.

### THE BRITISH, AND IN PARTICULAR THE WELSH, EPISCOPATE.

*Roman Britain.* The signatures to the Council of Arles (above, under A.D. 314) are conclusive evidence to the existence of diocesan Bishops in the British Church from the beginning. And the language of Sulpicius Severus respecting the Council of Ariminum (above, under A.D. 359) shews that the number of sees was not limited to the three whose occupants were at Arles: while that of S. Athanasius and S. Hilary tends in the same direction (above, pp. 8, 9). The circumstances which led elsewhere to the establishment of Archbishoprics, existed also in Roman Britain. But there is no reliable evidence \* that Archbishoprics ever came into existence there prior to S. Augustin, however probable it may seem that the Bishops of the Roman cities which were the capitals of the several Roman provinces (whether the three, also—but simply as Bishops—at Arles, who presided at York, London, and conjecturally Caerleon, or the five, made up by the addition of †Alba, i. e. Candida Casa, for Valentia, and that [absolutely apocryphal] of Canterbury for Cantia or Britannia Secunda), may possibly have risen to some sort of Archiepiscopate over their brethren. The system however of diocesan Episcopacy is conclusively proved to have existed.

*Later British Church.* The same system, without Archbishoprics, is found in the later British Church.

I. In *Wales*, Bishops not diocesan, but presiding over monastic or educational institutions, are perhaps faintly traceable about the 6th century. E. g. Paulinus, who was simply Abbot of his own monastery at Ty-Gwyn, is called

\* The *Bishopric* of Caerleon depends upon the conjectural interpretation of the signatures to the Council of Arles; its *Archbishopric* upon later twelfth-century traditions, upon the apocryphal answer of Dinoh to S. Augustin, and upon the probabilities of the case, such as they are. Geoffrey of Monmouth and Giraldus Cambrensis are the first writers that systematically invent British and Welsh Archbishoprics respectively. Will. of Newburgh (*Hist. Anglie. I.* 7, Lond. 1856), writing however expressly in confutation of Geoffrey, denies that there had ever been Archbishoprics in Britain at all prior to Augustin; but rests his case, not

upon evidence, but upon the assertion that Augustin was the first who had a pall, and upon the absence of Archbishoprics in the Irish Church prior to the time of the English Conquest. Llandaff tradition until the beginning of the 12th century (*Lib. Landav.*), and S. David's tradition (*V. S. David.* by Rhyddmarch), knew nothing of any Archbishopric of Caerleon.

† See above, p. 15, note <sup>b</sup>, and Girald. Camb., *De Invet.* II. i. vol. III. p. 45.—Appendix VII. to Stubbs's *Registrum Sacr. Anglie.* contains a summary of the legendary lists of ancient British Bishops.

a Bishop by Ricemarch (*V. S. David*), writing however in the 11th century: while S. David, S. Teilo, S. Padarn, and S. Samson, although subsequently Bishops (and the first three also founders) of definite sees, are said in their respective Lives (written in the 11th or 12th centuries) to have been consecrated without reference to any sees at all (and the first three at Jerusalem) as a kind of honorary dignity—a statement of course entirely legendary, but proving the idea of an honorary Episcopate not to have been unfamiliar to Welshmen of even the 11th century. On the other hand, as soon as ever the history of Wales emerges from the darkness that conceals it for a century after the departure of the Romans, a diocesan Episcopate is found established there, with a monastic establishment indeed as the centre of each see, but with the Bishop as such as its head: apparently however newly multiplied and arranged, so as to present a series of Bishoprics (in lieu perhaps of the one Bishop of Caerleon\*) tallying almost exactly with the principalities which came into existence at the same period, and without any Archiepiscopate. There is no trace at any time in that country of any system resembling the Irish and Scotch (viz. of government by Abbots, with Bishops as subordinate officers, discharging Episcopal functions, but without jurisdiction), or indeed of any other system whatever than that of a diocesan Episcopate†. And about A. D. 550, Gildas speaks familiarly of “parochiæ” as the established rule in Wales, and as endowed.

The several sees were as follows:—

- i. BANGOR, for the principality of *Gwynedd* (Venedotia); of which Deiniol or Daniel is the first recorded Bishop and reputed founder (*Ricemarch, V. S. David*. 137, *Lib. Landav.* 5, 68), who died A.D. 584 (*Ann. Camb.*, “CXL. Annus, Dispositio Danielis Bancorum”). No records of the see for Welsh times exist; but Welsh Bishops holding it are mentioned A.D. 768–809 (*Ann. Camb.*, 2. 768, 809—“Elbodg,

\* The transition from Caerleon to the later Bishoprics is one from Roman to British, not from one metropolitan see to another: from the Bishop residing in the capital of the Roman province, to the Bishops of the several Welsh principalities, who however were in no case located in the same spot with the residences of the several Welsh princes, but in their own separate monastic establishments.

† Rees (*Welsh SS.* 182, 266) asserts that it was customary in the earlier Welsh Church to make the Abbots of the greater colleges Bishops; but Paulinus and Cybi are his sole instances in proof. Add however S. Samson at Lantwit (*Lib. Landav.* 19). It is just possible that the “seven Bishop-Houses” of Dyfed, in Howel Dda’s Laws, may indicate the previous existence of some Bishop-Abbots. The numbers of Bishops mentioned at various periods prove nothing. There is no authentic list of the seven mentioned by Bede as in conference with S. Au-

gustin in A.D. 601; but the number is not greater than can be accounted for by the sees then known, or reasonably believed, to have been in existence. The unmanageable number of seemingly contemporary Bishops of Llandaff in the time of Oudoceus (*Lib. Landav.*), and the 118 Bishops at Llanddewi Brefi under S. David (*Ricem. V. S. David*), depend upon unhistorical evidence. And the same account must apparently be given of the “sevenscore croziers,” who are said to have assembled to pass Howel Dda’s Laws A.D. 928, although these included “teachers and abbots and priors,” as well as “archbishops and bishops.” Possibly the see of Weeg or Henllan (see in the text further on) may have been connected, if it ever existed, with the college of Dubricius at that place. The few instances of Bishops, not abbots, mentioned without sees (*Rees, Welsh SS.* 100, 133, 144, 307), rest upon evidence that cannot be relied upon to prove the existence of such a class in Wales as undiocesan Bishops.

Archiepiscopus Guenedotizæ,"—and *Brut y Tywysog*. a. 768 or 770, 809), A.D. 928 (*Pref. to Laws of Howel Dda*), and A.D. 943 or 945 (*Ann. Camb., Brut y Tywysog.*). And "Revedun," "Morgleis," and "Duvan," Bishops of Bangor, are asserted by the Chapter of S. David's in A.D. 1154, but in a letter of more than questionable veracity (*apud Gir. Camb., De Invect. I. 6, Opp. III. 57, Brewer*), to have been consecrated, the first by "Julienus," i.e. Sulgen or Sulien, Bishop of S. David's A.D. 1071–1088, the two others by Joseph, Bishop of S. David's, who died A.D. 1064 (*Ann. Camb.*).

- ii. LLANELWY or S. ASAPH, for the principality of *Powys*, assigned by the *Vita S. Kentigerni* (by Jocel. of Furness, 12th century) to S. Kentigern or Cyndeyrn as its founder, and said to have been left by him to his disciple S. Asaph on his own return to Glasgow and Strathclyd. Kentigern died A.D. 612 (*Ann. Camb.*—"CLXVIII. Annus, Conthigirni obitus"). No records of the see prior to Norman times exist, but a Bishop of S. Asaph is mentioned A.D. 928 (*Pref. to Howel Dda's Laws*). "Renchidus Episcopus," mentioned without a see, but in conjunction with Elbod of Bangor, by one MS. of Nennius, may have been Bishop of S. Asaph. And the Chapter of S. David's, in the letter quoted above, claim for "Bedwd," apparently Bleiddud, Bishop of S. David's (who died A.D. 1071, *Ann. Camb.*), the consecration of one "Melanus Lanelvensis." Henry of Huntingdon (*Hist. Angl. I. M.H.B. 693*) omits the see of S. Asaph in his list of Welsh Bishoprics c. A.D. 1135; but this must have arisen either from inadvertency or from the \* poverty of the see, or possibly because it was not then confessedly subject to Canterbury, being the last Welsh see to hold out.
- iii. S. DAVID's, for the principality of *Dyfed* (Dimétia), including however also from the beginning the southern half of Cardiganshire, and subsequently the whole of it (apparently in accordance with the varying extent of the principality itself), and parts also, at different times (for a like reason), of Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor: referred to S. David as its founder by Bishop Rhyddmarch or Rice-march (Bishop of S. David's, A.D. 1090 × 1098, *Vita S. David. in Cambr. Brit. SS.*, and partly in *Wharton A. S. II.*), although with a legendary hint of a Bishop in the same region before David. S. David died A.D. 601 (*Ann. Camb.*—"CLVII. Annus, David Episcopus Moni Judæorum"). Of this see also no documents have been preserved in Wales itself earlier than Rhyddmarch's Life of S. David above mentioned, and Ieuan's metrical Life of his father, Bishop

\* "paupercula," *Gir. Camb., Itin. Cambr. II. 10*, and *Cambr. Descript. 4*, pp. 872, 884, ed. Camd. 1603.

Sulien, A.D. 1071-1088 (of which the remaining fragments were printed by Bishop Burgess, Durham, 1812). And ravages by Northmen and Saxons are expressly assigned by Bishop Rhyddmarch as the cause of their (confessed) non-existence, such ravages being also repeatedly mentioned in the *Ann. Camb.* (a S. David's Chronicle) and the *Ann. Menev.* (in *Wharton, A. S. II.*). The lists of Bishops, respectively in Giraldus (*Itin. Camb. II.* 1, pp. 855, 856, ed. Camd. 1603), and Godwin (as "ex archiv. Menev."), are manifestly late compilations, and untrustworthy. But the *Ann. Camb.*, *Ann. Menev.*, *Brut y Tywysog.*, the *Pref. to Howel Dda's Laws*, *Asser*, the *Lib. Landav.*, and other sources\*, collected and sifted in Jones and Freeman's *Hist. of S. David's*, supply occasional, though not always consistent, notices of successive Bishops; sufficient, however, fairly to prove the continuous existence of the see from S. David's time. They specify Bishops in A.D. 831, 840, 873, 928, 944, 946, 961, 999, 1025, 1040, 1055, 1064, 1071, 1076, 1078, 1088, 1096, 1115, etc.: besides the legendary succession to S. David, as second and third "Archbishops," of Cynog and Teilo. The documents printed above, pp. 117-120, appear to be transcripts of documents belonging to the see, preserved in France through (no doubt) Brittany. For the apocryphal metropolitanship of S. David's, see further on.

- iv. LLANBADARN, for the principality of *Keredigion* (Cardigan), including however only the northern half of modern Cardiganshire, but together with Brecknockshire north of the Irfon, and the western portion of Radnorshire, and perhaps also one or two parishes in Montgomeryshire, as marked by a boundary-line of churches dedicated on the one side to S. Padarn or S. Afan (see below), or to some one of S. Padarn's companions; on the other, upon the S. David's side, to S. David (*Rees, Welsh SS.* 198, 216). The † date of S. Padarn is fixed by the connection between him, S. David, and S. Teilo, as the three contemporary founders of the three South Welsh sees (*Lives of S. Padarn, S. David, and S. Teilo*, in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* pp. 135, 193, *Lib. Landav.* 98-100, *Wharton, A. S. II.*). A Bishopric at

\* See below, under the Welsh Church in the years A.D. 870, 995.

† Of the two Bishops of Vannes named Paternus, one (according to *Trévouez, Egl. de Brétagne*, Paris, 1839) died A.D. 448, and the other was consecrated A.D. 465 (see also *Sirmond, Conc. Gallie. I.* 137, 140). It is more tempting to identify the Welsh S. Padarn with Paternus, Bishop of Avranches (Abrincensis), who was at the council of Paris A.D. 557 (or 555, *Momms*). But the Welsh S. Padarn, according to his undoubted legend (*Cambro-Brit. SS.*), was a Bréton, who came to Wales with a train of disciples, founded Llanbadarn, visited

Ireland and returned, and then went back to Brittany, and became Bishop of Vannes, and finally went to "the Franks," among whom he died; whereas Venantius Fortunatus, who wrote a life of the Avranches Paternus, being his contemporary, knows nothing of this Paternus going to Wales, or indeed anywhere except to the monastery of S. Pair in the diocese of Coutances, until he was seventy years old, when he was consecrated Bishop of Avranches. He was manifestly therefore not the Welsh Padarn; whose see of Vannes also is probably a confusion between himself and his earlier namesakes.

Llanbadarn is implied A.D. 720 in the *Brut y Tywysog*. (*Myvyr. Arch.* II. 472). And Kenauc or Cynog (according to *Geoffrey of Monm.* XI. 3, and *Girald. Camb., Itin. Camb.* II. 1), was transferred from the Bishopric of Llanbadarn to become S. David's successor at S. David's. Kenauc died A.D. 606 (*Ann. Camb.*). \* The Bishopric was merged in that of S. David's, probably not long after A.D. 720, one Bishop Idnerth being it is said killed there by his people (*Girald., Itin. Camb.* II. 4, p. 863; and *Camden, Britann.* II. 524, ed. Gough).

- v. LLANAFANVAUR, in Brecknock, appears by an inscription to S. Afan (given below in Append. F.), and by dedications of churches, to have been the centre of a see for a short period, either coincident with Llanbadarn (the seat of the Episcopate being transferred for the time from Llanbadarn to Llanafanvaur), or taken out of it (*Rees, Welsh SS.* 208, 209). Nothing is known of the history of such a see; but S. Afan, being one of S. Padarn's companions, must have followed him closely in date, and the see must have been speedily merged again in that of Llanbadarn, and then both in that of S. David's.

- vi. LLANDAFF, for the principality of *Gwent* (Monmouthshire), and ultimately also (besides other smaller principalities) of *Morganwg* (Glamorgan), founded (according to their Lives in the *Lib. Landav.*) by Dubricius and in some way more especially by Teilo: of whom the former died A.D. 612 (*Ann. Camb.*—"CLXVIII. Anus, obitus . . . Dibric Episcopi," and so also *Lib. Landav.* 81), after resigning the see † (*Lib. Landav.* 80); while the Lives of the latter, and of his successor Oudoceus, by speaking respectively of Pictish and of Saxon invasion, and the second of the two also (together with some, not however authentic, charters in the same *Lib. Landav.*) by identifying the Episcopate of Oudoceus with the reigns of Tewdryg (slain by Saxons near Chepstow, and therefore not far from A.D. 600) and his grandson Athrwys or Judruis (died A.D. 632, *Ann. Camb.*, or 633, *Ann. Tigernach.* in *O'Conor, II.* 192), refer these two Bishops, consistently with the date of Dubricius, to the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh centuries respectively. Teilo is also connected by his legend with the "Yellow Plague," which raged in Wales apparently about A.D. 547 (*Ann. Camb.*) or A.D. 550 (*Ann. Tigernach.*). Of this see there are copious records ‡, compiled

\* One Curig Lwyd, a Bishop whose crozier was preserved in S. Harmon's church in the time of Giraldus, was possibly Bishop of Llanbadarn (*Rees, Welsh SS.* 307).

† The consecration of Dubricius by S. Germanus is a Llandaff legend, demolished by the chronology of Dubricius' death in the *Lib. Landav.* itself. The coronation of Arthur by Du-

bricius, and the rest of such legends, had not come into being at the date of the *Lib. Landav.*, are due to Geoffrey of Monmouth, and are found accordingly at length in the later Life of Dubricius by Benedict of Gloucester (in *Wharton, A. S.* II.).

‡ viz. the *Liber Landavensis*, printed in extenso by Mr. Rees, Llandoverly, 1840. That

however in the 12th century (not after nor much before A.D. 1133), and with the object of supporting the claims of the see at that time to the district between the rivers Neath and Towy and to a part of Brecknock from the see of S. David's, and to the district of Archenfield in Herefordshire from that of Hereford. These records however are nothing better or worse than an uncritical compilation by interested and unhistorical compilers, who had no scruple, if a title-deed was wanting, in composing one according to their own view of the facts; and they undoubtedly contain in their later period genuine documents; although, even down to the time shortly preceding their compilation, they are proved inaccurate, wherever independent evidence exists to test them. It is impossible to make out a consistent list of successive Bishops from them; and the attempt to do so, or to escape difficulties by imagining a whole band of suffragans to Oudoceus who disappear altogether afterwards, falls to the ground with the untenable assumption upon which it rests, of the historical accuracy of the charters. But enough exists, when taken together with other evidence, which will be found further on under its respective years, to establish amply the continued existence of the Bishopric from the time of Dubricius. And the documents which have any claim

real materials existed for the compilation of this book (which was the work apparently of "Master Geoffrey, brother to Urban Bishop of Llandaff,"—see below in Appendix E.—and from internal evidence must have been completed about A.D. 1133), is rendered probable by the existence of the memoranda of probably the 9th century on the margin of the Book of S. Chad, now at Lichfield, but itself once the property of Llandaff cathedral (which are printed at the end of Rees' edition of the *Lib. Landav.*, and are held genuine by Wanley, Lhuyd, and Villemarqué). The book also preceded Geoffrey of Monmouth, and is wholly free from the legends about king Arthur, with which a few years later it would inevitably have been filled; as it is also (naturally) from the S. David's fictions about "Archbishop" Samson, which occur first in Giraldus. But the internal evidence of the book is sufficient to prove that all the earlier charters contained in it were not contemporary with their professed dates, but were drawn up at a much later period, probably not long before the compilation of the volume itself, and are simply statements, founded upon varying amounts of information and cast into the form of charters, of the circumstances under which this or that church or land was possessed or claimed by the see of Llandaff in the 12th century, at the time of an angry and protracted contest between that see and those of S. David's and Hereford for a large portion of those churches and lands. The parallel Bréton charters, and the still more closely parallel charters

of the abbey of Llanrcarvan in the *Vita S. Cadoci* (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 86-92), are of a similar character. The same lands indeed are in some cases granted by the same persons, and for the same expressed reasons, to Llandaff in the *Lib. Landav.* (pp. 173, 201) and to Llanrcarvan in the *V. S. Cadoc.* (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 390, 391). Wilkins has printed fifteen "Synods of Llandaff" from this volume, extending from the Episcopate of Oudoceus to that of Herwald. But these synods, so called, were simply meetings of the Bishop, his three abbots, and his clergy, to excommunicate some great offender, or to reconcile him at the price of certain gifts of land or of churches; and the record is in none of them a contemporary record. At the same time the circumstances of each case, assumed to be accurate, illustrate the character of the Welsh, both national and ecclesiastical, and the position of the Church among them. The earlier cases accordingly have been mentioned above on p. 125. And an account will be given in their proper dates under the Welsh period, of the occasions and alleged dates of the others; while the one or two latest and possibly genuine documents will serve as a specimen of their form. But they were of course not synods for making canons, but individual instances of the exercise of Church discipline. A Bishop of Glamorgan, by name Cyfeilach, occurs in the *Myvyr. Arch.* (II. 473) as killed A.D. 756, who is not mentioned at all in the *Lib. Landav.*

to be substantially genuine will be found also further on in their respective places.

- vii. viii. A \*traditional list of the British Bishops present at the conferences with S. Augustin A.D. 601 (*Tolo MSS.* 143, 548), contains a "Bishop of Morganwg" as distinct from Llandaff; who is conjectured to have been Bishop of MARGAM in Glamorganshire, which is said to have been a Bishop's see for a little while about the 6th century (ib. 361): and a Bishop of "Wig," conjecturally identified with WEEG in Archenfield on the Wye in Herefordshire, which is supposed to be the same place as Henllan the place of Dubricius' college. There is no fairly historical evidence of the existence of either see. But Bishoprics appear to have coincided with principalities in Wales, as in Saxon England; and Welsh principalities, like Saxon ones, went through many changes before they settled down into their ultimate form and extent; and it is probable, therefore, that sees like Margam or Weeg may have existed temporarily in different parts of what afterwards became the one principality (for a while) of Morganwg and so the one Bishopric of Llandaff: just as Llanbadarn and Llanafan existed for a time apart from S. David's.

There is no real evidence of the existence of any Archiepiscopate at all in Wales during the Welsh period, if the term is held to imply jurisdiction admitted or even claimed (until the 12th century) by one see over another. And the political condition of the country would have seriously hindered, if it did not altogether preclude, the existence of such a real Archiepiscopate: although no doubt the Bishops of the several sees, probably a single Bishop in each case, consecrated to the other sees on a vacancy. The S. David's monk Asser (A.D. 884), and the Dimetian form of Howel Dda's Laws (A.D. 928), style the Bishop of S. David's "Archbishop." And the latter claims for him a kind of Primacy (*Anc. Laws of Wales, II.* 790, 791, 869, 879). And Rhyddmarch, in his Life of S. David (A.D. 1090 × 1098), claims for David and his successors jurisdiction over the whole, not of Wales only, but of Britain. But the *Ann. Camb.*, and the *Brut y Tywysogion*, and *Nennius*, bestow the same title upon the Bishop of Bangor, A.D. 768–809; and the change to the Roman Easter, the one really important revolution in the Welsh Church from the 5th century to the 12th, was introduced into Wales, and ultimately established there, through this "Archbishop" of Bangor. And

\* "Llyma'r Esgobion a fuant yn dadlu ag Awstin Esgob y Saeson ar lan Hafren yn y Deuau nid angen: Esgob Caerfawydd a elwir Henffordd [Hereford]; 2. Esgob Teilaw [Llandaff]; 3. Esgob Padarn; 4. Esgob Bangor; 5. Esgob Elwy [S. Asaph]; 6. Esgob y Wig; 7. Esgob Morganwg" (from the Book of Llan-ganna). The list is the conjecture of some

medieval Welsh antiquary. Otherwise it might be possible to account for the omission of S. David's from it, by the fact of S. David's death in A.D. 601. And Hereford may very well have been a British see before it was a Saxon one. All that can be said however is, that this is the most probable of all the lists that have been conjectured.

the Bishops of Llandaff, in the *Lib. Landav.*, vaguely claim Archiepiscopal jurisdiction for Dubricius and his successors, i. e. Llandaff, and know nothing of S. David, except as one of the equal trio—Teilo, David, and Padarn. The legends also of S. Teilo and S. Padarn place these Bishops, the former above, the latter upon a level with, S. David. And Llunwerth, Bishop of S. David's about A.D. 872, is mentioned incidentally in the *Lib. Landav.* (228), as simply a brother Bishop to the Bishop of Llandaff. The very arguments of Giraldus and of the Chapter of S. David's on behalf of the metropolitical power of that see, raked together with difficulty in the end of the 12th century, shew that no such power had existed within the memory of men at that time, and that no real evidence was to be found to indicate its having ever existed at all; the \*fiction about S. Samson, the assertion (probable but irrelevant) that some Bishops of Llandaff, Bangor, and S. Asaph had been consecrated during the 11th century by the contemporary Bishops of S. David's, and the exaggerated language of Bishop Rhyddmarch, constituting† the sole producible support for the claims first formally advanced by Bernard, Bishop of S. David's in A.D. 1115–1148. And the claim of Bishop Bernard, and in sequence to him of Giraldus, was advanced with the object of gaining, not rule over Wales, but freedom from

\* The Lives of S. Samson, whether foreign (see below in Append. E.) or Welsh (*Lib. Landav.*), know him only as Archbishop of Dol (a mere vague title in such a case), but with no connection at all with S. David's, still less with York, and as living in the early part of the 6th century. But in the 12th century, the concurring interests of the clergy of Dol wishing to establish their independence against the Archbishopric of Tours, and of Giraldus Cambrensis wishing to prove the metropolitanship of S. David's against the see of Canterbury, led to the assertion by both, that Samson had been an Archbishop (in the later and precise sense), and (added Giraldus) had taken his pall with him to Dol, and so left S. David's destitute of that mark of metropolitanship. But the clergy of Tours, according to Pope Innocent III. (lib. II. Epist. 82), made him Archbishop of York. And Geoffrey of Monmouth (VIII. 12, IX. 8, 15) also has an Archbishop Samson of York and of Dol, apparently one and the same person, but dated in the end of the 5th century. Giraldus, on the other hand, makes him Archbishop of S. David's, 25th in succession from S. David himself, and therefore necessarily in the 9th century at the earliest. Indeed he so inserts him in his list of successive Archbishops, as to place him somewhere between 840 and 873. And he inserts him, with six others, between two, Novis and Llunwerth, who in the *Ann. Camb.* appear in immediate succession to one another. Moreover the clergy of Dol themselves, in their own pleadings, say no-

thing of York, still less of S. David's, or of the pall; but simply refer to the "legend of S. Paternus" (see the *V. S. Paterni* in *Cambro-Brit.* SS. 194) as their evidence that Samson was "Archbishop" of Dol (in *Martene and Durand., Thes. Nov. III. 934*): although Giraldus (*De Jure et Statu &c.* vol. III. p. 167) quotes some lines of a metrical hymn as in use at Dol, which identify him with S. David's. The whole story is an obvious fiction, of which the one underlying truth is, that there was a Welsh Samson who became Bishop of Dol in the middle of the 6th century. As Bishop of Dol probably, he was at the Council of Paris in A.D. 557 (555, Mansi), but signs merely as "Samson Episcopus."

† The celebrated answer of Dinoh is manifestly a statement, drawn up by some mediæval Welsh antiquary, of the answer traditionally attributed to him, and was probably enough suggested by Bede's account of the matter. It certainly cannot be taken as historical evidence of the metropolitanship of Caerleon, however possible that metropolitanship may be. The very mention of such a metropolitanship, indeed, proves the document to be of later date than Geoffrey of Monmouth and Giraldus; Welsh tradition until the early part of the 12th century, as represented by Rhyddmarch and by the *Lib. Landav.*, knowing nothing of such a relation between Caerleon and the Welsh Church. That it truly represents the feeling of the then British Church towards Rome is obvious from Bede himself.



Canterbury, and (in the latter case) from English nominees to Welsh Bishopsrics.

II. In *Dyfnaint*, or *Damnonia*, there is sufficient presumptive evidence of the existence of Bishops apparently from the 6th century\*. And two "British Bishops," probably Cornish or from Devon, are mentioned by Bede (see above, p. 124) in A.D. 664. But the first distinct proof of a Cornish see is the episcopate of Kenstec, in the time of Archbishop Ceolnoth, A.D. 833-870 (for which see below under the Church of *Cornwall*).

The see of Congresbury rests upon exceedingly questionable evidence. The *Chron. Glaston.* (written A.D. 1259), † after asserting the foundation of the see A.D. 167, asserts that in the time of king Ina, "DC. annos vel amplius" from its foundation, i.e. A.D. 767 or later, Daniel, "in eodem Episcopatu ultimus Episcopus Britonum," transferred it to Wells. Ussher rectifies this date to A.D. 721. See also the *Hist. de Episc. Bath. et Well. ap. Wharton, A. S. I.* 553, and the legend of S. Cungar in Capgrave. The first known Saxon Bishop of Wells was consecrated probably A.D. 909. The see of Silchester in Hants is still more questionable, having no better authority than Geoffrey of Monmouth (IX. 14.) giving us Bishops of that see and of Winchester in the time of king Arthur and of Dubricius, whom he makes to be contemporaries.

III. *Strathclyd* and *Cumbria* present a little more definite and historical testimony to the origination of their Episcopate, but are involved in absolute darkness respecting its continuance thenceforward.

- i. The Bishopric of *Candida Casa* or *Whitherne* indisputably was founded by S. Ninian, and within a few years subsequent to A.D. 400 (see above, p. 14). But nothing is known of its history or of S. Ninian's successors ‡ until Saxon conquest brought thither a Saxon Bishop, A.D. 681, whose successors held it as a Saxon see until at least A.D. 796 (*Flor. Wig.*). Its subsequent history will be found, so far as it is known, in its proper place and date further on.
- ii. The Bishopric of *Glasgow* was also indisputably founded at the later date of the middle or end of the 6th century, by Kentigern or Cyn-deyrn (died A.D. 612),—so far the 12th century Life of S. Kentigern

\* William of Worcester, A.D. 1478 (*Itiner.* pp. 105-115, Cantab. 1778), records the burial-place of several (apparently) Cornish Bishops of British date. And John of Glastonbury, p. 449, ed. Hearne, adds one more, S. Conoglas. See Whitaker's *Cornwall*, II. 194 sq. One of these, S. Rumonus, is mentioned also by William of Malm. (*De Gest. Pont.* II.), with the comment that nothing was even then known of him, or of others like him, but the bare names, "et si quæ modo prætendunt miracula sciri;" adding,

that "Cornubiensium sane pontificum succiduum ordinem nec scio nec appono."

† The legend of Cungar, the eponymous founder of Congresbury, dates him also in the reign of king Ina (see below in Append. E.). Congresbury monastery was given by Alfred to Asser shortly before A.D. 886 (*Asser, M.H.B.* 488).

‡ See however the evidence collected above, p. 120, respecting the continued existence of S. Ninian's monastery during the 7th century.

by Joscelin of Furness (see below in Append. E.) may be trusted. Nothing further\* however is known of the see or of S. Kentigern's successors, until the Episcopates of Magsuem and John† in the time of Archbishop Kinsy of York, A.D. 1051-1060 (*Stubbs ap. Twysden*, 1700). And the certain history of the see begins with the Bishop John, who was appointed to it by David of Scotland, probably A.D. 1115 (*Inquisitio*, etc. in *Reg. Episc. Glasg.* p. 4, and *Wilk. I.* 392). But the *Inquisitio* just quoted, and which is dated about A.D. 1116, establishes two facts,—(1) that Kentigern was then known to have had “plures successores,” although the see had been recently and for some time vacant and plundered; and (2) that certain considerable estates, then searched out and restored to it, were known to have been “anciently possessed” by that see.

\* *Geoffrey of Monmouth* (IX. 14) has a Bishop of Alclwyd in the time of king Arthur and of Dubricius. And one Conwal is mentioned in the *Scotichronicon*, III. 29, as a disciple of Kentigern.

† These also, with a third of the like kind (Michael, A.D. 1109), rest only upon a York tradition, and are produced from that suspicious quarter in order to prove that Glasgow was a suffragan see to York.

## APPENDIX D.

### SCHISM BETWEEN BRITISH AND ROMAN CHURCHES.

THE formal schism between the British and the Saxon (and Roman) Churches was rested by Augustin upon two points \* (*Bæd. H. E. II. 1*).

1. EASTER—Up to the Council of Nice the practice of the British harmonized with that of the entire Western Church, i. e. with the Roman (Counc. of Arles, A.D. 314). The most ancient Roman table for Easter (in Bucherius, *Comment. in Victor. Can. Pasch.* 252 sq.) tallies precisely with the British Easter (Van der Hagen, *Observ. in Prosper. Chron.* 336–354; De Rossi, *Inscriptt. Christian. Proleg.* lxxvi.).

From the Council of Nice, to which they gave express assent, up to the middle of the 5th century, the Britons followed the Western Church in its gradual practical divergence from that of Alexandria and the East, arising mainly from the use of different lunar cycles: i. e. they agreed with Rome in the practical difference but professed agreement of that Church with the Eastern†.

But when S. Augustin and the Saxon Church came in contact with them in the 6th century, it appeared (besides other minor points) that the Britons still acted upon the cycle which the Church of Rome had used with some changes up to 458, but had then changed, and still retained what had (it should seem) been the original Roman rule, of keeping the 14th day of the moon (so determined), if a Sunday. (1) They determined the moon by the 84 years' cycle, attributed to, but really far earlier than, Sulpicius Severus, A.D. 410, which had been supplanted successively at Rome itself by the 532 years' cycle of Victor. Aquitan., A.D. 457, and by that of 19 years of Dionysius Exiguus, A.D. 525, these changes being designed

\* The omission by him of such points as the difference of liturgies, or the tonsure, is accounted for by the directions given by Pope Gregory to S. Augustin on the subject of liturgies (*Bæd. H. E. I. 27*); the two points to which the latter restricted himself, being probably regarded by him, the one (Easter) as absolutely necessary to any fusion of British and Saxon Churches, the other (if it were really trine immersion) as essential in itself. The absolute grant of jurisdiction over the British Churches to S. Augustin and his successors by the Pope (*Bæd. ib.*), was also suppressed, if Bede's narrative may be trusted, and (it must be supposed) from less worthy motives;

unless indeed we are to infer, that in real fact it was brought forward, and was the rock upon which the conference was wrecked, an interpretation of Bede's narrative not unlikely, and actually adopted by the tradition represented in Dinot's alleged Answer.

† Even so late as A.D. 455 they followed the directions of Pope Leo the Great—"A.D. 453, IX. Annus. Pasca commutatur super diem Dominicum cum papa Leone Episcopo Romæ" (*Ann. Camb. ap. M. H. B.* 830)—in a case wherein Rome and Alexandria temporarily differed (see *Op. Leon. M. I.* 1055, ed. FF. Ballerin.; and Walter, *Das Alte Wales*, p. 225, Bonn, 1859).

to bring the Roman reckoning into harmony with the Alexandrian. (2) They counted as Easter Day the Sunday which fell, next after the equinox, between the 14th and the 20th (not, as it had come to be at Rome, the 15th and the 21st) days inclusive of the moon.—“Non, ut quidam falso opinantur, quarta decima luna in qualibet feria cum Judæis sed die Dominica semper (pascham) agebat (Aidanus);” only, “a feria quarta decima usque ad vicesimam” (*Bæd. H. E. III. 17*). And, “Non paschæ Dominicum diem suo tempore sed a quarta decima usque ad vicesimam lunam observabant (Brittones), quæ computatio octoginta quatuor annorum circulo continetur” (*Id. ib. II. 2*).—And, “Porro isti secundum decennem novennemque Anatolii computatum aut potius juxta Sulpicii Severi regulam, qui lxxxiv. annorum cursum descripsit, decima quarta luna cum Judæis paschale sacramentum celebrant; cum neutrum Ecclesiæ Romanæ pontifices ad perfectam calculi rationem sequantur; sed nec Victorii paschalis laterculi curriculum, qui DXXXII. annorum circulis continetur, posteris sectandum decreverunt” (*Aldhelm, Epist. ad Gerunt.*, whose unfair insinuation, that they were Quartodecimans, must be corrected by Bede). See also *Bæd. H. E. II. 19; III. 3, 18, 19, 25, 28; IV. 4; V. 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24; Columbanus, Epist. ad Gregorium Papam; Cummeanus, Epist. ad Segien.*: and for a more minute account, *Ussher, Relig. of Anc. Irish, IX. X.*; and *Smith's Bæda, App. IX. 2.*; and above all, *Van der Hagen* and *De Rossi* as above quoted. The facts of the case prove the Western, not the Eastern, origin of the British Church. And the difference arose in that Church, as Bede testifies of the Scots at Hii,—“utpote quibus longe ultra orbem positus nemo synodalia paschalis observantiæ decreta porrexerat” (*H. E. III. 4*) \*.

2. BAPTISM (*Bæd. H. E. II. 2*).—“Ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctæ Romanæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ compleatis.”—The precise defect intended is left to conjecture. Single immersion seems most probable (*Kunstmann, Pönitent. Bücher der Angelsachs., p. 2*). It was the custom “in tota diocesi Macloviensi,” in Brittany, up to A.D. 1620 (*Martene, De Bapt. I. 8*). It prevailed in the 6th century in Spain (*Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, can. vi. Catal. III. 367; S. Greg. Epist. ad Leandr. Hispal. Opp. II. 532*), where there was probably a British Bishopric at that date (see below). Of the three ancient Gallican *Ordines Baptismi* in Martene, it is left optional, by the omission of the prohibitory rubric, in that one of

\* A similar divergence from like causes existed for a shorter time in the Churches of Gaul and Spain at the same period. *Greg. Tur., H. E. V. 17, X. 23; Conc. Bracar. A.D. 572, c. IX.*

and *Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, c. V., ap. Catalan. III. 205, 206, 367*. And see *Le Coigne, Annal. ad ann. 337. num. 15, and 497. num. 3.*

them which came from Bobbio. One of the earliest Anglo-Saxon decrees (see below under Augustin) provides for the invocation of each Person of the Holy Trinity in Baptism: and the Pseudo-Theodore (*ap. Thorpe*, xlviii. 20), which is however a Frankish document, not a Saxon one, repeats and enforces the Apostolic canon commanding trine immersion. Lastly, Gregory I. left the question an open one (*Epist. ad Leandr. Hispal.*); and except on this one occasion, by S. Augustin, no stress is laid upon any question respecting baptism in the British controversy. That it was the omission of chrism (true of the later Irish, *Lanfranc, Epist. ad Terdelvac.*, A.D. 1074, *Opp.* p. 320, ed. Ben.) or of confirmation, is negatived by the mention of both in S. Patrick's *Epist. ad Coroticum*. And the strange customs about Baptism mentioned by Brompton in relation to the Council of Cashel in 1172 belong also to the later Irish\*.

The schism subsequent to Augustin, and the parallel controversy in France, turned wholly upon two points—the one, *Easter*, the other,—

3. THE TONSURE:—the Scottish, with which the British was no doubt identical, differing both from the Roman and the Greek (*Bæda, H. E. IV. 1, V. 21; Aldhelm, Ad Gerunt.; Gildas*, as above, pp. 112, 113: and see *Smith ad Bæd. App. IX. b; Hussey, ad Bæd. IV. 1; Mabill., Ann. Bened. I. 528, and Act. SS. Ord. Ben. Sæc. II. pp. 119, 120*). A tonsure like the British is condemned by Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, can. xli. (*Kunstmann*, p. 5, as above). The colony of Saxons themselves, at Bayeux, had, before A.D. 590, copied the British tonsure from the Brétons (*Greg. Tur., Hist. Franc. X. 9*: and see also *Sidon. Apoll., Epist. VIII. 9*).

To these may be added other points of difference, all, however, both natural results of the isolated condition of the Celtic Churches, and non-essential, viz.—

4. PECULIAR RITUAL IN THE MASS:—See *Gildas* (so called), above, p. 112; and *O'Conor, Biblioth. Stowens.*, vol. I. Append. A multiplicity of collects is the only † point specified (viz. by Agrestius against Eustasius

\* The third point urged by S. Augustin, co-operation in preaching to the Saxons, was a matter of practice only, in which the British (naturally, under the circumstances) refused to join. It is however remarkable, that while Scots were the missionaries, *par excellence*, of nearly all Europe north of the Alps, and in particular of all Saxon England north of the Thames, not one Cumbrian, Welsh, or Cornish missionary to any non-Celtic nation is mentioned anywhere; except in the suspicious substitution of Rhun the son of Urien for Paulinus in the conversion of Edwin

of Northumbria (*Nennius*). The same remark applies also to the Armorican Britons. A Briton however was among S. Gall's companions. Furcus may be cited as an instance of one who, himself a Scot from Ireland, came nevertheless "per Brittones in provinciam Anglorum," A.D. 631 x 636 (*Bæd. H. E. III. 19*).

† The use of azymys by the British Church (*Döllinger*), the Church of Rome using at that time leavened bread, appears to be a mere conjecture, founded on the undoubted prevalence of that custom in the West, including England, at a

at the Council of Maçon, A.D. 624 or 627); but this refers directly to the Scottish or Columban liturgy, which however was probably the British, or one closely akin to it.

5. PECULIAR RITUAL AT ORDINATION:—See above, pp. 102, 140.

6. CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS BY A SINGLE BISHOP:—"Rex et clerus regionis Cambrensis (in Glasguo), ... accito de Hibernia uno Episcopo, more Britonum et Scottorum, in Episcopum ipsum (Kentigernum) consecrari fecerunt. Mos enim in Britannia inoleverat in consecratione pontificum tantummodo capita eorum sacri chrismatis infusione perungere, cum invocatione Sancti Spiritus et benedictione et manus impositione. Insulani enim, quasi extra orbem positi, emergentibus paganorum infestationibus, canonum erant ignari" (*V. S. Kentigern. ap. Capgrave, N. L. A.* 209).—The "custom" intended is probably that relating to unction only, but the single Bishop at consecration is recognized as well, and such is the practice recorded in the legendary lives of Dubricius, Teilo, etc. It was the practice of the later Irish also (*Lanfranc, Epist. ad Terdeuac.* A.D. 1074, and *Anselm, Epist. ad Muriardach.* c. A.D. 1100; in *Ussher, Syllog. Epist. Hibern.*) \*

7. PECULIAR MODE OF CONSECRATING CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES:—

† See *Bæd. H. E. III.* 23; and *Rees, Welsh SS.* 57–61.

later time (*Alcuin, Epist.* 69, ad *FF. Lugd.*;—*v. Martene, De Ant. Ecol. Bt.* I. 113).

\* Other points of difference have been erroneously stated. (1) *Marriage of Clergy* appears to have stood in the British Church from the 6th century much as, at the same date, in the remainder of the Western Church;—viz. as a common practice, but with a growing feeling against it. The only singularity of the Britons was that the practice held its ground among them more effectually than elsewhere in following centuries down to the 12th. See for the practice the *Confessio* of S. Patrick, the *Synod. Patriot et Auxil. et Isern.* (*Wilk. I.* 2), *Gildas (Epist. fin.*, above, p. 105), *Nennius (Versus, in fin. Hist. M.H.B.* p. 81), memorandum on margin of the Book of S. Chad mentioning one "Cahelm filius Episcopi" (*Append. to Lib. Landav.* p. 273), the *Brut y Tywyog* A.D. 961 (*Myvyr. Arch.* II. 491), *Ann. Menev.* (ap. *Wharton, A. S.* II. 649), and the history of Bishops Sulgen and Rhyddmarch of S. David's, 1071–1096 (*Freem. and Jones*): and for the counter feeling, *Gildas, Epist.* (above, p. 74), the Laws of Howel Dda (below in their place), and the denunciations of Girald. Cambr. (*Descript. Cambr. II.*, and *Dial. de Ecol. Messee. dist. I.*). It is one of the things "corrupting the world, but which will ever remain in it, and it can never be delivered of them" (*Anc. Laws of Wales, I.* 347). In *Bæd. V.* 19, "ecclesiastice

castitati contraria" refers solely to Easter and the tonsure.—(2) That no blessing was used by the British Church on marriage is a groundless imputation, transferred from the invectives of Girald. Cambr. (*Topogr. Hibern. dist. III.* c. 19), of Lanfranc (ap. *Ussher, Vet. Epist. Hib. Syll.* 490, 492), and of S. Bernard (*V. S. Malach.*), against the Irish of the 12th century.—(3) *Marriage after divorce*, and *divorces for very frivolous causes*, are permitted by the Laws of Howel Dda, said to have been sanctioned both by the British Church and by the Pope. Gildas however (*Epist. int.*, above, pp. 49, 51) severely condemns both. And though one canon attributed to S. Patrick (can. 26, *Wilk. I.* 6) speaks of permitting a second marriage after divorce for adultery, yet another in the *Cod. Canon. Hibern.* above described (p. 108, note\*), also attributed to S. Patrick, forbids even this (ap. *Wilk. I.* 6, and below under the Irish Church). That great laxity about such subjects prevailed in Ireland in the 12th century, see Giraldus, Lanfranc, and Bernard, as above.

† The chief noticeable point is, that churches were not dedicated to any saint already dead, after the fashion then beginning to be common, but were called by the name of their living founder; obviously the fact throughout Wales. The churches dedicated to S. Martin, e.g. at Canterbury and at Whithorne, were exceptions to the British practice.

## APPENDIX E.

### LEGENDARY LIVES EXIST OF THE FOLLOWING • BRITISH SAINTS,

A.D. 450-700.

#### I. *Cumbria and Strathclyd*<sup>b</sup>.

Died A.D. 534.—1. *Vita S. Mochtæi*, Episcopi: (a Briton who became Bishop of Louth in the time of S. Patrick, his connection with whom, and the mention of him by Adamnan in connection with S. Columba ["proselytus Brito," and "S. Patricii discipulus," *V. S. Columb.*, Præf. II. p. 6 Reeves], refer him perhaps to this part of Britain:) in *Actt. SS. Aug.* 19. III. 743, and *Colgan, Actt. SS. Hib. I.* 729. He died A.D. 534 (*Ann. Ulton.* and *Tigernach.*). "Dormitatio Mocha discipuli Patricii: ... sic ipse scripsit in Epistola sua, 'Macutenus peccator presbiter S. Patricii discipulus in Dno. salutem.'" *Ann. Ul.* a. 534 (*O'Conor, IV.* 15).

Died A.D. 570.—2. *Vita S. Gildæ*: (born at Alclwyd [Arecluta] A.D. 516, taught by S. Illyd, restored the Catholic faith in Ireland, was in Brittany in the time of Count "Conomerus" [died A.D. 560, *Greg. Tur. IV.* 20], and died A.D. 570,—see above, p. 45),—one by a Monk of Ruys (which monastery claimed his relics), 10th or 11th century, in *Du Bosc, Biblioth. Floriac.* 429-463, and *Actt. SS. Jan.* 29. II. 958, and *Mabill., Actt. SS. Bened. I.* 138 sq., which makes him die at Ruys: a second by *Caradoc of Llancarvan*, 12th century, in *Stevenson's* ed. of *Gildas*, Lond. 1838, and see also *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 156, which places his death at Glastonbury: the former free from the fictions about king Arthur and Glastonbury with which the latter is overlaid, although itself written in the interest of the Bréton monastery. Both must be corrected by the Annals (as above, p. 45, which seem to place his death in Ireland), by the Irish *Catal. Sanctorum* of *Tirechanus*, c. A.D. 750 (see above, p. 115,

\* The \* marks those saints of whom no reliable evidence can be found that they ever existed at all.

<sup>b</sup> The legends of S. Servanus (S. Serf) and S. Ternanus, *Aberdeen Breviary*, July 1 and June 12, represent them as Bishops and disciples of Palladius, respectively at Culross and at Banchory-Ternan in the Mearns, precisely in that district of the Picts "in Britain" where Palladius

taught and died a little after A.D. 431: S. Serf being also the teacher of S. Kentigern, which the chronology renders just possible. They too, therefore, may be perhaps added to the above list, as links between Palladius and Kentigern. See Ussher (*VI.* 212 *Eltrington*), Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. II.* 167), Todd (*S. Patrick*, 302, note), and Bishop Forbes's Pref. to the *Miscal de Arbuthnot* (Burntisland 1864), pp. lxxii. sq.

note\*), by the internal evidence of Gildas' own writings, and by the fact (e. g. see the *Cod. Can. Hib.* cited above, p. 108, note \*) that the Celtic Irish Church of the 7th century held him only second to S. Patrick.

Died A.D. 612.—3. *Vita S. Kentigerni* (or *Kyndeyrn*, called also *Mungo*), *Episcopi*: (disciple of S. Serf, founded the sees successively of Glasgow and of S. Asaph, died A.D. 612, *Ann. Camb.*;) one, a fragment, by a monk unnamed, addressed to Herbert Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1147–1164, in *Glasgow Chartulary*, vol. I. pp. lxxviii–lxxxvi; a second by *Joscelin of Furness*, written probably A.D. 1180, and addressed to Joscelin Bishop of Glasgow A.D. 1175–1199 (founded upon an earlier Glasgow legend and upon a document written in Irish), in *Pinkerton's Vitæ SS. Scot.* pp. 195 sq.; a third, based upon Joscelin's, in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 207, and *Actt. SS. Jan.* 13. I. 815.

## II. *Damnonia* or *Dyfinaid*†.

### A. *Cornwall*.

†A.D. 450–500.—1. *Vita S. Pirani* (or *Kierani*), *Episcopi*: (Bishop of Saighir in Ireland, contemporary with S. Patrick, migrated to Cornwall and died at Padstow:) two in *Colgan, Actt. SS. Hib. I.* 458, 467, and *Actt. SS. March 5. I.* 389 sq.; another in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 267.

A.D. 500–600.—2. *Vita S. Petroci*, *abbatis et confessoris*: (“natione Cumber,” died at Bodmin in Cornwall, uncle of S. Cadoc and younger brother of Gwynnlyw—*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 22,—and according to his own Life, born in Wales, and connected with S. Samson:) in *Actt. SS. June 4. I.* 400, and *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 266. His name seems to be Irish.

3. *Vita S. Constantini*: (son of Paternus or Padarn king of Cornwall, died, according to his legend, A.D. 576; but he is nevertheless plainly identical with the Constantine mentioned above, p. 120, who turned monk in A.D. 589: the legend is specially fabulous:) in the *Aberdeen Breviary*: see the commentary upon it in *Actt. SS. March 11. II.* 64.

### B. *Somerset*.

A.D. 500–550.—\*4. *Vita S. Keyne* (or *Ceneu*), *eremitæ*: (daughter of a king of Brecknock, aunt of S. Cadoc, a recluse at Keynsham:) in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 204, and *Actt. SS. Oct. 8. IV.* 275.

\* The Cornish saints who migrated to Brittany will be mentioned under that Church: e. g. SS. Brioc, Wirwaloc, Machutus, Paulus Leonensis, Maglorius. And S. Cybi occurs under Wales.

† These and the following dates are of course mere approximations to the truth, which may serve to mark the order in which the several subjects of the legends apparently lived.



A.D. 550-600.—\*5. Vita *S. Cungiari* (*Cyngar*, also called *Docwinni*), eremitæ: (at Congresbury, founder of Docwinni monastery—but see *Rees, Welsh SS.* 183,—in Glamorganshire, contemporary with Dubricius and with king Iva (*sic*):) in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 80. See also above, p. 150.

### III. Wales.

- A.D. 500-550.—1. Vita *S. Bernaci* or *Brynach*: (said in the Triads to be an Irishman,—*Rees, Welsh SS.* 156,—contemporary with Maelgwn:) in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 5-12, and abridged in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 36.
2. Vita *S. Tathei* or *Tathan*: (an Irishman who settled in Wales, alleged to have been a brother of, but certainly older than, S. Samson,—*Rees, Welsh SS.* 256,—connected with Illtyd, and contemporary with Gwynllyw, but older than Cadoc:) in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 255-264, and abridged in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 279.
3. Vita *S. Gundlei* or *Gwynllyw*: (prince of Gwynllwg in Glamorganshire, father of Cadoc, contemporary with, but older than, Dubricius:) in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 145-157, and abridged in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 168.
- A.D. 550-600.—4. Vita *S. Dubricii* or *Dyfryg*, Episcopi: (first Bishop of Llandaff, died, after resigning his see, at Bardsey A.D. 612,—*Ann. Camb. and Lib. Landav.*,—prior, even according to the earlier legends, to the names which follow in this list, but only antedated to the 5th century by the fictions that connected him with Arthur and with S. Germanus:) one in *Lib. Landav.* 75-83, compiled A.D. 1120 × 1133, which knows nothing of King Arthur; another based upon the first by Benedict of Gloucester, in *Wharton, A. S. II.* 654-661, written later in the century, and full of King Arthur; a brief abridgment in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 87.
5. Vita *S. Cadoci* or *Cathug*, or *Sophia*, Episcopi: (son of Gwynllyw, living at the time of the synod of Llandewi-Brefi, founder of a Llan-carfan college in Llandaff diocese, afterwards Bishop of Beneventum in Italy:) in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 22-96; another in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 52, and *Actt. SS. Jan. 24. II.* 602.
6. Vita *S. Illuti* or *Illyd*: (born in Brittany, founder of a Caerworgern college in Llandaff diocese, where David, Samson, Paulinus, and Gildas are said to have been educated:) in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 158-192, and abridged in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 187.
7. Vita *S. Samsonis*, Episcopi: (Bishop of Dol in Brittany, but

\* These two colleges, with that of Docwinni or Documni (for which see under S. Cyngar, above), were the three great monastic establishments of Llandaff diocese (*Lib. Landav. passim*).

- consecrated at S. Iltyd's college in Glamorganshire by Dubricius, was at the Council of Paris A.D. 555 or 557; his fictitious Archiepiscopates at York and at S. David's appear first in the pages respectively of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and of Giraldus Cambrensis, the fiction about his pall being also due to the latter :) one by a writer unnamed in *Mabill., Actt. SS. Bened. I.* 165, and *Actt. SS. July 28. VI.* 568, claiming to be written almost immediately after S. Samson's death; a second, mainly agreeing with this, in *Lib. Landav.* 8-25; a third in *Du Bosc, Biblioth. Floriac.* 464-484; also in *Surius, July 28. III.* 338; a fourth, apparently never printed,—see *Hardy, Descr. Catal.* 141, note,—by Balderic Bishop of Dol; another in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 276. See above, p. 149, note \*.
8. Vita *S. Kebii* (or *Cybi*), Episcopi: (a Cornishman who settled in Anglesey in the time of Maelgwn, yet in the same generation with S. David, falsely connected by a blunder of names—see *Rees, Welsh SS.* 267—with S. Hilary of Poitiers:) in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 183-187, and abridged in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 203.
  9. Vita *S. Davidis* (or *Deur*), Episcopi: (first Bishop of S. David's; held Councils before, and in, A.D. 569; died A.D. 601—*Ann. Camb.* :) by Ricemarch, Bishop of S. David's A.D. 1088-1096, in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 117-144, and partly in *Wharton, A. S. II.* 645-647; also in *Actt. SS. March 1. I.* 41; and with variations in *Colgan, Actt. SS. Hib. I.* 425-429; rewritten by Girald. Camb., *Opp. III.* 377-404, and abridged in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 82; another in Welsh, in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 102-116; and for others, all founded on Ricemarch, see *Hardy, Descr. Catal.* 123, and *Jones and Freeman, Hist. of S. David's Cathedr.*
  10. Vita *S. Teliaui* (or *Teilo*), Episcopi: (second Bishop of Llandaff, contemporary with S. David, passed some time at the period of the Great Yellow Plague in Brittany with S. Samson:) in *Lib. Landav.* 92-114, compiled, according to MS. Cott. Vesp. A. xiv.,—see *Hardy, Descr. Catal.* 130,—“a magistro Galfrido fratre Urbani Landav. Eccl. Episcopi,” and therefore shortly before A.D. 1133; partly in *Wharton, A. S. II.* 662 sq.; and abridged in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 280, and *Actt. SS. Feb. 9. II.* 308.
  11. Vita *S. Paterni* (or *Padarn*), Episcopi: (a Bréton, contemporary with David and Teilo, who came to Wales in the time of Maelgwn, became the first Bishop of Llanbadarn-Vawr, returned to Brittany after visiting Ireland, and then went to France and became Bishop of Vannes. See above, p. 145, note †. He was not the Bishop of Avranches who was at the Council of Paris A.D. 557, and whose Life, written by Venantius Fortunatus, his contemporary, is in *Mabill., Actt. SS. Bened. II.* 1100-1104, and another in *Mabill., ibid.*



SS. Oct. 19. VIII. 474, and *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 122: and see *Surius, Oct. 19. IV.* 307.

A.D. 650-700.—22. Vita *S. Condedi*: (a Briton who went to France after A.D. 667, became a monk at Fontanelle, and died A.D. 685:) in *Mabill., Actt. SS. Bened. II.* 862, supposed to be written by Jonas, a monk of Fontanelle, after A.D. 1050.

\*23. Vita *S. Decumani*: (a Welshman who became a hermit at S. Decuman's, near Watchet in Somersetshire, said to have died A.D. 706:) in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 85, and *Actt. SS. Aug. 27. VI.* 24<sup>a</sup>.

No purely Welsh or Cornish saint of this (the great) period of Welsh hagiology found admittance into the ancient Martyrologies or Calendars of the Western Church, until S. David's canonization in A.D. 1120; who is still the one Welsh saint formally enrolled in the Western Calendars. But S. Samson, and the Cornish saints who (like S. Samson) were connected with Brittany (S. Winwaloc, S. Machutus, S. Maclovius, etc.), were recognized in them, no doubt on this account (see above, p. 34). And Gildas and Petroc occur in Saxon Calendars (above, p. 35). Except S. Cybi and S. Beuno, all the above Welsh saints that can be certainly located, and probably all, come from, or are connected with, *South Wales*.

\* No Lives among the above can claim to approach to history. That of S. David by Rice-march, that of Gildas by the Monk of Ruys, and those in the Lib. Landavensis, were written about four or five, the rest (except perhaps the earliest one of S. Samson, and that of S. Condedus) five or six, centuries after the deaths of their respective subjects; and they are all simply unhistorical legends, but of persons who for the most part really existed; although there is but faint evidence even of the existence of those marked with an asterisk. The list would not be complete, or leave a correct impression of the value of such literature, without adding the following supplement of *Legendary Lives* of persons who almost certainly never existed at all.—1. Vita *S. Wenefredæ*, virginis et martyris: (a disciple of S. Beuno, and therefore living about A.D. 600-650:) in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 198-209: purporting to be written "per Elerium Britanum monachum an<sup>o</sup>. 660 aut Robertum Salopiensem an<sup>o</sup>. 1140:" also in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 296, and *Surius, Nov. 3. IV.* 20: but Domesday Book knows nothing of S. Winefred, nor of her church, chapel, or well, and the legend probably came into existence between A.D. 1070 and 1140 (see *Rees, Welsh SS.* 297).—2. Vita *S. Gudurici*, Episcopi: (alleged to be a Briton: not known until his relics were dug up, c. A.D. 954 or 959, at Montreuil-sur-Mer, and removed to Blandinberg, near Ghent:) in *Actt. SS. June 6. I.* 728, and *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 167, and see *Surius, June 6. II.* 108, written probably A.D. 1140 (see *Hardy, Descr. Catal. I.* 372).—3. Vita *S. Lewinnæ*: (a British

Christian in Sussex in the time of Archbishop Theodore, A.D. 668-690, who was first heard of when her relics were stolen from S. Andrew's monastery, near Seaford, by a monk of Bergue S. Winox, in Belgium, A.D. 1058:) by Drogo, a monk of Bergue S. Winox, in *Actt. SS. July 24. V.* 608, and *Mabill., Actt. SS. Bened. VI.* ii. 112 (and see *Blaauw, in Sussex Archæol. Collect. I.* 46).—4. Vita *S. Indracti et Sociorum*, martyrum: (Britons slain by Saxons near Glastonbury, A.D. 689:) by Will. of Malmesbury, abridged in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 188.—5. Vita *S. Ivo*, in *Capgrave, N. L. A.* 201: a Briton, buried at Wilton. The cases of S. Ivo (see above, p. 31, note <sup>b</sup>), S. Ursula, S. Melorus, S. Amphibalus, are of a like kind. Add also *S. Elgar*, whose Life is in *Lib. Landav.* 3-7: a little earlier than S. Caradoc (ob. 1124); and whose teeth were translated from Bardsey Island to Llandaff, with the relics of Dubricius, A.D. 1120.

For the (vain) attempt to canonize S. Caradoc, see below under A.D. 1200. In addition to him, Rees discovers (*Welsh Saints*, 305) only four other native saints of a date posterior to the above list; although he reckons some four hundred others, whose names and parentage only (or little more) are recorded, prior to A.D. 700. The lists and genealogies on which he depends (*Welsh Saints*, 74) are the work of Welsh mediæval antiquaries. What amount or kind of tradition may be embodied in them, it is impossible to say. The Triads are also too modern in their present form to claim notice here. See *Stephens, Literature of Kymry*, and *Arch. Camb. 3rd Series, VIII.* 65.

## APPENDIX F.

### SEPULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN [CELTIC] BRITAIN,

A.D. 450-700.

I. In CUMBRIA and STRATHCLWYD no Christian inscribed monuments of this the debased Roman period remain <sup>a</sup>.

#### II. DYFNIAINT OF DAMNONIA (*Devon and Cornwall*).

##### A. In DEVONSHIRE.

There have been found in south-west Devonshire, round the south and west of Dartmoor, at least six inscribed tombstones of this period,—viz. at Tavistock, Buckland Monachorum, Yealmpton, Ivybridge (the Fardel-stone), Stowford, and Lustleigh (*Lysons, Devonsh. Introd. cccix.*; *Archæol. Journ. VIII. 424*; *Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VIII. 134*; *Smirke in Proc. of Royal Inst. of Cornwall, 1861*),—agreeing with the Welsh and Cornish contemporary inscriptions in the character of the letters, the contents and form of the inscriptions, in their grammar, and in one instance (Ivybridge) in the accompanying of the Latin words by an (apparent) equivalent in Ogham characters, and probably Christian because the Welsh and Cornish parallel class are in many cases demonstrably so. There are however no decisive Christian marks on any of those in Devonshire. There are however crosses, not inscribed, at Coplestone in the parish of Colebrooke near Crediton, at Lustleigh, and at East Worlington (*Lysons, as above, cccix. cccx.*).

##### B. In CORNWALL.

1. Upon one side of a thick slab found in the church of *S. Just in Penwith*, in Roman characters.

##### SILIUS IC IACET

Upon its face an incised cross, thus, ✠: the same name possibly as Selyf, ap Geraint. [*Edmonds in Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, IV. 180*; *Buller's St. Just, p. 20*; *Haslam in Arch. Journ. IV. 303*; and information communicated by *Rev. S. Lysons, jun.*]

<sup>a</sup> Unless the cross at Bewcastle with an illegible inscription be an exception (*Camden, Britann. III. 176. ed. 1789*).

2. Upon an upright stone at *Menabilly* near *Fowey*, in similar characters.

## CIRUSIVS HIC IACIT CUNOMORI FILIUS

Upon the other side an incised Greek cross in the form of a T. [*Haslam*, *ib.* 307; *Borlase*, *Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 392; *Blight*, *Anc. Crosses in Cornwall*, II. 127.]

3. Upon an upright stone at *S. Clement's* near *Truro*, in similar characters.

## ISNIOC VITAL—FILI TORRICI.

Under an incised Greek wheel cross. [*Haslam*, *ib.* II. 78, IV. 309; *Borlase*, *ib.* p. 391; *Blight*, *ib.* II. 125; *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, IX. 288.]

4. Upon a tall upright stone at *Carnsew* near *Hayle*, in similar characters.

IC CEN—REQUIEVIT—CU NAT DO—HIC TUMULO IACIT  
VIXIT ANNOS XXXIII.

The interpretation given of the first and third divisions of this inscription is exceedingly questionable, but it is apparently Christian, and of a time when Roman influence still operated.

[*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, IV. 178.]

There are also inscribed tombstones of the character and form of these inscriptions, and of like date, but without decisive Christian marks, at *Lanyon* in *Madron* parish (the *Mên Scryffen* or *Scryfa*), between *Gulwal* and *Madron*, at *Maugan*, at *S. Cubert's*, at *Tregoney*, at *S. Columb Minor*, at *Camelford*, at *Padstow*, and a crossed stone with an inscription, illegible except the word *FILIUS*, at *Welltown* near *Cardynham*. [*Borlase*, *ib.* pp. 393–396; *Blight*, *ib.* I. 72, II. 126; *Arch. Journ.* II. 77; *Lysons*, *Cornwall*, p. ccxxiii.; *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, IV. 182, 183, IX. 286–290, XII. 417–428; *Ecclesiologist*, X. 217, XII. 332.]<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> A still earlier inscription of Christian Romanesque, in itself conjectured to have been a milestone, is on a stone, partly defaced, which formed part of the wall of *S. Hilary's* church near *Penzance*: P—FL·JV·CONSTANT . . . . PIO A[VG]. CÆS. DIVI [C]ONSTANTI[NI] PII AVG. FILIO. (*Arch. Camb.* 3rd Series, IV. 176; *Blight*, I. 73.) Constantine the Great's second son, *Flavius Julius Constantinus*, was Cæsar A.D. 316, governor of the Gauls, Britain, &c. A.D. 335, and killed A.D. 340.

There are, beside the above, and of like probable date (i. e. A.D. 450–700), monuments plainly Christian but without inscriptions: e. g. 1. A stone in the shape of a Latin cross with the monogram incised, supposed to have been a gable cross, found at *S. Helen's* church on *Cape Cornwall* in *S. Just* parish (*Haslam* in *Arch. Journ.*, IV. 304): 2. A stone with the monogram at *Phillack* (*Arch. Camb.*, New Series, IV.

181): 3. Four stone crosses, three of them with a figure like a crucifix carved upon one side, at *S. Buryan's* (*Haslam*, *Borlase*, and *Blight*, as above): 4. A similar stone with a similar figure but the cross of a Greek form, at *Sancreed* (*Haslam*, &c. *ib.*). And (including these) *Blight* enumerates and partly figures upwards of 137 wayside stone crosses, many with figures like crucifixes,—34 of Latin form, 81 of Greek, and the remaining 22 of a transition kind, (besides many others of a distinctly later period,)—of which the date, judging by the style of their ornamentation, seems to range within the limits here laid down; save that Saxon letters, possibly added at a later time, occur at the foot of one of them.

Of the ancient chapels mentioned in *Haslam's Perran-Zabuloe*, pp. 82–86, and of which there is a longer list (containing several certainly post-British structures) in *Blight*, I. vii., it must suffice to say here that their British date is at best only

## III. WALES.

- i. Inscriptions to the memory of persons to whose history and date there exists independent testimony.

A.D. 500–600.

1. On a stone in *Tywyn* churchyard, *Merionethshire*.

## PASCENT.

Pascent son of Vortigern, and another Pascent his descendant in the 8th generation, appear as princes of Builth in Radnorshire, respectively in the 5th and 8th centuries (*Nennius, M. H. B.* 70, 71). But the locality of the stone connects it with Pascent or Pasgen, who occurs as a saint among the (legendary) sons of Brychan, and with a sister also connected with Tywyn (*Rees, Welsh SS.* 143). For the stone, see *Camden's Britann.*, II. 541. ed. 1789.

2. On a stone found at *Pant y Polion, Caio*, near *Llanddewi-Brefi, Cardiganshire*.

SERUATUR FIDAEI  
PATRIQUE SEMPER  
AMATOR HIC PAULIN  
US IACIT CULTOR PIENTI  
SIMUS AEQUI.

*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, II. 249–251. Now at Dolau Cothi, the house of J. Johnes, Esq. Paulinus, commemorated in these two rugged hexameters, was at the synod of Llanddewi-Brefi, some time before A.D. 569 (*Ricem. V. S. David.* in *Cambro-Brit. SS.* 137), and was also instructor of S. David (*ib.* 122) and S. Teilo (*Lib. Landav.* 94) at his college of Ty-Gwyn ar Dâf (Whitland in Caermarthenshire); possibly also of Maelgwn (see above, p. 54, last two lines). He is called a Bishop (*Ricem.*, as above, 137), but had no see. The churches dedicated to him are near Llanddewi-Brefi or elsewhere in S. David's diocese (*Rees, Welsh SS.* 189). See also below, under *Glamorganshire* No. 1, and *Caermarthenshire* No. 4. Strange to say, there is no legend of his life extant.

3. On a rude pillar inscribed on its four sides, at *Tywyn* in *Merionethshire*.

✱ Tengrugimalcelgu  
adgan mar  
c

} = (in modern Welsh) Tan grug yma  
cel Cadfan—marc. (Beneath this  
mound is the body of Cadfan—  
the mark.)

probable. And the visit of S. Piran himself to Cornwall, resting as it does upon Capgrave, and ignored by the earlier Irish legendary Lives

(ap. Colgan), is probably as apocryphal as are the parallel visits to the same country of S. Germanus and of S. Patrick.

✠ Cingicencelen ≈	}	= (in modern Welsh) Cyngen cel yn moll—clodau daear—trigodd nid anaf. (Cyngen's body is covered over—he was the praise of the earth—and led a blameless life.)
molt Tricet		
Clode nitanam		
Tuar		
Arteruncubutmarciau	}	= (in modern Welsh) Ar tu rhwng y bydd marciau. (On the intervening space there will be marks.)

This is the only remaining inscription of the kind in the Welsh language (except a few words in that of Eliseg). It is probably in honour of Cadfan the saint (for the king of that name, see below),—who came from Armorica with S. Padarn, and therefore about the middle of the 6th century, and founded Tywyn church among others (*Rees, Welsh SS.* 213–215),—and of Cyngen king of Powys,—about the end of the same century. The reading and interpretation given above are those of Messrs. Westwood and Williams; subsequently, however, slightly altered by them. See *Arch. Camb., Old Series, III.* 364, *New Series, I.* 90, 96, 205–212, *II.* 58.

4. On a stone at *Llansadwrn* in *Anglesey*.

HIC BEATU..  
SATURNINUS SE..  
IACIT . ET SUA SA..  
CONIUX . PA....

Figured in *Arch. Camb., Old Series, II.* 260. S. Sadwrn, brother of S. Illtyd, accompanied S. Cadfan from Armorica; see *Rees, Welsh SS.* 222.

A.D. 600–650.

5. On a stone at *Llangadwaladr* or *Eghwys Ael* in *Anglesey*.

CATAMANUS REX  
SAPIENTISIMUS OPI-  
NATISIMUS OMNIUM  
REGUM.

King Cadwallader, who died A.D. 664 (*Nennius*), or 679 (*Ann. Menev. ap. Wharton, A. S. II.* xxxii.), or 681 (*Brut y Tywysog.*), is supposed to have erected this tomb to his grandfather king Cadfan. (*Rowlands, Mona Antiq.* 157; *Gibson's Camden, II.* 811; *Arch. Camb., Old Series, I.* 165–167.)

The following are added on account of the persons commemorated in them, but the stones themselves are too modern to claim admission into the list given above.

1. On a stone with a figure carved upon it, at *Llanbabo, Anglesey*.

HIC IACIT PABO POST PRUD—CORPORS—TE—PRIMA.

Pabo, the “pillar of Britain” (post Prydain), probably lived about the end



of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century. "Dunauut filius Pabo obiit," A.D. 595 (*Ann. Camb., MS. B. in M. H. B.*). His name occurs in the *Myr. Arch., II.* 49, in the *Bonedd y Saint* (*Rees, Welsh SS.* 167). But the stone is of the 13th or 14th century; see *Camden, Britann. II.* 572. ed. 1789, and *Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VII.* 300. See also *Rowlands, Mona Antiqua,* 158, 2nd edition. The account given by Rowlands of another stone (*ib.* 155) at Llanengan Frenhin, is hardly trustworthy (see *Arch. Camb., O. S. III.* 219).

2. On a stone at *Llanavanfawr in Brecknockshire.*

HIC IACET SANCTUS AVANUS EPISCOPUS.

*Jones, Breckn. II.* 239, 240. On the top stone of a large altar tomb in black letter characters (*Westwood*), but (like No. 1) of the 13th or 14th century. For S. Avan's own date and see, vide App. E. above.

ii. Christian inscriptions belonging to the debased Roman period, A.D. 500-700, but to persons otherwise unknown.

a. *Anglesey.* 1. At *Penrhôs Llugwy.*

HIC IACIT MACCUDECETI

*Rowlands, Mona Antiqua,* 156; *Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VII.* 296, *X.* 105. The stone is probably Christian. The name occurs as a witness to a grant in the *V. S. Cadoci (Cambro-Brit. SS.* 91). And Maccus, "plurimarum Rex insularum," was King of the Isles A.D. 973 (*Flor. Wig. in an.*). But the name may be "Macutus." Several other stones in different parts of Wales, with the same form of words but no more plainly Christian marks, are here omitted.

β. *Caernarvonshire.* 1. At *Llangian*, on an upright stone in the churchyard.

MELI MEDICI FILI MARTINI IACIT.

*Arch. Camb., Old Series, III.* 105. It is of very early date, possibly 5th century. The name of Martin seems to indicate its Christian character.

2. At *Penmachno.*

☿ CARAUSIUS  
HIC IACIT  
IN HOC CON  
GERIES LA  
PIDUM.

*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, IX.* 255-257.

3. At *Llannor.*

ICVENALI FILI ETERNI HIC IACIT

*Arch. Camb., Old Series, II.* 203, *3rd Series, VI.* 226. The name *Eler-*

*mus* seems to indicate Christianity. Another inscription (*Arch. Camb., Old Series, ib.*) at the same place, beginning with VEND— (rest illegible), is possibly Christian: see under Brecknockshire, No. 5. below.

γ. *Denbighshire.* 1. At *Guythelyn* near *Pentre Voelas*.

VINNEMAGLI FILI

SENMAGLI

Upon one of four upright stones placed in a row in *Gwythelyn* churchyard: supposed date, 6th century, and conjectured to belong to *Finian Mac Moil*, one of *S. Madoc's* companions (*Westw. in Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, IV. 406*). *Dervac's* stone, the *Maen Madoc*, near the same place (*Westw., ib.*), may possibly be Christian.

δ. *Merionethshire.* 1. Near *Trawsfynydd* at *Bedd Porus*.

PORIUS

HIC IN TUMULO IACIT

HOMO XPIANUS FUT.

*Westw. in Arch. Camb., Old Series, I. 424, New Series, I. 316; and Gibson's Camden, II. 791.*

ε. *Brecknockshire.* 1. At *Vaenor*.

INOMINE DI SUMI TILUS.

Upon a stone cross, now destroyed (*Jones, Breckn. II. 623, 624; Arch. Camb., Old Series, II. 29, New Series, IV. 333, 3rd Series, IV. 162*).

2. At *Trallung*.

CUNOCENNI FILIUS

CUNOCENI HIC IACIT.

Upon a stone bearing a Greek cross within a circle, accompanied by a long stem running down the centre of the stone, and with an equivalent (?) inscription in Ogham characters (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VIII. 52-56*).

3. At *Llanfihangel Cwm Du*, near *Tretower* or *Tretŵr*.

CATACUS HIC IACIT FILIUS TEGERNACUS.

*Jones, Breckn. II. 499; Westw. in Arch. Camb., New Series, I. 92, III. 272, IV. 333; Cambr. Quarterly Magazine, V. 519.* The stone of *Tegernacus* himself occurs at *Capel Brithdir* in *Glamorganshire* (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VIII. 130*).

Another stone in the same place, inscribed with a Latin cross, has a defaced inscription in early letters, beginning IC IACET (*Westw. in Arch. Camb., New Series, III. 272, IV. 333*). The stone inscribed CATUC, which once formed the threshold of the church of *Llandeavlog*, is said to be now at *Llanfihangel* (*Jones, Breckn. II. 174; Westw. in Arch. Camb., New Series, IV. 333*).

4. Between *Brecon* and *Merthyr*.

TIR.... FILIUS CATAL.

On part of a stone cross, 11 miles from Brecon on the road to Merthyr (*Jones, Breckn. II. 624*).

5. At *Deonock*.

PUGNIACIO [FI]LI VENDONI ✕ ✕

*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, IV. 164, VI. 225.*

ζ. *Glamorganshire*. 1. At *Port Talbot*.

HIC IACIT CANTUSUS PATER PAULINUS.

On a stone which once stood upon the road from *Nedum* (*Neath*) to the southern *Bovium* (or *Bomium* = either *Boverton* or *Ewenny*). The name seems to be that of a Christian. On the other side of the stone is—*Imp. Maximino Invicto Aug.*—(*Westw. in Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, II. 251, 320*). It is (or was lately) preserved in the Harbour Master's Office at Port Talbot.

2. At *Llangrallo* or *Coychurch*.

EBISAR.

With a cross, of early date (information communicated by *Professor Westwood*).

3. Near *Margam*, the *Maen Llythyrog*.

BODUOC—HIC IACIT

✕ FILIUS CATOTISIRNI  
PRONEPVS ETERNALI  
VEDOMAV—

The name Boduoc (Boduognatus) occurs in *Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. III. 23*: also in an inscription at Nismes (*Reines., Synt. Inscriptt. 932*): also upon two coins, a gold and a silver, figured in *Ruding (II. 299, and plate xxix. nos. 3, 4, 3rd edition)* as British, but really belonging to Gaul. For the stone, see *Arch. Camb., New Series, IV. 78, 3rd Series, V. 287–289, VI. 226*. It is of very early date.

4. See *Brecknockshire*, No. 3.η. *Cardiganshire*. 1. At *Llanfechan* near *Llanwenog*.

TRENACATUS IC IACET FILIUS MAGLAGNI.

*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VII. 42*. On a stone found in the wall of the ruins of an old chapel called Capel Whyl. Also with Oghams on it.

θ. *Caermarthenshire*. 1. At *Clyddai* near *Newcastle Emlyn*.

A wheel cross with an illegible inscription, appearing to commemorate one Valens or Valentius (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VI. 227, 228*).

## 2. At the same place.

## ETERNI FILI VICTOR.

On a stone, in debased Roman capitals, accompanied by Ogham marks (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VI. 226*). The name *Eternus* seems to indicate Christianity.

## 3. At the same place.

## SOLINI FILIVS VENDONI.

Here also the name alone, and that uncertainly, appears to indicate Christianity: see under Breckn., No. 5 (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VI. 225, 226*).

4. At *Llandyssilio* (near *Narberth* in *Pembrokeshire*).

CLUTORIGI  
FILI PAULINI  
MARINILATIO.

There is only the name to mark this unintelligible inscription as Christian (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VI. 54*). It is of early date. Another at the same place (*ib. 56*), to *Eucleus*, is of later date and form, and may be Christian.

1. *Pembrokeshire.* 1. At *S. Nicholas*.

TUNC CETACI UX  
SOR DAARI HIC IACIT. —+

Of early date, viz. beginning of 6th or end of 5th century (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, II. 49*).

2. At *Cilgerran*.

TRENEGUSSI FILI  
MACUTRENI IC IACIT

Accompanied by Ogham characters, and a rude incised cross (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, I. 9*).

Numerous inscribed stones also exist (besides those of heathen and præ-Christian date), agreeing in character, form of letters, grammar, and nature of inscription, with these, and possibly Christian, but without distinctive marks to prove them so. More than thirty of this kind will be found described in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, scattered throughout every part of Wales, but more numerous in South than in North Wales, and most numerous in Brecknockshire and Glamorganshire.\*

\* Other Christian remains exist, of post-Roman but præ-Saxon date, and before Irish influence prevailed: e.g. 1. a small metal cross, apparently Roman, found at Rhagatt near Corwen in 1801 (*Arch. Camb., Old Series, III. 97*): 2. a cruciform mound near Margam in Glamorganshire (*Ib., New Series, III. 316*): 3. nume-

rous small crosses upon a cromlech at Llanhamlech in Brecknockshire (*Ib., IV. 331*): 4. a slab with a Greek cross incised at Nevern in Pembrokeshire (*Ib., 3rd Series, VI. 57*): 5. an incised cross at Llanspyddyd, Brecknockshire, called Brychan's stone (*Ib., IV. 164, VII. 207*). Not to add others of probably later date.

## APPENDIX G.

### LATIN VERSION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES IN USE IN THE SCOTO-BRITANNIC CHURCHES.

A. Readings of Latin Version of Scripture, peculiar to British or Irish writers<sup>a</sup>.

#### *Old Testament.—Genesis.*

*Immisit Dominus ventum super terram, et diminuta sunt aquæ, viii. 1.* [M. with LXX.]

*Aquæ enim ibant et revertebantur, viii. 5.* [M.]

*Nondum repleta sunt peccata Amorrhæorum usque adhuc, xv. 16.* [F. with LXX.]

*Clamor Sodomorum et Gomorrhæorum repletus est, et peccata eorum magna vehementer repleta sunt, xviii. 20.* [F.]

*Visitatione visitabit vos Deus, et efferte ossa mea hinc vobiscum, l. 24.* [M., but I caret.]

<sup>a</sup> The passages of Scripture here collected are taken from British or Scottish [Irish] writers, according to the list given below; and comprize all quotations made by them which agree neither with any other of the known ante-Hieronymian versions (unless with those found in British or Irish MSS.) nor with the *Vulgate*, and which therefore go to establish a presumption that a special variety of the former existed peculiar to the British Isles. The Italics mark the peculiar readings.

1. FASTIDIUS, early in the 5th century, c. A.D. 420, known as a writer to Gennadius of Marseilles c. A.D. 495 (*De Scriptt. Eccl.* 56).—*De Vita Christiana* (in *App. ad S. Aug. Opp.* VI. 183 sq.). [F.]

2. S. PATRICK, latter half of 5th century, *Confessio*, and *Epist. ad Coroticum* (ed. O'Connor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* I. cvii.—cxc.). [P.]

3. GILDAS, latter half of 6th century, *Hist.* (in *M. H. B.* 3-16), *Epist. I.* (above, pp. 44-107), *Epist. II.* fragm. (above, pp. 108-113). [G.]

4. COLUMBANUS, Abbot of Luxeuil, and afterwards of Bobbio, A.D. 590-615, *Regula*, *Pœnitentiale*, *Sermonea*, *Epistolæ* (ed. Fleming, ap. *Galland. Bibl. Vett. PP.* XII. 321 sq.). [COL.]

5. CUMMIANUS, A.D. 634, *Ad Segtenum Huensem Abbatem de Controversia Paschali* (in

*Usher, Vett. Epist. Hib. Syll., Works*, IV. 432 sq.). [CUM.]

6. ADAMNANUS, Abbat of Hy A.D. 679-703, *Vita S. Columbae* (ed. Reeves, *Dubl.* 1857). [AD.]

7. ANON., *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, lib. III., written in Ireland after A.D. 660 (in *App. ad S. Aug. Opp.* III. 1 sq.). [M.]

8. COD. CAN. HIBERN., compiled in the beginning of the 8th century. See above, pp. 108, note \*, and 126. [CAN.]

9. NENNIUS (so called), middle of 9th century, *Hist. Brit.* (in *M. H. B.* 65). [N.]

10. ASSER, of S. David's, Bishop of Sherborne from shortly before A.D. 900 to A.D. 909, *De Rebus Gestis Alfredi Magni* (in *M. H. B.* 467-498). [AS.]

Bachiarius is omitted from this first list because his British nationality is exceedingly doubtful: and Sedulius Scotus, i. e. the author of the *Collectanea in Epistolas S. Pauli*, because he is so far separated not by date only (c. A.D. 818) but possibly by locality also from the British (early) Church and Isles as at least to throw doubt upon the value of his evidence to the question here handled. Bachiarius uses the *Old Latin*, but intermixed with the *Vulgate*, especially in the N. T. Sedulius uses the *Vulgate*, but intermixed with *Old Latin* readings.

*Exodus.*

*Tolle calceamenta*, iii. 5. [CAN. bis: once, *calceamentum*.]

Et erit cum dicent vobis filii vestri, Quæ est *deservitio hæc?* et dicetis, Immolatio est, *hoc Pascha Domini est*, xii. 26, 27. [CUM. *fere* = LXX. —*sim.* Aug.]

Advenam non *vexabitis* nec *tribulabitis eum*: *fuistis etenim* et vos advenæ in terra Ægypti. Viduam et orphanos non vexabitis. Quod si vexaveritis eos, et vociferantes *clamaverint* ad Me, exaudiam *vociferationem* eorum, et *irascar animo*, et perimam vos gladio, et erunt conjuges vestræ viduæ et filii vestri orphani, xxii. 21-24. [F.—stands for I. in Sabatier: *fere* = LXX. and Cypr.]

*Deuteronomy.*

*Ecce verbum quod tibi do: neque adjicias ad illud, neque auferas ab eo*, iv. 2. [COL. but I caret.]

Quis dabit eis tale cor ut *audiant* Me et custodiant *præcepta* Mea, et bene sit eis *omnibus diebus vitæ suæ*, v. 29. [G. above, p. 55.]

Deus magnus Qui non accipit personam, *sed* nec *accipit* munera, faciens judicium *proselyto, orphano*, et viduæ; *dare panem ei vestimentum dilige*; quia et ipse *fuisti* in terra Ægypti, x. 17-19. [F.—stands for I. in Sabatier.]

Si *diversitas oborta fuerit* inter causam et causam, et *variaverit* judicium inter lepram et non lepram [with several MSS. of V.], *irent* ad locum quem elegit Dominus, xvii. 8. [CUM.]

Si *autem messus fueris messem* in agro tuo et *oblivisceris manuum*, non reverteris *accipere illam: proselyto et orphano et viduæ erit*, ut benedicat te Deus in operibus manuum tuarum, xxiv. 19. [F.—stands for I. in Sabatier: = LXX. xxiv. 21.]

*1 Samuel.*

Si *poposci ab aliquo illorum vel pretium calceamenti mei, dicite*: dicite adversus me et reddam vobis, xii. 3. [P.—*sim.* LXX.: last clause = Vet. Interp. S. Irenæi].

Pœnitet Me *ordinasse* Saul, xv. 11. [CAN.]

*2 Samuel.*

Ozias *sublevans arcam bove cadente moritur*, vi. 6, 7. [CAN.]

*1 Kings.*

xvi. 2-4. [G. above, p. 58, from LXX.—stands for I. in Sabatier.]

*2 Chronicles.*

xv. 2, xix. 2, xxi. 12-14, 15, xxiv. 20. [G. above, p. 59, from LXX.]

*Iram animationis suæ*, xxix. 10. [P.—*sim.* LXX. But I caret.]

*Job.*

*Inscrutabilia*, ix. 10. [M. = LXX.]

Divitiæ quas *congregabit injustus* evomentur de ventre *ejus*: *trahit illum* angelus *mortis*. *Ira draconum multabitur*, interficiet illum lingua colubri, xx. 15, 16. [P. part. *sim.* LXX. and MS. Maj. Mon.]

xxi. 7-13, 16-20, xxiv. 2-4, 6, 7, 14, 18-20, 22-24, xxvii. 14, 16, 17. [G. above, pp. 69, 70, from LXX.]

*Psalms.*

*Beatus sis sperans* in Eum, ii. 12. [G. above, p. 50. = Hieron. from Hebr.]

*Devorante plebem Domini ut cibum panis*, xiv. [xiii. V.] 4. [P. = Hieron. from Hebr.]

*Odivi* [*al. perosus sum*] congregationem *malignorum* [*al. consilium malignantium*] et cum impiis non sedebo, xxvi. [xxv. V.] 5. [G. twice, above, pp. 77, 101.]

*Ne simul tradas me cum peccatoribus* [= Hieron. from Hebr.], xxvi. [xxv. V.] 9. [CAN.]

*Esto mihi in Deum protectorem, et in locum munitum* [so also in Psalt. Moz.—*domum munitam*, Hieron. from Hebr.], ut salvum me facias, xxxi. [xxx. V.] 3. [CUM. and CAN.]

*Noli detrudere ne eradiceris*, xxxvii. [xxxvi. V.] 8, 9. [COL.]

*Sperni*, li. 17 [l. 19. V.] [G. above, p. 51, and AD., but their quotations otherwise differ, G. following the Vulg.]

*Suscitans de pulvere egenum* et de stercore erigens pauperem, cxiii. [cxii. V.] 7. [N. = Hebr.]

*Proverbs.*

*Stabit in portis sapientiæ*, i. 21. [COL.]

*Totam*, vi. 31. [CAN. But I caret.]

*Omnis sapiens gratias agit arguenti se*, ix. 8. [CAN.]

*Filius sapiens gloria patris est*, x. 1. and xv. 20. [P. But I caret.]

*Non proderunt divitiæ in die iræ*; *justitia a morte liberat*, xi. 4. [G. above, p. 56: but I caret: not in LXX. MS. Vatic.: = Hebr.]

*Quanto tempore innocentes custodierint justitiam, non confundentur*, xiii. 6. [F.—but I caret: not in LXX. MS. Vatic.]

*Corde latante vultus floret*, xv. 13. [AD. = LXX., but I caret.]

*Flagellatur stultus et non sentit*, xvii. 10. [G. Hist. = LXX. But I caret.]

*Meliora sunt vulnera amici quam fraudulenta oscula inimici*, xxvii. 6. [COL., part. = V., part. = Ambr.]

*Ferrum ferro acuitur: sapiens a sapiente ædificatur*, xxvii. 17. [CAN. But I caret.]

*Rex justus suscitatur regionem*, xxix. 4. [G. above, p. 54, but I caret.]

*Rege audiente verbum iniquum, omnes qui sub illo sunt, scelesti sunt*, xxix. 12. [G. above, p. 54, but I caret: = LXX.]

Servus durus non emendatur verbis, xxix. 19. [G. Hist. = LXX. and *fere* Aug.]

*Isaiah.*

Filii *sine lege*, dereliquistis Dominum, *et ad iram provocasti* Sanctum Israel. *Quid adhuc percunctemini* [al. percutiemini] *apponentes iniquitatem* ? i. 4, 5. [G. Hist., = LXX. : continuing the quotation from Vulg. in vv. 5, 6.]

*Demolitis*, iii. 15. [CAN., otherwise = V.]

*Cælum enim quatietur*, et terra movebitur a fundamentis *suis*, propter *furorem* iræ Domini *Sabaoth*, in die qua supervenerit furor Ejus, xiii. 13. [COL. = LXX.]

In xxii. 13, *manducare, manducemus* [with Ambros.] for comedere, comedamus : rel. = V. [G. Hist., and so also in Isai. i. 19, above, p. 60.]

*Et qui occidis, nonne et ipse occideris ? et cum desiveris prædari, tunc cades*, xxxiii. 1. [G. above, p. 53 : last clause = Hebr.]

Posui te *lumen in gentibus*, ut sis in salutem usque ad extremum terræ, xlix. 6. [P.]

Solve conligationes *deprimentis* ; omnem *nodum injustitiæ* [= S. Cypr.] *disrumpe*, lviii. 6. [CAN. ; rel. = V.]

Ad quem autem respiciam, *aut cum quo requiescam*, nisi super humilem et quietum et trementem sermones Meos, lxvi. 2. [COL. = LXX., *sim.* Hil., Hieron., Aug., Ambr., Greg. M.—G. quotes the verse from V.]

*Jeremiah.*

Novate vobis novalia, et nolite seminare super spinas, iv. 3. [COL.]

Mors *intravit* per fenestras, ix. 21. [G. above, p. 109 ; quoted from him in CAN. = Hieron., Ambros.—“introivit,” *Paulinus, Epist.* xlv.]

*Sine filiis factus sum : perdidit* populum Meum *propter peccata eorum*, x. 20. and xv. 7. [F.—possibly a paraphrase.]

Ego *sum* Deus *proximans* [= Fulgent.] et non Deus de longe. *Nonne* cælum et terram Ego impleo, dicit Dominus, xxiii. 23, 24. [COL. = LXX. ; last clause = Cypr.]

*Ezekiel.*

vii. 23–26. [G. above, pp. 71, 92, from LXX. And so throughout Ezekiel.]

ix. 9, 10. [G. above, p. 71.]

xiii. 8–10, 18, 19. [G. above, pp. 92, 93 : but, *Mortificabant* animas quæ non moriuntur, et vivificabant animas quæ non vivunt, xiii. 19. CUM. and CAN., *sim.* V.]

xiv. 12–16. [G. above, p. 71.]

xviii. 20–24. [G. above, p. 71 : *fere* = F. = Julian. ap. S. Aug.—For xviii. 32, see under xxxiii. 11.]

xxii. 24–26, 30, 31. [G. above, p. 93.]

xxxiii. 1–9. [G. above, pp. 93, 94 ; and vv. 6, 8, p. 111.]

Nolo mortem *peccatorum* [al. morientium] sed ut convertantur et vivant....



*Iniquitas iniqui* [= LXX. MS. Alex.] non nocebit *eum*, in quacumque die *averterit se a sua iniquitate*, xxxiii. 11, 12. [F.—11. is confused with xviii. 32, and 12. stands for I. in Sabatier.—Nolo *peccatoris* mortem sed ut convertatur et vivat. G. above, pp. 50, 107; and CAN. and *Bachiarius*.] xxxix. 23, 24. [G. above, p. 71.]

*Hosea.*

v. 1, 2. [G. above, p. 88; from LXX.]  
viii. 1-4. [G. above, pp. 67, and (v. 4) 106; varies from both LXX. and Hebr.—v. 4, = LXX. p. 67, but = Hebr. p. 106.—vv. 3, 4, are almost identical with Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32 (see below, p. 190, note b)].

*Joel.*

i. 5, 9-12; ii. 17. [G. above, p. 88; from LXX.]

*Amos.*

ii. 4-7. [G. above, p. 67; from LXX.]  
v. 6, 10, 21-23. [G. above, pp. 67, 88; from LXX.]  
vii. 14-17. [G. above, p. 67; from LXX.]  
viii. 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12. [G. above, pp. 68, 89; from LXX.: *ferē* = Cypr.—In 10, *Dies festos vertam* in luctum, Hen. Hunt., c. A.D. 1135; *ferē* = G.]  
ix. 10. [G. above, p. 68; from LXX.]

*Micah.*

iii. 1-12. [G. above, p. 89, and v. 8 also p. 55; from LXX.—1, 2, *sim.* Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32.]  
vi. 9-12. [G. above, p. 68; from LXX.]  
vii. 1-3. [G. above, p. 90: v. 2 corresponds with neither Hebr. nor LXX.]

*Habakkuk.*

i. 2-4. [G. above, p. 67; from LXX.]  
*Væ qui replent se quæ non sunt sua*, ii. 6. [P. *ferē* = LXX.]  
ii. 12, 13. [G. above, pp. 66, 67; from LXX.]  
*Præcidit in stupore mentis, capita potentium movebuntur, nec ad adaperientes maxillas suas, quasi pauper edens in absconso*, iii. 14, 15. [COL.—but *ferē* = LXX., and *sim.* MS. S. Germ., Hieron., Aug., Psalt. Moz., al.]

*Zephaniah.*

i. 14-18, ii. 1, 2. [G. above, p. 68; from LXX.—14-16, nearly identical with Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32.]  
iii. 1-5. [G. above, p. 90; from LXX.]

*Haggai.*

ii. 7, 22. [G. above, pp. 68, 69: *feret* = LXX.—7, *sim.* Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32.]

*Zechariah.*

i. 3, 4. [G. above, p. 69; from LXX.—4, *sim.* Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32.]

Qui vos *tangit*, *quasi* tangit pupillam oculi Mei, ii. 8. [P. = LXX. and *feret* = Ambr., but “Mei” = Tertull. and V.—Quoniam qui *t.* v., *quasi* qui *t.* p. o. *Ipsius*, Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32.]

v. 2-4. [G. above, p. 69; from LXX.]

vii. 9-12, x. 2, 3. [G. above, p. 90; from LXX.]

xi. 3-6. [G. above, p. 91; from LXX. with a clause omitted.]

*Malachi.*

i. 6-9. [G. above, p. 91; from LXX.]

Labia sacerdotis custodiunt *sapientiam*, et legem *exquirunt* [= Ambr.] ex ore ejus, ii. 7. [CAN.—Custodiunt ... exquirent, Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32.]

*Nonne* unum Deum habetis? *Quid dereliquistis* [= LXX.] unusquisque *proximum* suum? ii. 10. [P.—quoted by G. from V.]

Ecce venit Dominus omnipotens: et quis sustinebit diem adventus Ejus? aut quis *supportabit conspectum Ejus*? Quia Ipse ingreditur *ut* ignis conflatorii, iii. 1, 2. [COL. = LXX. *sim.* Hieron. In 2, Ipse enim *egredietur* quasi ignis *ardens*, et quasi *poa* lavantium, G. (above, p. 92) quoting the context from V.]

iv. 1. [COL. = Hieron. exc. “exuret” for “comburet,” and “germen” with V. instead of “ramus.” G. (above, p. 69) quotes the verse from V.]

*Apocrypha<sup>b</sup>.—Ecclesiasticus.*

*Per linguam dignoscitur et sensus et scientia et doctrina varietatis*, iv. 29 (24 LXX.) [P. = neither LXX. nor V.—forsan leg. *veritatis*.]

*New Testament.—S. Matthew.*

*Facies* [Cod. Amiat., C. C. C. Oxf. 122, Rushw. Gosp., MS. Clarom.]... *perceperunt* [C. C. C. Oxf. 122, MS. Colb., Cod. Bez.] ..... *absconso* [bis, C. C. C. Oxf. 122, Rushw. Gosp., MS. S. Gat., S. Germ. 1], vi. 2, 4.

*Ita* et vos facite illis *similiter*, vii. 12. [F.—*ita* with Rushw. Gosp., C. C. C. Oxf. 122, Aug., *similiter* with Hieron.—*ita* et vos facite *eis*, Bk. of S. Chad, C. C. C. Oxf. 122 (and, except *eis*, α., γ., ι., λ., Aug.)—α. has also *omnia bona*; and Δ., *bona, et ita* et vos facite.]

Sic omnis arbor bona *bonos fructus* facit, *et mala malos*, vii. 17. [G. above, p. 96; *bonos fructus* with Rushw. Gosp., Δ., and MSS. S. Germ. 1, Vercell,

<sup>b</sup> Gildas and Fastidius follow the *Old Latin* retained in the *Vulgate*, in their quotations from the Apocrypha (of which both quote Wisdom and Eccus., and the former also 2 Esdras [4 Esdr. in

V.]). But Gildas uses a form of that version corrected occasionally from the Greek.

<sup>c</sup> For the additional references, α., β., γ., &c., see below, p. 190, note 1.

and Veron.—*fructum bonum*,  $\theta$ ,  $\iota$ —C. C. C. Oxf. 122 omits the last clause altogether.]

Nunquam vos cognovi [= Aug. and Cypr.]; discedite a Me omnes [=  $\theta$ ,  $\iota$ , Hil., al.—*discedite omnes*, a.] qui operamini iniquitatem, vii. 23. [F.—*Non novi vos*. COL., and G. above, pp. 46, 106, and MSS. Vercell. and Colb.—*operarii iniquitatis*, G. *ib.* with MSS. Colb., Vercell., or from Luke xiii. 27.]

Sed timete, x. 28. [G. above, p. 96, omitting *potius*. *Et corpus et animam* in MS. B. of Gildas, with C. C. C. Oxf. 122, Iren., Tertull., etc.—*corpus et animam*, Rushw. Gosp., Bk. of S. Chad,  $\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\zeta$ , and MS. S. Germ. 2.]

Inferni, xvi. 18. [G. above, p. 106, with Bk. of S. Chad, Rushw. and Hereford Gospels, C. C. C. Oxf. 122,  $\zeta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\iota$ , MSS. Corb. 2, S. Germ. 2, Vercell., and 2 MSS. of V. *Deest* in  $\gamma$ .]

*Redde eis pro Me et te*, xvii. 26. [CAN.]

Si vis vitam habere, serva mandata, xix. 17. [F.]

Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex [= Cod. Amiat.] tota anima tua et ex tota mente tua et ex totis viribus tuis: ... et ... diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum. In his duobus mandatis tota lex pendet et prophetæ, xxii. 37, 39, 40. [F., but mixed up with Mark xii. 30, Luke x. 27.—*ex t. v. t.* = MS. S. Gat. (an Irish MS.); and in Luxeuil Lectionary, ex t. c. t. et in t. m. t., tota anima tua. Rushw. Gosp. have in t. corde t. (Bk. of S. Chad, Heref. Gosp.,  $\gamma$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\iota$ , have in throughout), and tota lex. In  $\lambda$ , tota et universa. In Cod. Bez., totum verbum.]

Secundum vero opera, xxiii. 3. [G. above, p. 97, with Rushw. and Hereford Gosp.— $\theta$ . om. vero.]—et ipsi non faciunt, ib. [G. *ib.* with Rushw. and Hereford Gosp., C. C. C. Oxf. 122,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . (*ipsi et non*), MS. Colb.]

Vos autem, xxiii. 13. [G. above, p. 97, with Rushw. and Hereford Gosp., Bk. of S. Chad,  $\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\iota$ , MSS. Corb. 1, Cod. Bez.; and qui for quia with  $\alpha$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\lambda$ , MS. Vallicell. of V., Hil., al.]

Veniet ergo, xxiv. 50. [G. *ib.*—autem,  $\kappa$  and MS. Colb.]

Non novi vos, xxv. 12. [G. above, p. 46, but possibly confused with vii. 23.]

Discedite a Me maledicti in ignem æternum quem præparavit Pater Meus diabolo et angelis ejus, xxv. 41. [M., and in one place F., with MS. Corb. 2, Rushw. Gosp.,  $\alpha$ .—*quem paravit*,  $\beta$  with MS. Colb. etc.—*quod præparavit*, Cod. Bez. In another place F. has—Et dicet eis Rex qui a sinistris sunt, Discedite a Me maledicti in gehennam æternam quam paravit Pater Meus diabolo et angelis ejus.]

Hospes fui et non suscepistis [with  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\epsilon$ , MS. Clarom.] Me; nudus, et non vestistis Me; infirmus, et non visitastis Me; in carcere, et non venistis [with  $\epsilon$ , MS. S. Gat. etc.] ad Me, xxv. 43. [F., mixed up however with v. 36 in the last clauses.—Hospes eram [with V., MS. Colb. etc., but] nudus fui ... carcere fui, with  $\epsilon$ ,  $\kappa$ , and C. C. C. Oxf. 122.]

Ero vobiscum, xxviii. 20. [CAN.]

*S. Mark.*

Qui *autem* non crediderit, xvi. 16. [G. above, p. 46, with Cod. Bez.]

*S. Luke.*

Quod *autem* altum est hominibus, abominatio est *in conspectu* [= Cod. Bez.] *Domini*, xvi. 15. [COL.—*coram* Deo, a., β.—*apud*, in marg. γ., and Heref. Gosp., θ., ι., κ.]

*S. John<sup>d</sup>.*

Ne *quid* [with β.] tibi deterius *eveniat*, v. 14. [F.]

Per *januam* [COL., Heref. Gosp., β., δ., λ., MS. Colb. etc.] in *aula* .. *per aliam partem*, x. 1. [β.]

Sed ut Filius *Homini*s per eam *clarificetur*, xi. 4. [M.—*sim.* MS. Colb.]

*Acts.*

Petrus *surgens* in medio *discipulorum*, i. 15. [G. above, p. 104, from British Ordinal, with MS. Laud.]

Hic *itaque acquisivit* agrum de mercede iniquitatis, i. 18. [G. ib. *ferē* = MS. Laud.]

*Quare* convenit vobis tentare Spiritum *Dei*? v. 9. [G. above, p. 47.]

Et sublatus *reperitus* est mortuus, xx. 9. [M.: and in 10, *ejus* for *ipsius* with Cod. Bez.]

Mundus ego sum *ab omnium sanguine*, xx. 26. [G. above, p. 107.]

*Mysterium* [in one MS. *ministerium*] *Dei*, xx. 27. [G. ib.]

*Romans.*

*Occaecatum* est, i. 21. [G. above, p. 97, and Sedul. Scot.]

Non *existimaverunt* non habere, i. 28. [γ.]

*Faciant quæ*, i. 28. [om. *ea*. G. above, p. 98, with γ. And, in notitiam, MS. B. of G., also with γ.]

*Inobedientes, insensatos, incompressos, sine misericordia, sine affectione*, i. 30, 31. [G. ib. with ν.—γ. also omits *absque fœdere*.]

*Væ homini per quem* nomen *Domini* blasphematur, ii. 24. [P. = Max. Taurin., but probably mixing up the verse with Matt. xviii. 7.]

*1 Corinthians.*

iii. 10–14. [G. above, p. 99. In iii. 12 *supra*, and in 13 *quoniam* in igne, MS. B. of G. with γ. But γ (otherwise = V.) has in 13, *Qui fecerit hoc opus manifestus erit* ..... *manifestabit eum, quoniam* etc.]

*Apud* vos, iii. 18. [G. ib.—γ. has, nemo vos ... ut sit s. *apud Deum*.]

Ut *anima salva* sit, v. 5. [CAN.: rel. = V. = I.]

*Ne commisceri* si *quis* nominatur frater *et* est fornicator ... cum *hujusmodi*

<sup>d</sup> The Book of Kells (η) contains in S. John iii. 6, the well-known addition—*quia Deus Spiritus est et ex (or de) Deo natus est* (*Westwood, Palæogr. Sacr.*);—being Tertullian's gloss, which

crept into the text of some MSS., and was then supposed (as e. g. by S. Ambrose) to have been struck out by the Arians from the others (see *Sabatier* &c.)

nec cibum *quidem* sumere, v. 11. [G. above, pp. 100, 112: =  $\gamma$ ,  $\nu$ . (exc. that they have, commisceri *vos* si q. f. n. et—in  $\nu$ , aut); = also Pacian in part.—F. has, Si *quis* frater *cognominatur inter vos* fornicator, rel. = V.]

*Prædicant*, ix. 14. [CAN.: rel. = V. = I.]

*Operam vestram non necesse habemus*, xii. 21. [G. above, p. 111: quoted by CAN. from V. with trifling variations.]

Si *dolet* unum membrum, *condoleant* omnia membra, xii. 26. [P.]

#### 2 Corinthians.

Si *sanum sapimus* [= Ambrosiast.], vobis *sapimus*; si mente excidimus [=  $\nu$ . one rendering], Deo, v. 13. [CUM.]

Non est magnum *igitur* si m. e. t. *ut angeli* justitiæ; q. f. e. s. *opera eorum*, xi. 15. [G. above, p. 100.]

Non *vestra volo* sed vos, xii. 14. [CAN.]

#### Galatians.

Si *enim* invicem *invidetis*, et *invicem* mordetis, *invicem* detrahitis, videte ne ab invicem consumamini, v. 15. [COL.— $\gamma$ . has *incussatis* for *comeditis*, but rel. = V.]

#### Ephesians.

De ore, iv. 29 [ $\gamma$ ,  $\nu$ .]: *auferatur* a vobis, iv. 31; et benigni *miserie*. Donantes *vos*, iv. 32. [ $\gamma$ .]

Estote *autem*, v. 1. [F. = Sedul. Scotus.]

*Impudicia* autem, v. 3. [F.]

Hoc enim *scitote* quod omnis *impudicus* [=  $\gamma$ . and S. Ambr.] aut ..... non *erit hæres* [= S. Ambr.] in regno Christi et Dei, v. 5. [F.]

Correctione, vi. 4. [CAN.]

#### Philippians.

Cupimus *unumquemque vestrum* in visceribus Christi *esse*, i. 8. [G. above, p. 73.]

Sed *per* humilitatem *spiritus alter alterum existimantes* superiorem sibi, ii. 3. [COL.—G. also has *existimantes omnes homines*, above, p. 111. *existimantes superiores*,  $\nu$ . And  $\gamma$ , in humilitate *mentis alterutrum existimantes majores quam semel ipsos*.]

Factus est et *in*, ii. 7. [ $\gamma$ .]

Ut omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus et Deus est Jesus Christus, ii. 11. [P.]

#### Colossians.

*Fratres*, nemo vos *seducat* ... in parte diei festi aut neomenia aut sabbato, ii. 16. [CUM., adding 17 from V.]

#### 1 Thessalonians.

ii. 5-8. [G. above, pp. 100, 101: probably however from V.]

## 1 Timothy.

*Fratres*, fidelis sermo est et o. a. d. Si quis e. cupit ..., i. 15, iii. 1. [G. above, p. 105, from British Ordinal.—*concupiscit*, v.]

*Decet hominem huiusmodi mansuetum esse, non elatum*, non superbum, iii. 2, and Titus i. 7. [CAN., but in another place *ferre* = V.]

*Domum suam bene regentem*, iii. 4 [with γ., v.]: and *adhibebit*, iii. 5. [G. above, p. 105, from British Ordinal.]

*Non vino multum deditos*, iii. 8. [G. ib. from same. *Ministerium* in iii. 9, which is the reading of MS. B. of Gildas, = Cod. Wirzib. (ap. Zeuss), and Sedul. Scotus.]

*Languescens*, vi. 4. [G. above, p. 102, = Sedul. Scotus.—*languescit*, first rendering of v. In vi. 5, *veritate alienorum*, γ.]

*Superbe* [= v.] *sapere* ... in *Deo Qui præstat tibi multa abunde*, vi. 17. [G. above, p. 52: rel. = V. In γ., *ne superbe faciant*, neque sperent ...]

## 2 Timothy.

*Contendit* in agone, ii. 5. [G. above, p. 102: rel. = V.]

iii. 1–5. [G. above, p. 109; quoted from him by CAN. In p. 101 the same vv. are quoted from V., and iii. 5 from Cod. Amiat. In both places however G. reads *inobedientes* [with v.], but the quotations otherwise wholly differ. γ. and v., adding *pactum non custodientes* to 2, have voluntatum (so also Cod. Wirzib. ap. Zeuss) in 4, and μ has *et erunt* in 2; but in all, rel. = V.]

*Titus* i. 7, v. 1 Tim. iii. 2.

## Hebrews.

*Legem quis transgrediens duobus mediis vel tribus testibus morietur: quanto putatis* ..., x. 28, 29. [G. above, p. 56: rel. = V.]

*Postea vero jucundum fructum placidumque mercedis fenus his qui per eam exercitati sunt*, reddit, xii. 11. [COL.]

## 1 Peter.

i. 3–5, 13. [G. above, pp. 102, 103 (from the British Ordinal): a variation of the text of V. In 13, γ. also adds *estote*, and has *revelatione* with Hieron.]

i. 14–16. [Id., p. 103, but with more marked differences from V.—In v. 16, *Sancti estote quia Ego sanctus sum*. COL. = G.: and both = Hieron. and Cod. Amiat. and V. of Lev. xi. 44. γ. has also *estote* (bis) in 15, 16.]

i. 22, 23, ii. 1–3. [G. ib. like the preceding.—ad obœdiendum, i. 22. add. γ. (rel. *ferre* = V.), and *et sine dolo*, ii. 2. γ.]

ii. 9. [G. above, p. 104, like the preceding.]

*Si justus quidem vix salvus sit, impius et peccator ubi parebit?* iv. 18. [G. above, p. 56. So also γ., but, *erit*, apparebit.—Si j. vix s. *erit*, p. et i. ubi parebunt (F.).—Ubi j. vix s. e., p. et impius transgressor legis ubi se recognoscit? (P.)—COL. is nearer to V., Si vix justus sic salvatur, p. et i. ubi parebit?]

## 1 John.

*Fratres*, scimus quoniam de morte ad vitam transivimus, quia diligimus fratres: qui enim non diligit, in morte est. Si quis autem odit, homicida est: scitis autem quia omnis homicida non habet vitam æternam in se [= Cod. Amiat., γ., and Aug.] manentem, iii. 14, 15. [COL.]

## Revelation.

Memor esto unde cecideris et priora opera tua fac et age penitentiam: alioquin veniam tibi et movebo candelabrum tuum de loco suo, ii. 5. [CAN. (*sim.* Bachiarius)—*fere* = Cypr.]

B. The usage of the writers above quoted with respect to (Latin) versions of Scripture is as follows:—

1. FASTIDIUS uses the *Vulgate* (omitting Apocrypha and Psalms, and passages common to both Vulgate and Old Latin) in four places, all in the N. T. (1 Tim. v. 9, 10, Heb. vi. 4–6, Jas. iv. 4, 2 Pet. ii. 20–22). Elsewhere, throughout the Bible, he uses a version of the *Old Latin*, in seventeen places (as above quoted) peculiar to himself (except that in Ezek. xviii. 21–23 and xxxiii. 11 he agrees with G., while in Matth. vii. 23 and 1 Cor. v. 11 he differs from him, and in Matth. xxv. 41 he agrees (once) with the *Auct. de Mirab. SS.*), and in sixteen found elsewhere: viz.

Gen. xiii. 13 = ( <i>fere</i> ) Ambr.	1 Tim. ii. 8 = Ambr.
Lev. xix. 2 = Ambr.	1 Tim. v. 5 = ( <i>fere</i> ) Ambrosiast.
Ps. xxxiii. 13–15 = MS. S. Germ.	Tit. i. 16 = MSS. S. Germ. et Clarom.
Prov. iii. 9 = LXX., Cassian.	Jas. iv. 4 = Aug.
Cantic. v. 16 = Ambr.	1 Pet. iv. 18 = Aug.
Isai. i. 15, 16 = Tertull.	2 Pet. iii. 9 = MS. Corb.
Jerem. iii. 22 = ( <i>fere</i> ) Hieron.	1 Joh. ii. 6 = Aug.
Matt. vii. 21 = (plurals) Ambr.	
Joh. xiv. 21 = Cassiod.	

2. S. PATRICK, about half a century later, apparently uses the *Vulgate* (in his present text) three times, all in the N. T. (Matth. xii. 30, *Congregat* [but also in MS. S. Germ. 2, &c.], Mark xvi. 15, 16, Rom. ix. 25, 26 from Hosea i. 10, ii. 24), possibly also in five other places, also in the N. T. (Matth. x. 20, a transposition of two words; Mark viii. 36, but mixed up with Matth. xvi. 26, where V. = I.; Acts ii. 17, 18 from Joel ii. 28, 29, but merely *somniabunt* for *somniabuntur*; Rom. viii. 26, 27, where also *Dom. advocatus Noster* is interpolated from 1 John ii. 1; and 2 Cor. iii. 3, *scripta* for *in-*

*scripta*); while in Jerem. xvi. 19 *extremis* (also in Hieron.), and in Zech. ii. 8 *Mai* (also in Tertull.), are also found in V. Omitting twenty-three quotations where V. = I., he uses commonly a form of the *Old Latin*, in fourteen places (as above) peculiar to himself, in nine traceable elsewhere: viz.—

Ps. v. 7 = MS. S. Germ.

Ps. l. 15 = MS. S. Germ., but *liberabo* (with Hieron. from Hebr.) for *eripiam*.

Ps. lv. 22 = Cassiod.

Ps. cxix. 126 = MS. S. Germ. and Cassiod.

Isai. xxxii. 4 = (*fere*) Hieron., but *velociter* = V.

Jerem. xvi. 19 = Hieron., exc. *compa-*

*raverunt* for *possederunt*, and *extremis* = V. and Hieron.

Mal. iv. 2 = (*fere*) Aug.

Matth. xii. 36 = Bk. of S. Chad, Cod. Bez., MS. S. Germ., and Cypr. Test. III.—*pro eo*.

Matth. xxviii. 19, 20 = C. C. C. Oxf. 122, Bk. of S. Chad, Rushw. and Herf. Gosp., γ., δ., ε., η., λ., and MSS. Gal. and Maj. Mon.—*observare*.

### 3. GILDAS, a century later still,—

#### a. Uses the *Vulgate*, with small variations of text, in the O. T. in—

*Isaiah* (102 verses from 21 different chapters).

*Jeremiah*, including *Lamentations* (111 verses from 20 different chapters).

*Malachi* (18 verses from all the 4 chapters).

But quotes also (in *Hist.*) Isai. i. 4, 5 (consecutively with 5, 6 from V.), and xxxiii. 1, from a form of the *Old Latin* peculiar to himself (varying also from V. in xxii. 12, 13), and xlvi. 23, lvii. 21 (p. 59, above), from one found in Aug. and Luc. Cal.; Jerem. ix. 21 (p. 109, above), from *Old Latin*; and Malachi i. 6–9 (consecutively with i. 13, 14 from V.) from a version peculiar to himself, and iii. 2 (also consecutively with iii. 1, 3 from V.) from one bearing some resemblance to that found in Columbanus.

In the N. T. in—

*S. Mark*<sup>d</sup>, x. 9, xvi. 16 (but *autem* for *vero*).

*S. Luke*, xv. 22, 23, xxiii. 29.

*S. John*<sup>d</sup>, v. 30.

*Acts*, i. 16, iv. 32, v. 29, 40, 41, viii. 18, 20 (but Acts i. 15, 18 from British Ordinal, and v. 9, and xx. 26, 27 [*fere* = V.], are from a version peculiar to himself, as above specified).

#### β. Uses a version *principally the Vulgate* (although with variations from

<sup>d</sup> The apparent exception of (possibly) Mark vii. 27 is due to Matth. xv. 26, and that of Mark ix. 44, 46 to Isai. lxvi. 24, where G. = V.

And in S. John v. 30, *quicquam* is in Cod. Amiat. of V. and in θ., ι., κ., λ., &c.



present text, often = that of Cod. Amiat.), but largely intermixed with a form (usually traceable elsewhere) of the *Old Latin*, in the O. T. in—

*The Pentateuch.*—Exod. xxxii. 31, 32 (but *grande* with Cypr.), xxxiv. 29, 30, 35 (but merely *cornuta*, and I caret), Deut. xxxii. 28–30, 39, from V. But Gen. v. 24, part = V. part = Hieron. from LXX.; Deut. v. 29, in a form tallying neither with Hebr., LXX., nor V., but quoted consecutively with xxxii. 28–30 from V.; and xxix. 18 (in *Hist.*) not from V. unless as a paraphrase.

<i>Hist. Books of O. T.— Josh. to 1 Kings inclusive.</i>	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Judges v. 25, vii. 16, xi. 34, xvi. 24, 25.} \\ \text{1 Sam. ii. 13, 30 (once), vii. 9, xii. 2–4} \\ \text{(Cod. Amiat.), xiii. 13, 14, xv. 20, 22, 23,} \\ \text{28, 29 (Cod. Amiat.): 2 Sam. xxiv. 12,} \\ \text{17.} \\ \text{1 Kings xi. 6, 11 (Cod. Amiat.), xiii. 21,} \\ \text{22, xxi. 19 (Cod. Amiat.), xxii. 22, 23.} \end{array} \right\}$	$= V.$

But *Judg.* xi. 34, “*unica*” with S. Aug.

1 *Sam.* ii. 27–34, from LXX. (27, 28 = Hieron., 29–34 = Luc. Cal.).

1 *Kings* xiii. 23, 24 = Luc. Cal., and quoted consecutively with 21, 22 V.; xvi. 2–4, peculiar to Gildas (I caret), xix. 10 = S. Aug.

*Psalms*, in 13 passages (two in *Hist.*, 18 verses) from V., but among them ii. 12 last clause peculiar to G., in li. 17 *spernit* with S. Aug., and xcvi. 10 = also Luc. Cal.

But xxvi. 5 = MS. S. Germ. (but twice quoted and once *sim.* V.), lxxix. 1 (in *Hist.*) = MS. S. Germ., and cvii. 40 (also in *Hist.*) = MS. Corb. and Cassiod.

In the N. T. in—

*S. Matthew*, 34 verses from 12 different chapters (including 21 where V. = L.) = V. (but among them, in v. 15 *supra* in MS. B. of Gildas = Rushw. and Heref. Gospels, Bk. of S. Chad, C. C. C. Oxf. 122, a, β, θ, ι, λ, Cod. Bez.,—in x. 16 G. omits *ergo*,—x. 28 = V., but not Cod. Amiat., and also = MS. Brix.,—xxiv. 20, 48, 49 = Cod. Amiat., and the last two verses also = MS. Colb.) But in 31 verses (including the ten given already on pp. 175, 176) a form of *Old Latin*, viz.—

v. 13, *projiciatur* (with MSS. S. Gat., Clarom., Cod. Bez., Hieron., Cypr.)

v. 16, *magnificent* (with 3 MSS. of L, MSS. Vercell., Veron., Rushw. Gosp., β, δ, Hil., Ambrosiast.).

v. 19, *Qui enim* (with MS. Colb., Bk. of S. Chad, C. C. C. Oxf. 122).

vii. 2, *judicabitur de vobis* (with CUM., CAN., a, Δ., MSS. S. Germ. 1. and Colb., and C. C. C. Oxf. 122).

- vii. 3, *consideras* (with MS. Vercell.)
  - vii. 4, *in oculo tuo est* (with MS. Colb., Rushw. Gosp.).
  - vii. 6, *miseritis* (with MSS. Colb., Vercell., Veron.)
  - vii. 15-17 = Luc. Cal. (15. in *vestitu*, with MS. Colb.—attendite *vobis*, with MSS. Colb., Clarom., Veron., Rushw. Gosp., Bk. of S. Chad,  $\epsilon$ : and *a fructibus*, with MSS. Vercell., Veron., and Rushw. and Heref. Gosp., as well as V.).
  - vii. 21 = MSS. Corb., S. Germ. 2, Veron., S. Gat., as well as V.
  - vii. 27, *impegerunt* (with MSS. Colb., Brix.), *ejus* (with Cod. Amiat., MS. Colb., Rushw. and Heref. Gosp., Bk. of S. Chad, C. C. C. Oxf. 122,  $\gamma$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\lambda$ ).
  - x. 6 (or xv. 24), *Non veni nisi ad oves perditas domus Israel* (with MS. Colb., Cod. Bez., and Ambr.).
  - xi. 28, *requiescere faciam* (with MS. S. Germ. 2, and S. Cypr.).
  - xv. 14, *Cæci sunt duces* (om. *et*) = Cod. Amiat., MSS. Colb., Vercell., Rushw. and Heref. Gosp., Bk. of S. Chad, C. C. C. Oxf. 122,  $\alpha$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\lambda$ , Cod. Bez.; but in  $\gamma$ . *desunt*.—cadent with Bk. of S. Chad,  $\lambda$ , MS. S. Germ. 1, and S. Cypr.
  - xv. 26, *tollere* (with S. Aug.—also in MS. Colb. of S. Mark vii. 27).
  - xvi. 19, *quæcunque* (bis), *erunt soluta, erunt ligata* (the first with Bk. of S. Chad and C. C. C. Oxf. 122, and both with MSS. Veron., Brix., Colb., Rushw. Gosp.,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ . (exc. that  $\beta$ . has *quicunque*); but in xviii. 18, not only V. but MS. Colb. and Rushw. Gosp. and C. C. C. Oxf. 122 have both plurals).
  - xviii. 17, *sicut gentilis* (above, p. 111, with Rushw. Gosp. and MS. S. Gat.)
  - xxiv. 20, *Fuga vestra hyeme* (om. *in*, with most MSS. of I., Cod. Amiat., Heref. Gosp., Bk. of S. Chad,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\theta$ .—*tua hyeme*,  $\lambda$ ).
  - xxiv. 45, *cibaria* (with MS. Corb. 1, Cod. Bez. etc.).
  - xxiv. 49, *incæperit* (pecul. to G.—*incipiet*,  $\beta$ . with MS. Colb. etc.), but *ebrius* (with Cod. Amiat., MSS. Colb., S. Gat., Maj. Mon., Rushw. and Heref. Gosp., Bk. of S. Chad, C. C. C. Oxf. 122,  $\gamma$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ ).
- S. Paul's Epistles, viz.—*
- Romans*, 20 verses (including 6 where there is no difference) = V.  
 (But i. 25, 26 is not Cod. Amiat.; and i. 28 om. *ea*, and vi. 2 has *ilerum*, both with  $\gamma$ ). But 13 (including two already specified above) = *Old Latin*, viz.
- i. 21, *magnificaverunt* (with  $\gamma$ , MS. Reg., and Sedul. Scot.).
  - i. 22, om. *enim* (with the Greek).
  - i. 29, *impudicitia* (add. with  $\gamma$ . and Luc. Cal.).
  - ii. 5, 6, *Tu autem ... cor impœnitens* (with  $\gamma$ , Luc. Cal., and S. Cypr.),  
*opera sua* (with  $\gamma$ ,  $\nu$ , S. Cypr., Sedul. Scotus, etc.).

ii. 11-13 = Cod. Amiat. and MS. Reg.

viii. 35, *an persecutio* transposed (with Cod. Amiat.,  $\gamma$ ,  $\nu$ , Aug., and Luc. Cal.).

xiii. 12, *induamus* (with MS. Reg.,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ , and S. Cypr.).

xiii. 14, *induite ..... concupiscentiis* (with  $\gamma$ ,  $\nu$ , MS. Reg., and Ambrosiast., and the first with Sedul. Scot.).

1 *Corinthians*, 13 verses (including 8 where there is no difference) = V. (exc. expurgate *igitur*, in v. 7 with  $\gamma$ , and *exire* in v. 10 with  $\gamma$ ,  $\nu$ , and S. Aug.), but 8 verses (as above specified) in a form of *Old Latin* peculiar to Gildas. Also in v. 6, *Non bona* (om. *est*), with Cod. Amiat., and  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ .

2 *Corinthians*, 6 verses = V, but 3 = *Old Latin*, viz. iv. 1 *deficiamus* (with  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ , and Ambrosiast.—*difficiamus*,  $\gamma$ ), and iv. 2 *abjiciamus* (with  $\nu$ , and S. Aug.), and in xi. 15 a peculiar reading as above.

*Ephesians*, 6 verses nearly = V., but among them, in iv. 18 a *via* (with S. Aug.), in iv. 19 *omnis immund. et avaritiæ* (with  $\gamma$ ,  $\nu$ . [but  $\gamma$ . om. *omnis*], MSS. S. Germ. and Reg., and Sedul. Scotus), and v. 18 *replemini* (with Gaud. Brix.).

*Philippians*, only 2 verses quoted, both of them in a peculiar version (see above), but one, ii. 3, = COL.

*Colossians*, 3 verses = V., but in one of them, iii. 6, *in filios diffidentiae* ( $\nu$ , and the last word also with MSS. S. Germ. and Reg.)

1 *Thessalonians*, ii. 5-8, iv. 2-8, eleven verses from V., but in ii. 6 *gloriari* for *gloriam*, and in ii. 7 *possimus honori* (with  $\gamma$ . and one rendering of  $\nu$ ), for *possemus vobis oneri*, which may however be mistakes in the MS., and in ii. 5 *apud vos* (add. with S. Aug.).

1 *Timothy*, 12 verses (iii. 1-5, 8-10, vi. 3-5, 17), *fere* = V., but in 7 of them (as above specified) peculiar readings from British Ordinal.

2 *Timothy*, 11 verses *fere* = V., but among them iii. 1-5 twice quoted, and once in a peculiar rendering as above.

*Titus*, 2 verses, *fere* = V.

*Hebr.*, 4 verses, two = V., two a peculiar rendering as above.

1 *S. Peter*, 13 verses, based on V., but with peculiar readings from British Ordinal as above: a fourteenth, iv. 18, *salvus sit* (*sim.* Bk. of Armagh [ $\gamma$ .], and Fastidius and S. Patrick, but the latter varies widely in the end of the verse).

$\gamma$ . Uses a version peculiar to himself, based on LXX. (partly MS. Alex., partly MS. Vatic.).

In the O. T. in—

2 *Chronicles*, 7 verses as above (xv. 2, xix. 2, *fere* = S. Aug.).

*Job*, 27 verses from three chapters, as above.

*Proverbs*, 10 verses, five (as above) not traceable elsewhere; in the other five, v. 22, *criniculis* (with S. Aug.), xxiv. 11 = Cassian, 24, 25 = *fere* Luc. Cal., and in xxvi. 11 *reversio* is *sim.* V.

*Ezekiel*, 37 verses from eight chapters, as above (in two passages, *fere* = Fastidius), and in addition, iv. 16 (*baculum cibi*, *Hist.*) = V., but I caret: and in v. 11, and xxxiii. 6, 8, V. = I.

*Minor Prophets* (except, partly, *Malachi*): viz.

*Hosea*, 6 verses: *Joel*, 6 verses: *Amos*, 21 verses: *Micah*, 19 verses: *Habakkuk*, 5 verses (i. 3, 4, *fere* = Luc. Cal.): *Zephaniah*, 12 verses: *Haggai*, 2 verses: *Zechariah*, 15 verses: and *Malachi* i. 6–9, iii. 2 (quoted consecutively, the former with i. 13, 14, the latter with iii. 1, 3, from V.), as above.

Gildas also quotes *Ecclesiastes* iii. 7 (V. = I.), and *Wisdom* (18 verses), *Eccclus.* (14 verses), 2 *Esdras* (16 verses), in the *Old Latin* retained in V. but corrected by the Greek.

4. COLUMBANUS, writing in Gaul or Italy, uses the *Vulgate* commonly, but in sixteen quotations (as above) uses a version peculiar to himself (exc. as agreeing with Gildas in Matth. vii. 23 [*non novi vos*], and Phil. ii. 3 [*existimantes*], and 1 Pet. i. 16, while differing from him in Mal. iii. 2), and in eighteen others a form of *Old Latin* traceable elsewhere: viz.

Job vii. 1 (*tentatio*) } = MS. Maj. Mon.  
 John x. 1 }  
 Ps. xlix. 3 = MS. S. Germ.  
 Cant. iv. 6 }  
 Isai. lviii. 1 } = S. Hieron.  
 Joel ii. 20, (cor- }  
 ted from LXX.) }  
 Isai. lxxv. 14 = Tertull.  
 Jerem. xxiii. 23, 24, *fere* = Fulg.  
 Matth. xxvi. 39 = MS. Colb.

John vii. 37 = MS. Colb.  
 John xvi. 20 = MSS. Veron., Vercell.  
 Rom. xiii. 10 = S. Aug.  
 1 Cor. v. 5 }  
 2 Cor. viii. 9 } = MSS. S. Germ.  
 Ephes. iv. 10 } and Clarom.  
 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8 }  
 Phil. i. 23 = Hieron., S. Ambr.  
 Phil. ii. 7, *specie* = S. Ambr.

5. CUMMIAN, in Ireland, uses the *Vulgate* in 39 verses, from all parts of the Bible; but a form of the *Old Latin* peculiar to himself in six

passages (as above), and among them in Ezek. xiii. 19 (not agreeing with Gildas), and one traceable elsewhere in four passages, viz.

Matth. vii. 2, <i>iudicabitur de vobis</i> (with <i>a.</i> etc.)	} = MS. Colb., and C. C. C. Oxf.	1 Cor. iv. 5 = MSS. S. Germ. and Clarom., and <i>donec</i> veniat with <i>v.</i> , Aug., and Ambr.
John xx. 19, 21, 26; <i>pax vobiscum</i> (with <i>γ.</i> )		122 ( <i>vobis</i> in <i>v.</i> 26).

Also in Exod. xii. 2 *initium* with Gaud. Brix., in xii. 3 *accipiet* with Cypr. and Aug., and in xii. 17 *sempiterno*: but rel. = V.

6. ADAMNANUS, in Scotland, nearly a century later, uses the *Vulgate* in N. T. (5 verses), and a version not wholly *Vulgate*, but apparently corrected from it, in O. T. (7 verses): viz.

Lev. xxvi. 19, 20 } = V.	Ps. li. 17, <i>spernit</i> = MS. S. Germ. and (in this one word) Gildas (see above).
Prov. xxii. 1 } But	
Josh. i. 9 adds to <i>confortare</i> from V. <i>age viriliter</i> , which is the version of Luc. Cal.	Prov. xv. 13 = LXX., but I caret (see above, p. 172).
	And
Ps. xxxiv. 10 (called xxxiii. by AD., acc. to Vulgate reckoning) <i>deficient</i> (with MS. S. Germ.), changed to <i>minuentur</i> (with V.) in the later lives of Columba.	1 Cor. vi. 17 = Book of Armagh ( <i>γ.</i> ) } = V. Ephes. vi. 11, 13 } Luke xxii. 15 } = V. = I. 2 Cor. xii. 2 }

7. The *Auctor de Mirab. S. Scripturæ* (M.) relates Scripture facts commonly in his own words; but in passages which are plainly quotations, uses in at least 39 verses from all parts of the Bible the *Vulgate* (but in 5 among them V. = I., and in Exod. ii. 22 I caret, in Numb. xi. 7 he adds *album quasi nix*, in 2 Kings ii. 10 [which is paraphrased] *duriter* is *sim. dure* of I., Isai. xiv. 13, 14 is interpolated, and Dan. iii. 49, 50 is from Song of the Three Children); in 10 passages (12 verses) a form of the *Old Latin*, peculiar to himself in 7 verses of the 12 (as above), exc. that in Gen. i. 24 I caret, Matth. xxv. 41 agrees with Fastidius, and is like MS. Corb. and the Vet. Interp. Irenæi etc., and John xi. 4 is like MS. Colb.; while the remaining 5 are traceable elsewhere: viz. Gen. i. 28 *implete* with S. Aug. (but in another place M. has *replete* with V.), Gen. ii. 2, 3 = S. Aug. and Vet. Interp. Iren., Ps. ciii. 4 = MS. S. Germ., and Acts xx. 10 = (in part) Cod. Bez.

This writer also marks the books of Maccabees as not in the "Divine Canon" (*lib. II. c. 34, col. 26 G.*), and some of the apocryphal additions to Daniel, viz. Bel and the Dragon, as wanting the "auctoritas Divinæ Scripturæ" (*ib. 32, ib. B.*).

8. The Cod. CAN. HIBERN. uses the *Vulgate* throughout the Bible and commonly, but in 39 passages it follows a form of the *Old Latin*, peculiar in 22 places (as above) to itself (except as agreeing in two with Cummian, and in three quoting from Gildas), and in 17 places traceable elsewhere: viz.

Deut. xxiv. 16, <i>morientur</i> = Jul. ap. Aug.	MSS. Colb. and S. Germ. 1, Luc. Cal., Hil., al.
1 Kings xi. 11, 12, mainly V. but part = Tichon., and <i>scindens</i> peculiar to CAN.	Matth. viii. 22 [and Luke ix. 60], <i>relinque</i> = Ambr.
Prov. ix. 8, <i>amabit</i> = Aug., Pacian, Cassiod.	Mark xi. 26, <i>remiseritis</i> = MS. Colb.
Eccles. x. 16 = Hieron.	Rom. xi. 33, <i>inscrutabilia</i> = v. (first rendering), Iren., Novatian., Ambr., etc.
Jerem. ix. 21 = Hieron., Ambros.	1 Cor. ix. 27, <i>servituti subjecio</i> = v. (second rendering), Fulgent., and MSS. S. Germ. and Reg. (rel. = V.)
Ezek. xviii. 7, 8 = Jul. ap. Aug.	1 Cor. x. 27, <i>ante vos ponitur</i> = MS. Reg. (rel. = V.)
Jonah i. 7 = Hieron.	2 Cor. ix. 10, <i>Qui subministrat semen seminanti, et Ille panem in escam ministrabit</i> = v. (first rendering), and <i>ferre</i> = MSS. S. Germ. and Reg.
Matth. iii. 7, <i>ira futura</i> (or f. i.) = Rushw. and Heref. Gosp., Bk. of S. Chad, C. C. C. Oxf. 122, γ., δ., ζ., η., θ., ι., Δ., Cod. Bez., MSS. Corb., S. Germ. 1, 2, Maj. Mon.	Ephes. iv. 28, <i>indigentibus</i> = Tertull.
Matth. v. 34, <i>sedes</i> = MS. Clarom., Cod. Bez., Hil., Aug.	
Matth. vii. 2, <i>judicabitur de vobis</i> = G., CUM., C. C. C. Oxf. 122, α.,	

9. NENNIVS (so called) has no other quotation but that already given as peculiar to himself from the Psalms. He also uses or intends to use the chronology of the LXX.

10. ASSER, in the beginning of 10th century, follows the *Vulgate* in 8 verses from both O. and N. T. (exc. *Christe* for *Domine* in Luke xxiii. 42), but in Gen. iv. 7 he has *Si recte offeras, recte autem non divides, peccas*, with LXX. and S. Aug., and in Matth. vi. 33 *præstabuntur* with γ., Δ., and MS. S. Germ. 1, for *adjicientur* of V.

It is curious to find in a writer so late as Henry of Huntingdon (c. A.D. 1135), who of course commonly uses the *Vulgate*, a

trace, not only of the *Old Latin* (Matth. xxvi. 52 = MS. S. Germ.), but of possibly a British variety of it (Amos viii. 10, nearly agreeing with Gildas, see above). MSS. 1. and 2., however, of 12th century (the former A.D. 1138—see *Harl. Catal.*), also contain a few *Old Latin* readings.

From the above statement it appears to follow—

1. That while the *Vulgate* was plainly known to (though barely used by) Fastidius, writing at a time when Britain and South Europe were in full intercourse, but so early as about A.D. 420, it may possibly be questionable whether it was known to S. Patrick, writing in Ireland some half century later, and when such intercourse was greatly impeded. The few traces of that version to be found in his present text are far more slight than those in Fastidius, and not more than may be due to copyists. The question is of some importance as bearing upon the intercourse of S. Patrick, and of the whole North Western Church of that time, with Rome. Further, that by about a century later (c. 560) the *Vulgate* had so far penetrated into Britain as to supersede with Gildas the *Old Latin* altogether in some, and to leaven it with abundant alterations in more, of the most used books of both O. and N. T., while in such books as 2 Chron., Job, Proverbs, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets, the *Old Latin* previously in use still held its ground; the form of the *Vulgate* so introduced resembling but not being throughout identical with the Cod. Amiatinus\*. Lastly, that a gradually increasing use of the *Vulgate* may be traced at the successive dates of 634 (Ireland), 700 (Scotland), end of 7th and beginning of 8th centuries (Ireland), down to the period when a few lingering traces and no more of the *Old Latin* were still left, as in Nennius and Asser (c. 900), and even so late as A.D. 1135 and 1138<sup>f</sup>.

2. A presumption arises in favour of the existence of a special British (and Irish) revision of the *Old Latin*, as the version thus gradually superseded: a presumption based upon the number, and the singularity, of the readings above collected. This would have been more visible to the eye, had space allowed the printing of the other forms of the *Old Latin*, and of the *Vulgate*, side by side with the British (and Irish) quotations of the former. It must suffice to say here, that the positive evidence of such singularity, and of its amount, will be found by any one who compares the versions, to be exceedingly strong as

\* Published however as yet for O. T., only to the end of 2 Kings (Vercellone, Rom. 1860-4), but in *extenso* for N. T. by Tischendorf, and the Gospels also by Tregelles.

<sup>f</sup> Compare Hody, *De Bibl. Text. Orig.* lib. III. P. ii. cc. v. sq., who however omits to notice any one of the authors here cited.

regards the books of Chronicles, Job, Proverbs, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets, as above mentioned; and that, once granted in these cases, there are sufficient peculiarities still traceable in the other books of Scripture, to establish what would then be of itself more than probable, viz. the existence of such a revision extending through the whole Bible. This is to some extent confirmed, so far as the very scanty evidence to the point reaches, by the agreement of Fastidius, Gildas, and in one of the two places the *Cod. Can. Hibern.* also, in the peculiar rendering of the two passages of Ezekiel quoted by both, and by the like agreement of Cumman and the *Cod. Can. Hibern.* in a third peculiar reading in Ezekiel and in another passage in the Psalms (although in the N. T., Matth. vii. 21, 1 Cor. v. 11, 1 Pet. iv. 18, F. and G. do *not* agree), and further by a like agreement between Columbanus and Gildas in three places out of the four in the N. T. quoted by both in a peculiar rendering, viz. Matth. vii. 23 (in part), Phil. ii. 3, 1 Pet. i. 16 (in 1 Pet. iv. 18 they do not agree, nor yet in Mal. iii. 2 from O. T., although there is some resemblance between them in the latter passage); while on the other hand, in the one passage quoted by S. Patrick from the *Old Latin* (1 Pet. iv. 18) in common with Gildas, Fastidius, and Columbanus, they are all different, and S. Patrick singularly so. Unfortunately these are the only passages quoted by more than one of the list, except the four mentioned below<sup>a</sup>, which are irrelevant to the present purpose. Further, however, the same inference is slightly confirmed by the evidence (unfortunately very scanty in its range) of the few and limited existing Latin MSS., connected with the British and Irish Churches, whether *Old Latin*, or (as is the case with most of them) *Vulgate* but retaining a large leaven of the *Old Latin*. We have here, first, special and characteristic readings, of which a list of a few may be found in Mr. Westcott's note to his article on the *Vulgate* (in *Smith's Dict. of Bibl.*, III. 1694): and secondly, readings common to one or more of such MSS. with one or other of the writers above cited. Unfortunately the range of the former is confined to the four Gospels (with the exception of the Book of Armagh, which contains the whole N. T., and the Codd. Aug. and Boernerianus, and that of Wurzburg, containing the Pauline Epistles), no MSS.<sup>b</sup> of the kind existing for the O. T. (except the remarkable

<sup>a</sup> In Ps. li. 17, *spem*, from S. Aug., is in both Gildas and Adamnan, who otherwise differ. In Matth. xxv. 41 both Fastidius (once) and the Auct. de Mirab. SS. follow the reading of MS. Corb. And Isai. lxvi. 2 and Mal. ii. 10, quoted respectively by Columbanus and by S. Patrick from the *Old Latin*, are quoted by Gildas

from the *Vulgate*. Gildas resembles Sedulius Scotus in Rom. ii. 6, Ephes. iv. 19, v. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 8, vi. 4.

<sup>b</sup> For MS. Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32, see the end of this Appendix. There is also a Latin Psalter, written by John brother of Rhyddmarch, Bishop of S. David's A.D. 1090-1096, for Rhyddmarch's



fragments mentioned in the note) nor (with the above exceptions) for any other part of the New; while the range of the latter, owing to the nature of the citations by the British or Irish writers, is still further confined, although not wholly, to the one Gospel of S. Matthew. In that Gospel, of rare readings still lingering in Gildas, twelve are found to have held their ground also in the Rushworth Gospels<sup>1</sup> and eight in the Hereford Gospels, five and four respectively being peculiar readings; nine are found in the Book of S. Chad, three being peculiar readings; and six occur in the MS. at C. C. C. Oxf. 122, one of

use, now at Trin. Coll. Dublin (A. 4. 20), which follows avowedly S. Jerome's version corrected from the Hebrew, viz. that which was not adopted into the *Vulgate*. See Westwood (*Palæogr. Sacra*, and in *Arch. Camb. O. S.*, I. 117), *Ussher, Reliq. of Anc. Irish*, I. (Works, IV. 249), and Rhyddmarch's own verses attached to the MS. (ap. *Ussher*, ib.). And another Psalter (in the library of S. John's College, Cambr.) is pronounced by Professor Westwood to be Irish. Heddus, *V. Wilfridi*, c. iii., states that Wilfrid, "Psalmos quos prius secundum Hieronymi emendationem—quod Psalterium a Scottis acceperat, addit Will. Malm., G. P. III.—legerat, more Romanorum juxta quintam editionem memorialiter transmutavit." Does this mean, that the "Scots" by the beginning of the 7th century had amended their (Italic) Psalter by S. Jerome's second corrected version from the LXX. (viz. the Gallican, so called, said to have been introduced into Gaul by Gregory of Tours [*Walaf. Strabo*], ob. 595, but really a little later, inasmuch as Gregory himself uses the *Old Latin*); and then about the 11th century are found to be studying Jerome's further and third version direct from the Hebrew? and that Wilfrid, c. 652, began to amend for himself that former Scotch Latin (Gallican) Psalter, learned by him at Lindisfarne just before as a boy, by the help of what he in that year learned at Canterbury from an amended copy (for some now unknown reason called the "fifth" edition or issue) of the same Gallican version? Gildas and others in Ireland seem to have known the version from the Hebrew: see above, pp. 172, 181.

<sup>1</sup> The Rushworth Gospels, or Macregol's (Bodl. Auct. D. 2, 19, olim 3946), before A.D. 820, belong to the Northumbrian (Scoto-Saxon) Church; the Hereford Gospels (at Hereford since A.D. 1000, see *Hikes, Diss. Epiat.* p. 4), 8th or 9th century, to the Mercian; the Book of S. Chad (at Lichfield since A.D. 1000, see below, p. 206, once at Llandaff—ends with Luke iii. 9), 8th century (possibly earlier), to the Welsh, but it apparently was written in Ireland; the Book of Deer (A., Cambr. Univ. Libr. Ti. 6, 32—imperfect), 8th to 10th century, to Aberdeenshire; and the Books of Armagh (γ., Trin. Coll. Dubl., all the N. T., ab. A.D. 807), of Moling (δ., sim. date, also Trin. Coll. Dubl.), of Dimma (ε., Trin. Coll. Dubl.), of Durbol (ζ., Trin. Coll. Dubl.),

of Kells (η., Trin. Coll. Dubl., Book of S. Columba), of Macdurnan (θ., Lambeth), and that at C. C. C. Oxf. 122, are Irish; all (except the Book of Armagh) Evangelistaria only, and all (except the Corpus MS.) of the early part of 9th century, but the Corpus MS. dating after Dubhinsi Bishop of (the Irish) Bangor (ob. 951), and therefore 10th or 11th century. To these are to be added two MS. (imperfect) Evangelistaria at Trin. Coll. Dubl., older than any of the above, here marked α. and β. (the latter, A. 4. 15, in Trin. Coll. Catalogue), which are both of the *Old Latin*; and two in the British Museum, Harl. 1802 and 1023 (marked here ι. and κ.); which are the latest (12th century), as α. and (above all) β. are the earliest, of the Irish MSS. of the kind; and which, as well as all the others except α. and β., are substantially *Vulgate*, but retain in various degrees, from much to little, an admixture of *Old Latin* readings. Harl. 1023 is defective, beginning with S. Math. xxiii. 25. See also Westcott as quoted in the text, pp. 1694, 1695; and Westwood, *Palæogr. Sacra*, Lond. 1843-5. Of Irish MSS. abroad, the Cod. Wirzburg. is described and partly printed in *Zeuss, Gramm. Celt. Prof.* xx.-xxix. &c.: and the Cod. Sangall. (here marked λ.), Cod. Aug. (μ.), and Cod. Boerner. (ν.), are wholly accessible in print, respectively in Rettig's, Scrivener's, and Matthæi's editions. The readings above cited from the Latin version in the last of the three (ν.) are almost always alternative readings, corrected in the MS. by a *second* translation (commonly = *Vulg.*). The collations of the Irish MSS. are due to the kind courtesy of Dr. Reeves; of the Book of S. Chad, to that of the Rev. G. M. Curteis; and the opportunity of examining the Hereford Gospels, to the kindness of the Rev. F. T. Havergal. There are also portions of S. Luke and S. John in Corpus Libr. Cambr. (197), with fragments of the other two Gospels among the Cotton MSS. (Otho C. v.), said to be Irish. For the Cambridge *Juvenius*, see below, p. 198. Mr. Westcott's enumerations of special readings include many found also in non-Celtic MSS. of the *Old Latin*. The argument for a special version must depend upon readings limited to those found *solely* in British or Irish writers or MSS. And the smaller totals above given are limited to these.

which is also in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.* Twenty-five such readings are also common to Gildas with the Book of Armagh in the Epistles (although in the Gospel of S. Matthew the two do not tally), about ten of which belong to British or Scotch sources, several of them being also in the *Cod. Boernerianus*. And the specially ancient MS. *a.* presents the peculiar readings of Gildas in S. Matthew in three or four places, and of Fastidius in as many more. There are also, taken together, a noticeable number of coincidences between such readings and those of the other Irish MSS., and between the peculiar readings of the several MSS. themselves. Lastly, there is the (certainly) strong evidence derivable from the texts printed at the end of this Appendix. The above totals would be increased by one (or, in the case of the Book of Armagh, two) if the readings of MS. B. of Gildas were adopted.

Where the text of Gildas agrees with forms of the *Old Latin* elsewhere used, it is more commonly with those of the African type (MSS. *Vercell.*, *Veron.*, *Colb.*, *Clarom.*, *Corb.*), than with those of the Italic (MS. *Brix.*); and again with S. Cyprian, S. Augustin, and (curiously often) with the text employed by Lucifer of Cagliari. And his special renderings are commonly corrections made from the LXX. (once or twice apparently from the Hebrew), and from a text of the LXX. agreeing partly with the MS. *Vatic.* partly with the MS. *Alex.*<sup>k</sup>

3. The order of the books, especially of the O. T., in Gildas' copy<sup>l</sup> is observable. Putting the Pentateuch and Historical Books to the end of Chronicles in the usual order, he proceeds next (Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther not being quoted by him) to—

Isaiah.

Jeremiah (Daniel is not quoted by him).

Minor Prophets (Habakkuk and Joel being placed first, before Hosea).

Job (Canticles are not quoted, and Eccles. only once, and so as not to indicate its place).

2 Esdras (4 Esdras in V.).

Ezekiel.

Wisdom } which are the only books quoted by him from our  
Ecclesiasticus } Apocrypha.

All these books, even the 4th Esdras, are quoted without distinction, as alike Scripture.

<sup>k</sup> See also Schöll, *De Hist. Eccl. Brit. et Scot. Fontibus*, to whom is due the first sketch of such an enquiry as that prosecuted in the present Appendix. A collation throughout of the whole of the texts of the MSS. enumerated in note <sup>l</sup>, is still a desideratum: which Dr. Reeves's promised

edition of the Book of Armagh will supply in part, viz. as respects the Irish MSS. in Ireland.

<sup>l</sup> See the copious lists at the end of Hody as above quoted, who however has omitted Gildas.

Further, with Sedul. Scot., and "with many early English MSS., and with S. Aug. de Doctr. Christ. II. 13" (*Westcott, in Smith, p. 1696*), Gildas puts Colossians *after* Thessalonians.

4. It may be added that there is no trace anywhere of any Celtic version of the Bible or of any part of it. S. Chrysostom's words, quoted above on p. 10 (the second quotation), have been misunderstood to support such a supposition, but without ground.

1. *Extracts from the Old Testament in an Old Latin Version, British or connected with Britain, from MS. Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32<sup>m</sup>.*

I. GENESIS i. 1-31, ii. 1-3 = S. Aug. (as quoted for I. in Sabatier), but with a few traces of V.:—e. g. i. 2 *aquas*, from 5 onwards, *factum est vespere*, 18 *presint diei* etc., 20 *producant*, 21 *omnem animam*, 28 *replete*:—and with a few peculiar readings,—e. g. i. 9 *aquæ quæ erant sub cælo in congregationibus suis*, et *paruit*, 11 *herbam fœni seminans semen* (with, however, Ambr. &c.), and so also 29 *fœnum seminale*, and 30 *fœnum*; and ii. 1 *consummavit cœlum et terram et omnem gloriam eorum*.

II. GEN. xxii. 1-19 = the fragmentary quotations from Aug. and Ambr. which stand for I. in Sabatier, but fills up *lacunæ*;—e. g. 6 et abierunt ambo simul, 8, 9 euntes ambo simul, venerunt ad locum quem dixerat illi Deus et ædificavit Habracham altare, 19 et reversus est Habraham ad pueros suos et surrexerunt et abierunt simul ad puteum jurationis et habitavit Habraham ad puteum jurationis:—and has a few traces of V.;—e. g. 10 *gladium*, 12 *cognovi*:—and one or two peculiar readings;—

<sup>m</sup> The portions of Scripture in this MS. are mostly *lectiones*. Those however from the Minor Prophets are short passages, often a single verse, taken from all parts and from every one of the minor prophetic books, but without apparent liturgical purpose, and looking like extracts made by another Gildas to form the material for another exhortation. The passages throughout consist of Greek and Latin in parallel columns, and are written in a hand of the 8th or 9th century. The other contents of the MS., except a Saxon homily which does not seem to have originally belonged to it, are a grammatical treatise, a portion of Ovid, a portion of some Paschal tables (A.D. 817 to A.D. 812), and of a tract about Weights and Measures, the first two and last with interlinear notes partly in ancient Welsh, and the (so-called) Welsh alphabet of Nemnivus (see *E. Lhuyd, Arch. Brit.* 226, *Wanley*, p. 63, *Zeuss, Gramm. Celt. Prof.* xxxviii. pp. 1076-1096, and above all, *Villemarqué, Notice des MSS. des anciens*

*Brétons*, pp. 12-15). The singular coincidence of its Scripture text with that of Gildas and of S. Patrick in the four passages of the Minor Prophets quoted by it in common with the former, and the one so quoted in common with the latter, harmonizes remarkably with its undoubted British origin. In Malachi iv. 2, however, S. Patrick and this MS. do not wholly agree. It is also remarkable that its text is connected with the African type of the *Old Latin*, and that it bears very scanty traces of corrections from the *Vulgate*. The passages are given in it, not in the order of the Bible as above in the text, but as follows:—Deut. (by itself), then (with the Paschal tables, &c. intervening) Minor Prophets (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obad., Jonah, Nahum, Habak., Zephani., Haggai, Zechar., Malachi, with some of the verses however misplaced under the wrong prophet), Gen. i. ii., Exodus, Isaiah, Ps. xlii., Gen. xxii. There is a short mention of it in a note of Mr. Westcott, as before quoted, p. 1692.

e. g. 3 *adsumpsit* secum, 6 *sumpsit*, 11 *iterum* (add.) de cœlo, 13 in *partino* Sabech, .... *sumpsit* arietem, 15 *iterum*, 17 *hereditabit*.

III. EXOD. xiv. 24-31, xv. 1-3 (not found elsewhere, but *sim.* the few verses in Sabatier from Aug., Hil., etc.).

xiv. 24. Factum est autem in vigilia matutina, et inspexit Dominus in castra Ægyptiorum in columna ignis et nubis, et conturbavit castra Ægyptiorum,

— 25. Et conligavit axitonas curruum eorum, et agebat eos cum vi: et dixerunt Ægyptii, Fugiamus a facie filiorum Israhel, Dominus expugnat pro eis Ægyptios.

— 26. Dixit autem Dominus ad Moysen, Extende manum tuam supra mare, et convertatur aqua, et cooperiat Ægyptios cum curribus et ascensoribus.

— 27. Extendit autem Moyses manum super mare, et conversa est aqua ad diem in locum suum; Ægyptii autem fugerunt sub aqua, et excussit Dominus Ægyptios in medio mare.

— 28. Et reversa est aqua, cooperuit currus et ascensores et omnem virtutem Farao qui introierunt post eos in mare; et non est relictus ex eis nec unus.

— 29. Filii autem Israhel abierunt per siccum per medium mare. Aqua autem erat illis murus dextra atque sinistra.

— 30. Et liberavit Dominus Israhel in die illo de manu Ægyptiorum.

— 31. Et vidit Israhel Ægyptios mortuos ad litus maris. Vidit autem Israhel manum magnam quam fecit Dominus Ægyptiis; et timere cœpit propter Dominum, et crediderunt Deo et Moysi famulo Ejus.

xv. 1. Tunc cantavit Moyses et filii Israhel canticum hoc Deo, et dixerunt; Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim honorificatus est; equum et ascensorem projecit in mare.

— 2. Adjutor et protector factus est mihi in salutem: Hic Deus Meus, et honorificabo Eum; Deus patris mei, et exaltabo Eum:

— 3. Dominus conterens bella, Dominus nomen est Illi.

IV. DEUT. xxxi. 22-30, xxxii. 1-4 (c. xxxi. not found elsewhere, xxxii. = Missal. Rom., Brev. Mozar., and MS. S. Michael, which stands for I. in Sabatier).

xxx. 22. Et scribit Moyses hoc canticum in illa die, et docuit illud filiis Israhel.

— 23. Et prœcipit Moyses Jesu filio Naue, et dixit, Viriliter age et convalesce: tu enim introduces filios Israhel in terram quam juravit Dominus eis, et Ipse erit tecum.

— 24. Postquam autem consummavit Moyses scribens omnia verba legis hujus in libro usque in finem,

— 25. Præcipit Levitis qui portabant arcam testamenti Domini, dicens,

— 26. Accipientes librum legis hujus et ponetis eum ad latus arcæ testamenti Domini Dei vestri, et erit vobis in testimonium.

— 27. Quia ego scio contumaciam vestram et cervicem vestram duram: adhuc enim me vivente vobiscum hodie exasperantes eratis Deum: quomodo non in novissimo mortis meæ?

— 28. In æclesia convocate ad me principes tribuum vestrarum et seniores vestros et judices vestros et scribas et doctores vestros, ut loquar in aures eorum omnia verba hæc, et testabor eis cœlum et terram.

— 29. Scio enim quod in novissimo mortis meæ iniquitatem facietis, et declinabit de via quam mandavi vobis, et oviabuntur vobis mala in novissimis diebus,

quia facitis malum coram Domino exasperare Eum in operibus manuum vestrarum.

xxxi. 30. Et loquutus est Moyses in aures totius æclesiæ Israhel \* verba cantici hujus usque in finem.

xxxii. 1. Adtende cælum, et loquar; audiat terra verba ex ore meo.

— 2. Expectetur sicut pluvia eloquium meum, et discendant sicut ros verba mea, sicut imber super gramen, et sicut nix super fœnum:

— 3. Quia nomen Domini invocavi; date magnitudinem Deo nostro.

— 4. Deus, vera opera Ejus, et omnes Ejus viæ judicia; Deus fidelis, et non est in Eo iniquitas; justus et sanctus Dominus<sup>a</sup>.

V. Ps. xlii. 1-3 = MS. S. German. except, 1. quemadmodum with V., and 3. per singulos dies (*for* quotidie) with S. Aug.

VI. ISAI. iv. 1-6, v. 1-7 (iv. = the few quotations in Sabatier from Aug., but fills up *lacunæ*: v. = Brev. Mozar., which stands for I. in Sabatier).

iv. 1. Et adpræchendent vii. mulieres unum hominem, dicentes, Panem nostrum manducavimus, et vestimentis nostris operiemur, verum tamen nomen tuum invocetur super nos, aufers obproprium nostrum (= S. Aug.).

— 2. Illa autem die inluminavit Deus in consilio cum majestate super terram ut exaltet et honoret quod derelictum est in Israhel.

— 3. Eritque quod derelictum est in Sion et quod superest in Hirusalem; sancti vocabuntur omnes qui scribti sunt ad vitam in Hirusalem.

— 4. Quoniam abluet Dominus sordes filiorum et filiarum Sion, et sanguinem purgavit de medio eorum in spiritu judicii et spiritu combusturæ;

— 5. Et veniet et erit omnis locus montis Sion, et omnia in circuitu ejus obumbrabit nub[e]s diei, et sicut fumus et lucis ignis ardentis nocte, omni majestate protegitur.

— 6. Eritque in umbra ab æsto sub tecto et in oculo a duritia et tempestate.

v. 1-7. (= Brev. Mozar., except 1. cornu in, 2 and 4. uvam, 5. ecce nuntiabo vobis *quid faciam*).

VII. ISAI. liv. 17, lv. 1-5. (*sim.* Hieron.).

liv. 17. Est hereditas credentibus in Domino, et vos eritis Mihi justi, dicit Dominus.

lv. 1. Qui sititis ite ad aquam, et quicumque non habetis argentum euntes emite et bibite sine argento ad prætio vinum et adipem.

— 2. Utquid apprætiatis argento et laborem vestrum non in satietate? Audite Me et manducabitis bona, et dilicias habebit in bonis anima vestra.

— 3. Intendite auribus vestris, et sectamini vias Meas; audite Me, et vivet in bonis anima vestra, et disponam vobis testamentum æternum, sancta David fidelia.

— 4. Ecce testimonium illum dedi gentibus, principem et imperantem gentibus.

<sup>a</sup> This passage from Deuteronomy stands by itself in the MS. At its close are (if rightly deciphered) the words, "Finit, Amen. Finit opus in Domino othei: quyri: altissimus [or, -mo]

meo patre commoneo scriptore simul ac magistro." The two unintelligible words appear to stand for 'O theos Kôptos. The latter word is written "quyrios" in the Greek parts of the MS.

iv. 5. Gentes quæ te ignorant invocabunt te; et populi qui te nesciunt, ad te confugiant, propter Deum Sanctum Israhel, Qui glorificavit te.

# VIII. MINOR PROPHETS.

- i. HOS. ii. 18. Et disponam eis in illo die testamentum cum bestiis agri et cum volucris cœli . . . terræ, et cum reptantibus. [*sim.* Hieron.]—iv. 1-3. Audite verbum Domini, filii Israhel, quia iudicium Domino adversus eos qui inhabitant terram; quoniam non est misericordia neque veritas neque agnitio Dei super terram. Malidictum et mendacium et cede[s] et furtum et adulterium effusa sunt super terram, et sanguis super sanguinem: propterea lugebit terra cum omnibus qui inhabitant in ea. [*sim.* Hieron.]—iv. 9. Et erit sicut populus sic sacerdos.—vi. 1, 2. Deluculo vigilabunt ad Me, dicentes, Eamus et revertamur ad Dominum Deum nostrum: quia Ipse eripiet et sanabit nos, percutiet et miserebitur nostri. 6. Quoniam misericordiam volo et agnitionem Dei quam holocausta.—viii. 3, 4. Bonum ut iniquum persecuti sunt; ipsi sibi reges constituerunt, et non per Me: principatum obtinuerunt, et non ex Me. Argentum suum et aurum suum fecerunt sibi simulacra, ut dispereant. [*ferre* = Gildas.]—x. 12. Serite vobis ad iustitiam, vindimiate fructum vitæ, inluminare vobis lumen scientiæ.—xii. 6. Misericordiam et iudicium observa, et spera in Deum tuum.
- ii. JOEL iii. 18. Et erit in illo die distillabunt montes dulcedinem, et colles trahent lac et mel.
- iii. AMOS iii. 8. Leo fremet, et quis non timebit? Dominus Deus loquutus est, et quis non prophetabit?—v. 3, 4, 14. Civitas ex qua procedebant mille, dirilinquntur centum: et ex qua procedebant centum, dirilinquntur decim: quoniam hæc dicit Dominus, Quærite bonum et non malum, ut vivatis; et erit vobiscum Dominus Deus vester omnipotens.
- iv. OBADIAH 15. Quoniam prope est dies Domini super omnes gentes; quemadmodum fecisti, sic futurum erit tibi: retributio tua retribuetur tibi in caput tuum.
- v. JONAH i. 8, 9. Unde venis? et quo vadis? et ex qua regione es tu? et ex quo populo es tu? et dixit ad eos, Servus Dei ego sum, et Dominum Deum cœli ego timeo, Qui fecit mare et aridam. [*part* = Hieron., *part* = V.]
- vi. MICAH iii. 1, 2. Non vobis est scire iudicium, odio habentes bona et quærentes mala. [*part* = V., *part sim.* Gildas.]—iv. 1, 2. Et erit in novissimo eorum dierum, manifestus ille mons Domini paratus super cacumina montium, et in sublime extollentur super colles, et festinabunt ad illum populi, et ibunt gentes multæ et dicent, Venite, ascendamus ad montem Domini et ad domum Dei Jacob, et ostendent nobis viam Ejus, et ibimus in itineribus Ejus, quoniam ex Sion exiit lex, et verbum Domini de Hierusalem.—5. Nos autem ibimus in nomine Domini Dei nostri.—v. 2. Et tu Bethlem domus illius Effrata exigua es ut sis in milia Juda, ex te enim prodeat ut sit in principem Israhel.—vi. 8. Quid Dominus exposcit a te nisi facere iudicium et iustitiam et

diligere missericordiam et paratum esse ut vadas cum Domino Deo tuo.—vii. 6, 7. Quoniam filius non honorificat patrem, filia insurrexit super matrem suam, nurus super socrum suam, inimici omnis viri qui in domo ipsius sunt. Ego autem in Domino contemplantor, tollerabo in Domino salvificatore meo.

vii. NAHUM iii. 13. Ecce populus tuus quasi mulieres in te erunt, inimicis tuis aperiendo aperientur portæ terræ tuæ, comedet ignis serras tuas.

viii. HABAKKUK ii. 4. Justus autem meus ex fide vivet semper.—iii. 3. Operuit cælos virtus ejus . . . et laudationis ejus plena est terra.

ix. ZEPHAN. i. 14–16. Quia prope est dies Domini dies ille magnus, prope est velox nimis, vox diei Domini amara et dura est constituta, potens est ille, dies iræ dies ille, dies tribulationis et necessitatis, dies calamitatis et exterminii, dies tenebrarum et nimbus, dies nubis et nubilæ, dies tubæ et clamoris, super civitates illas munitas et super angulos illos altos. [*ferè* = Gild.]—18. Argentum eorum et aurum eorum non poterit eripere eos in die iræ Domini, et in ignem emulationis ejus consummetur omnis terra.

x. HAGGAI ii. 7, 8. Quoniam hæc dicit Dominus omnipotens, Adhuc semel Ego movebo cælum et terram et mare et aridam [= Gild.]: et concutiam omnes gentes, et venient omnia electa gentium, et implebo domum hanc [= Aug.].

xi. ZECH. i. 4. Hæc dicit Dominus omnipotens, Convertimini ad Me et convertam ad vos.—ii. 8. Quoniam qui tangit vos quasi qui tangit pupillam oculi Ipsius. [*ferè* = S. Patrick.]—viii. 16, 17. Bono animo estote, istos sermones facite; loquimini veritatem unusquisque ad proximum suum et judicium pacificum et justum judicate in portis vestris, et unusquisque malitiam proximi sui non reputate in cordibus vestris, et jusjurandum falsum nolite diligere; quoniam hæc omnia odio habui, dicit Deus omnipotens. 19. Et in dies festos bonos jocundamini et pacem et veritatem diligite.—ix. 9. Gaude nimis filia Sion, prædica filia Hierusalem; ecce Rex tuus venit tibi justus et salvificans et Ipse mitis in ascenso jumento et pullo juvene.—xiii. 5. Non sum propheta ego quoniam homo genuit me a juventute mea. 7. Dicit Dominus virtutum, Percutiam pastorem et dispergentur oves.

xii. MALACHI i. 6. Et si pater sum Ego ubi claritas mea? et si dominus sum Ego, timor meus? 10, 11. Et sacrificium non accipiam de manibus vestris, quoniam ab ortu solis usque clarificatum nomen Meum in gentibus, et in omni loco incensum admovetur nomini Meo et sacrificium mundum; quoniam magnum est nomen Meum, dicit Dominus omnipotens.—ii. 7. Quia labia sacerdotis custodiunt scientiam et lex exquirent ex ore ejus, quia angelus Domini exercituum est.—iii. 1. Ecce Ego mitto angelum Meum et inspiciet viam tuam ante faciem tuam.—iv. 2, 3. Orietur in vobis qui timetis nomen Meum sol justitiæ, et medella in alis ejus, et procidetis et luxoriimini quasi vituli de vinculis laxati, et conculcabit iniquos, quoniam erunt cine-

res subtus pedes vestros in die quo Ego facio, dicit Dominus omnipotens. 5, 6. Dicit Dominus omnipotens, Et ecce Ego mitto vobis Helias Thesbiten, priusquam veniat dies Domini magnus et inlustrius, reconciliabit cor patris ad filium et cor hominis ad proximum ejus<sup>o</sup>.

2. *Fragment of S. John's Gospel* (xi. 3, 11, 14-29, 31-37, 39-44), *in an Old Latin Version, from a leaf of a Scotch (Irish) Mass for the Dead, 8th or 9th century*<sup>p</sup>.

Te decet, Dñe, imnus; Ds in Sion; et Tibi redditur votum Hirusalem; Exaudi orationem meam; ad Te omnis caro veniet. [Ps. lxxv. (lxxiv.) 2, 3. V.]

In illis diebus dixit Ihs. ad discipulos Suos, Lazarus amicus noster infirmatur, et manifeste mortuus est: et gaudeo propter vos, ut credatis, quoniam non eram ibi: sed eamus ad eum. Dixit autem Thomas, qui dicitur Didimus, cum discipulis suis, eamus et nos moriamur cum illo. Venit Jesus, et invenit eum jam quartum diem in monumento habentem. Erat autem Bethania juxta Hirusolimam quassi stadiis quindecim. Multi autem a Judæis venerunt \* \* \* -viam venit Ei. Maria autem domi sedebat. Dixit ergo Martha ad Jhñ., Domine si fuises non fuisset mortuus frater meus. Sed nunc scio quoniam quæcumque petieris a Dñō. dabit Tibi Dñs. Ait ei Jhñ., Resurget frater tuus. Dicit ei Martha, Scio quia resurget in resurrectione in novissimo die. Dixit Jhñ., Ego sum resurrectio et vita: qui credit in Me, etsi mortuus fuerit, vivet; et qui vivit et credit in Me, non morietur. \* Credis hoc? Dixit Ei, Utique, Domine; ego credidi quoniam Tu es Xps. Filius Dei, Qui hunc [in] mundum venisti. Et cum hæc dixisset, abiit et vocavit Mariam sororem suam si[il]entio] dicens, Magister venit et vocat te. At illa \* \* \* Judæi autem qui erant cum ea et consolabantur eam, ut vid[er]unt] Mariam quod festinanter surrexisset et exisset, subsequuti sunt, dicentes, Quoniam vadit ad mo[nu]mentum ut ploret ibi. Maria au[tem] cum] venisset ubi erat Jhñ., et vid \* \* \* procedit ad pedes Ejus. Dñe [si fu]is] frater meus non fuisset mor[tu]us. Jhñ. autem cum vidisset flentem et Judæos qui vene[rant] cum] ea flentes, turbatus est sp[iritu] et] commotus dixit, Ubi posuisti \*? Dicunt, Dñe. veni et vide. Et [lacri]matus est Jhñ. Dixerunt autem, \* Ecce quomodo amabat illu[m]. \* \* nunt quidam ex eis, Non po \* \* \* [toll]ite lapidem. Dixit Ei Martha, Dñe jam pudet, qua[tri]du[m] enim habet. Ait Jesus, Nonne \* \* \* quoniam sic ne di \* \* \* videbitis gloriam Dei? Sustulerunt ergo la[pide]m. Jhñ. autem elevavit oculos suum et dixit, Pater gra[tias] ag[o] Tibi quoniam audisti Me. [Ego aut]em sciebam quoniam semper [Me aud]is, sed propter turbam que [circum]stat dixi, ut credant quoni[a]m Me misisti. Et cum hæc dixisset], exclamavit voce magna, [Lazar]e, prodi foras. Et confestim \* \* qui mortuus erat, ligatis pedibus [et ma]nibus fasciis, et facies ejus \* \* \*.

<sup>o</sup> There is no version extant agreeing with that here given. It is akin to that found in Aug. and Hieron., but markedly distinct from it.

<sup>p</sup> From MSS. S. Gall, No. 1395. Collect. Fragm. tom. II. Printed also by Forbes, *Pref. to Arundel Missal*, pp. xlviii-l. In another S. Gall mass of the 9th century (printed in

*Goldast. Rer. Alemann. Scriptt. II. 156. ed. 1730) vv. 21-27 are quoted from the Vulgate.*

<sup>q</sup> Leg. si crederia.

<sup>r</sup> The Italics in this passage mark differences from the *Vulgate*. Of these differences, several are common to it with Cod. Bez. (viz. 23 petieris, 27 om. vivi [with Cod. Amiat.], 28 venit,



3. The few quotations from the Gospels, which are written on the margins of the MS. Juvencus in Cambridge University Library (Ff. 4. 32), are from the *Old Latin*, but contain nothing specially British or Irish. They agree occasionally with the *Old Latin* used by Gildas (as e. g. S. Matth. v. 13 *projeceatur*, vii. 2 *judicabitur de vobis*), and present a few remarkable readings not traceable elsewhere (as S. John i. 51, *Amodo* [from the Greek] *videbitis cœlos apertas*). The MS. is Welsh, of the 9th century, but contains entries relating to Nuadu and Fethgna Bishops of Armagh, who died respectively A.D. 811 and 874 (see Skene and Bradshaw, in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X. 153-156), which shew it to have been carried to Ireland before the last-named year. That the Irish and Welsh Church were at this time in close intercourse with each other, see below under A.D. 883: where it will be seen that, if the very probable hypothesis of Messrs. Skene and Bradshaw is correct, the MS. must have originally belonged to the abbey of Llancarvan, and be dated about the middle or beginning of the 9th century.

39 *putet*, 44 *confestim*, and in v. 20 *obviavit*); and the first two of these also with MS. Colb., which agrees further in omitting *ut* in 16, and in reading in 33 *flentes*, in 39 *quatrimum habet*, and in 42 *turbam quæ*. Heref. Gosp. also omit *ut* in 16, and *vivi* in 27. MS. Vercell. has in 22 *petieris*, in 28 *venit*, in 33 *flentem*, and *flentes*, in 42 *turbam quæ*: all of which (*except venit*) are likewise in MS. Veron., with the addition of 43 *prodi*. 25 *etsi*, is in γ., ε., and Gaud. Brix. But the other differences, e. g. 20 *obviam venit*, 31 *autem*, *viderunt*, *festinanter*, *surrexisset*, *subsequuti*, *quoniam*, 32 *procedit* [*leg. procidit*], *fuisset*, 33 *turbatus est spiritu et commotus*, 36 *autem*, 37 *eis*, 43 *exclamavit*, 44 *pedibus et ma-*

*nibus fasciis*,—are peculiar to the MS. itself, in common only (*except 33*, which occurs nowhere else) with the oldest extant Irish MS., viz. β.: which last agrees likewise in reading 22 *petieris*, 25 *etsi*, 27 *quoniam* (and *om. vivi*), 33 *flentem*, *flentes*, 39 *quatrimum enim habet*, 41 *elevans oculos sursum et*, 42 *turbam quæ*, *quoniam*, 43 *prodi*, 44 *confestim*. And 37 *eis*, 41 *sustulerunt*, 44 *ligatis &c.*, are in γ. In all its marked peculiarities, therefore, save one, this fragment tallies with the oldest of the MSS. at Trin. Coll. Dublin, and in most of them with that alone; while both it and β. have a general agreement with MSS. Vercell. and Veron., and with Cod. Bez.

**COUNCILS**  
**OF**  
**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.**

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**III.**  
**CHURCH OF WALES DURING THE SAXON AND**  
**NORMAN PERIODS,**

**A. D. 681-1295.**

Period 1.—*To the end of the Schism*, A.D. 681–809.

Quippe cum moris sit Brittonum fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo cum eis magis communicare quam paganis.—BÆD. *H. E.*, II. 20. [A.D. 731.]

Period 2.—*From the end of the Schism to the claim of Jurisdiction by the See of Canterbury*, A.D. 809–1100.

Usque ad illum [Wilfridum, *ob.* 1112] Episcopi extitere Brittonici.—SIM. DUN. *ap. Twysd.* 236, *FLOR. WIG. in an.* 1115.

Period 3.—*From the claim of Jurisdiction by the See of Canterbury to the Visitations of Archbishop Baldwin*, A.D. 1100–1188.

Cantuariensis [Archiepiscopus] habet ..... suæ ditioni subjectos ..... Episcopos Hiberniæ et Walarum.—GUL. MALM. *G. R. A. III.* § 300 (also in *Append. ad FLOR. WIG. M. H. B.* 644). [A.D. 1114 × 1123.]

Period 4.—*From the Visitations of Archbishop Baldwin to the complete absorption of the Welsh Church (and State) into the English*, A.D. 1188–1295.

Ea namque tempestate quasi regulare in Anglia fuit, quod nemo Walensis vel etiam in Wallia natus, ..... Episcopus in Wallia præficiendus.—GIR. CAMBR. *De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl.*, *Dist. I.*; *Opp. III.* 121. [A.D. 1218.]

Quoties Anglici in terram nostram et nos insurgunt, statim Archiepiscopi Cantuarienses totam terram nostram sub interdicto concludunt, et nos ..... nominatim et gentem nostram in genere sententia excommunicationis involvunt.—WELSH PRINCES TO POPE INNOCENT III. [A.D. 1202.] (*ap. Gir. Cambr. ib. Dist. IV.* 245.)

# CHURCH OF WALES

## DURING THE SAXON AND NORMAN PERIODS,

A.D. 681-1295.

### PERIOD THE FIRST.

#### TO THE END OF THE SCHISM, A.D. 681-809.

[A.D. 681 (?). Death of the last British titular King of Britain, Cadwalader.

A.D. 768, the North Welsh, and 777, the South Welsh, adopt the Roman Easter.

A.D. 777 or 790. Final boundary fixed between Wales and Mercia, viz. Offa's Dyke from mouth of Dee to mouth of Wye (*Asser, Ann. Camb.* a. 790, *Brut y Tywysog., Higden ap. Gale, I. 194*).

A.D. 809. Death of Elbod of Bangor; a last effort said to have been made to revert to the British Easter.]

A. D. 681 (?)<sup>a</sup>. *Death<sup>b</sup> of the last British (titular) King of Britain, Cadwalader. (His pilgrimage to Rome probably a fiction.)*

BRUT Y TYWYSOG.: — Ac yny vlwydyn honno y bu uarw Kadwaladyr uendigeit uab Kadwalawn uab Catuan Brenhin y Brytanyeit yn Rufein y deudecuet dyd o Vei, megys y proffwydassei Vyrddin kyn no hynny wrth Wretheyrn gwrtheneu: ac o hynny allan y colles y Brytanyeit goron y teyrnas ac yd ennillawd y Saeson hi. [*M. H. B. 841.*]

And in that year Cadwalader the blessed, son of Cadwallon son of Cadfan, King of the Britons, died at Rome on the 12th day of May: as Myrddin had previously prophesied to Vortigern of repulsive lips: and thenceforth the Britons lost the crown of the kingdom, and the Saxons gained it. [*M. H. B. 841.*]

<sup>a</sup> This date is merely assumed as the most probable according to the evidence (see next

note), and as supplying a convenient era, approximately true, for the period (certainly the latter

part of the 7th century) when Britain merged into Wales. The intimate and friendly connexion of Wales with Wessex during the reign of Ine (A.D. 688-725), which plays so large a part in later legend (see Lappenberg), and the Council which enacted a right of *consubium* between Saxon, Briton, and Scot, found in the spurious additions to the Laws of Edward the Confessor (c. 35, ap. *Lib. Customarum, inter Munim. Guildhall. London.*, vol. II. pt. ii. pp. 638, 639, ed. Riley, and thence in Lambard's '*Archæon.* 148, and *Willelme, Conc.* I. 74), are purely mythical. And Aldhelm, as quoted below under A.D. 705, proves unfortunately that the historical relations of the two peoples at the particular period were precisely of an opposite kind.

<sup>b</sup> Both date and place of Cadwalader's death are doubtful: save that it is pretty certain he did not die at Rome. 1. The *Ann. Camb.* a. 682, make him die of the plague in Britain; and two other versions of the same Annals make him fly from the plague in that year (between 674 and 683, Gwentian *Brut*), but to Armorica or Lesser Britain. Nennius also (*M. H. B.* 76) makes him die of the plague and in Britain, but in the time of Oswy and therefore A.D. 664. The

Annals however are the better authority of the two for the date. 2. It is quite impossible that a Welsh King in the very height of the schism should have made a pilgrimage to Rome, while the subsequent common practice of such pilgrimages, beginning with Cyngen in A.D. 854,—not to add the previous similar practice in the 4th and 5th centuries (above, pp. 10, 11, 14),—renders the invention of such a tradition very probable. And 3. there is this special mark of fiction in the particular story, that Cadwalader has obviously been confounded with Cadwalla of Wessex, in accordance with the special confusion of Welsh and Wessex Kings and names referred to in the beginning of the last note. Ivor son of Cadwalader, confounded with Ine son of Cadwalla in the additions to the Laws of Edward referred to in the last note, is also taken on pilgrimage to Rome, A.D. 698, by the *Brut y Tywyog.* in its Gwentian form (p. 4 in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X.). Eleventh and twelfth century Welsh legends commonly take Saints or Kings either to Rome (as Benno, Brynach, Cadoc, Oudoceus) or rather more often to Jerusalem (as David, Padarn, Teilo, Cybi, Cadoc again, and King Arthur in Nennius).

A. D. 705-731. *Schism between British, but especially Welsh, and Saxon Churches still continues.*

ALDHELM, *Epist. ad Geruntium (Damnonia Regem)*. [A. D. 705].—*Illud vero quam valde a fide Catholica discrepat, et ab evangelica traditione discordat, quod ultra Sabrinæ fluminis fretum Demetarum sacerdotes, de privata propria<sup>a</sup> conversationis munditia gloriantes, nostram communionem magnopere abominantur; in tantum, ut nec in ecclesia nobiscum orationum officia celebrare, nec ad mensam ciborum fercula, pro charitatis gratia, pariter percipere dignentur; quin imo fragmenta ferculorum et reliquias epularum lurconum canum rictibus et immundis devorandas porcis projiciunt. Vascula quoque et phialas aut arenosis sablonum glareis aut fulvis favillarum cineribus expianda purgandaque præcipiunt. Non salutatio pacifica præbetur, non osculum piæ fraternitatis offertur; dicente Apostolo, Salutate vos in osculo sancto; nec manibus lomentum, aut latex cum manutergio, exhibetur; neque pedibus ad lavacrum pelvis apponitur..... Ast vero si quilibet de nostris, id est, Catholicis, ad eos habitandi gratia perrexerint, non prius ad consortium sodalitatis suæ asciscere dignantur, quam quadraginta dierum spatia in poenitendo peragere compellantur<sup>b</sup>. [ap. *Migne, Patrol. lxxxix.* 90.]*

BÆDA, *H. E.* II. 20. [A. D. 731].—*Quippe cum usque hodie moris sit Brittonum fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque*

in aliquo eis magis communicare quum paganis.—*Id. ib. V. 23.* Brittones, quamvis et maxima ex parte domestico sibi odio gentem Anglorum et totius Catholicæ Ecclesiæ statum Pascha minus recte moribusque improbis impugnent, tamen et Divina sibi et humana prorsus resistente virtute, in neutro cupitum possunt obtinere propositum; quippe qui, quamvis ex parte sui sint juris, nonnulla tamen ex parte Anglorum sunt servitio mancipati. [*M. H. B. 171, 284.*]

\* *Leg. propria.*

\* See however on the Saxon side the canon of Theodore, repeated A.D. 734 x 766 by Egbert: and again on the Scottish [Irish], a century earlier, the Scotch Bishop Daganus' treatment of

Laurentius of Canterbury.—“Ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescemur, sumere voluit.” [*Bæd. H. E. II. 4.* speaking of A.D. 604 x 610.]

A. D. 717. *Churches in Wales first dedicated to others than their founders<sup>a</sup>.*

BRUT Y TYWYSOG. a. 717. — A year after that, and the church of S. Michael was consecrated. Blwydyn wedy hynny, ac y kys-segruwyt eglwys lann Vihagel. [*M. H. B. 842.*]

See also *Ann. Camb.* a. 718. [*M. H. B. 833.*]

\* See below, under A.D. 1155, and *Bees*, Welsh SS. 67, who specifies three successive periods in such (early) dedications in Wales, the

1st and earliest to founders, the 2nd to S. Michael, the 3rd to the Blessed Virgin.

A.D. 739. *Pope Gregory III. warns the Bavarian and Allemannic Bishops against British Missionaries<sup>a</sup>.*

GREGORIUS PAPA III. *ad Episcopos Bajoariæ et Allemanniæ.*—[exhorts them to obey S. Boniface, and further, that] gentilitatis ritum et doctrinam, vel venientium Brittonum, vel falsorum sacerdotum et hæreticorum, aut undecunque sint, renuentes ac prohibentes adjiciatis, etc. [*Inter Epistt. S. Bonifacii, Epist. 45, ed. Würdtw.*]

\* If S. Boniface suggested the prohibition, “Brittones,” in his mouth, must have meant Welsh or Cornishmen, rather than Bréttons; and considering the relations at the time of Cornwall and Wessex, probably Welshmen. But the prohibition is more likely to be only a repetition

of the “Romana institutio” alluded to in the canon quoted above on p. 126. It is singular that this is almost the only trace of British (as distinct from the numerous Scoto-Irish) missionaries, in Allemannia or Bavaria. See however above, p. 154, note \*.

A. D. 768 (or 755)–809. *The Welsh adopt the Roman Easter<sup>a</sup>.*

ANN. CAMB.—CCCXXIV. Annus [A. D. 768], Pascha commutatur apud Brittones [super Dominicam diem<sup>b</sup>], emendante Elbodugo<sup>c</sup>

homine Dei. [*M. H. B.* 833.]—CCCLXV. Annus [A.D. 809], Elbodge Archiepiscopus Guenedoti regionis migravit ad Dominum. [*ib.*]

So also the BRUT Y TYWYSOG. [*M. H. B.* 843.]

BRUT Y TYWYSOG. (*Gwentian*)—

*Oed Crist* 755, y symudwyd y Pasg yng Ngwynedd o gyngor Elfod Escob Bangor, ond nis caid hynny gan yr Escobion eraill, ac achaws hynny y daethant y Saeson ar y Cymry yn Neheubarth. [p. 6. in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X.]

*Oed Crist* 777, y symudwyd y Pasc yn Neheubarth. [p. 8. *ib.*]

*Oed Crist* 809, y bu farw Elfod Archescob Gwynedd, ... ac y bu terfysg mawr ym mhlith y gwyr eglwysig achaws y Pasc; canys ni fynnai Escobion Llandaf a Mynyw ymroddi dan Archescob Gwynedd lle yr aeddynt en hunain yn Archescobion hŷn o fraint<sup>d</sup>. [*ib.*]

\* All other Churches of the British communion had already done so. Nennius (so called), who styles himself "discipulus S. Elbodi," used the 19 years' cycle; which prevailed therefore in Gwynedd from Elbod's time. But it is first used in the *Līb. Landav.* under the year 1022, and by the *Brut y Tywysog.* (*M. H. B.* 851) under the year 1005, and by both erroneously. Nevertheless, the South Wales dioceses must have conformed to the Roman Easter if they were in close communion with the Saxon Church; as appears to have been the case, more or less, from about the end of the 9th century.

<sup>b</sup> These words, which are wanting in some MSS., are evidently a gloss founded on the mistaken supposition that the British were Quato-decimans.

<sup>c</sup> *Aliter* Elbodū, or Elbodo. He is styled

A.D. 755.—Easter was changed in Gwynedd by the advice of Elvod, Bishop of Bangor; but the other Bishops did not concur therein; on which account the Saxons invaded the Cymry in South Wales. [p. 7. *ib.*]

A.D. 777.—Easter was altered in South Wales. [p. 9. *ib.*]

A.D. 809.—Elvod, Archbishop of Gwynedd, died; ... and a great tumult [occurred] among the ecclesiastics on account of Easter; for the Bishops of Llandaff and Menevia would not succumb to the Archbishop of Gwynedd, being themselves Archbishops of older privilege<sup>d</sup>. [*ib.*]

Elvodugus in some MSS. of Nennius, and in others Elbotus, or Elbodus.

<sup>d</sup> The last echo of the British Easter controversy is traced (by Usber) in certain κληρικαί, τῶν εἰς αὐτὰ που τὰ ἔκτρα τῆς οἰκουμένης οἰκοῦντων, who A.D. 842 x 847 (acc. to the anon. *Vita S. Chrysost.*, written c. A.D. 950 [Cave]), ἐνεκὰ τινων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παραδόσεων τελείας τε τοῦ Πασχαλίου καὶ ἀκρίβους καταλήψεως τὴν βασιλῖδα πόλιν (Constantinople) καταλάβοντες, τῇ ταύτης τῇ τηρικαύτῃ Πατριάρχῃ προσεληλύθασιν· Μεθόδιος οὗτος δ' ἐν πατράσιν ἐπιδίδεος ὅψ' οὐ ποθέντε καὶ τίνος χάριν ἦκεν ἐρωτηθέντες, τῶν Ὀικενοικῶν ἔφασαν εἶναι διατριβῶν, κ. τ. λ., proceeding among other things to profess themselves diligent readers of S. Chrysostom.

## PERIOD THE SECOND.

FROM THE END OF THE SCHISM TO THE CLAIM OF JURISDICTION BY  
THE SEE OF CANTERBURY, A.D. 809-1100.

- [A.D. 816. Wales subject to the supremacy of Egbert (*Ann. Camb.* a. 816, 818, *Brut y Tyrysog.* a. 817, 819, 823, *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* a. 828).  
A.D. 870. South Welsh Bishops said to have been consecrated in many cases henceforth by the Archbishops of Canterbury.—A.D. 874. A Saxon Bishop of S. David's.  
A.D. 884 or 885. South Welsh Princes, and, shortly after, the Prince of Gwynedd, under the protection of Alfred (*Asser*), and A.D. 922 homagers to Eadward the Elder (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.* a. 922), and A.D. 926 to Æthelstan, who fixes the Wye as the Welsh boundary (*Laws of Howel Dda, Anglo-Sax. Chron.* a. 926, *Kemble, C. D.* 352, 353, 363, 364, 367, 424, 426, 451, 1103, 1107, 1110, 1112, *Flor. Wig.* a. 926, *W. Malm., G. R. II.*).  
A.D. 928. Codification of Welsh Laws, ecclesiastical and civil in one, by an Assembly of Clergy and Laity under Howel Dda.  
A.D. 973. Welsh Kings homagers to Eadgar (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Flor. Wig.* a. 973, and see *Kemble, C. D.* 519).  
A.D. 1043-1055. A Bishop of S. David's acts as vicar to the (Saxon) Bishop of Hereford.  
A.D. 1063, 1064. Harold reconquers Wales, in revolt since 1055, and reinforces the boundary of Offa's Dyke by penalties (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Flor. Wig.* a. 1064, *Gtr. Camb. de Illtud. Wallace, Higden ap. Gale, I.* 194).  
A.D. 1071-1096. Revival of learning at S. David's in connection with the Irish Church, under Bishop Sulien and his sons.  
A.D. 1081. William I. "subjugavit sibi Walliam" (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Ann. de Winton.*), and visits S. David's.  
A.D. 1090-1100. Norman occupation of South Wales (*Brut y Tyrysog. Gwent.* 72-76). —From the death of Rhys King of South Wales, c. A.D. 1093 (1090 *Ann. Menev.*, 1091 *Ann. Camb.* and *Brut W. Williams*), "regnare in Walonia (i. e. South Wales) Reges desiere" (*Flor. Wig. II.* 31).—Institution of Lords Marchers.  
A.D. 1092. Attempt to intrude a non-Welsh Bishop on the see of Bangor.  
A.D. 1095 x 1100. Jurisdiction asserted by Archbishop Anselm over the Bishops of S. David's and Llandaff.]

*Early in the 9th Century. Gift of MS. Gospels to Llandaff  
Cathedral<sup>a</sup>.*

BOOK OF S. CHAD, *marg.*—Ostenditur hic quod emit ✠ Gelhi filius Arihtiud hoc Evangelium de Cingal, et dedit illi pro illo equum optimum: et dedit pro anima sua istum Evangelium Deo et Sancto Teliaui super altare.

✠ Gelhi ✠ filius Arihtiud: et Cincenn ✠ filius Gripiud.



[*In marg. Lib. MS. S. Chad*, p. 141, printed in *Hickes, Diss. Epist.* 11; *Wanley, Lit. Sept.* 289; and (with facsimile) in *Append. to Lib. Landav.* 271; and in facsimile also in *Westwood's Palæogr. Sacra.*]

\* This memorandum occurs with others (relating mostly to gifts of land to Llandaff) on the margin of the MS. Gospels (an Irish MS.) once belonging to Llandaff, now to Lichfield Cathedral. See above, p. 190, note 1. Another memorandum mentions Bishop Nobis (Nywys) of Llandaff. And the gift of the MS. therefore must be dated early in the 9th century, as Nywys, who is reckoned as "19th Bishop" in the *Lib. Landav.* 208, followed shortly after Bishop Cerenhir, if that book (206) may be trusted. The disappearance of the MS. from Llandaff, obviously prior to the compilation of the *Lib. Landav.*, which makes no

use of its memoranda, and its possession by the Cathedral Church of Mercia, leave it still doubtful, what kind of transaction, in the comparatively peaceable 10th century, had thus transferred the ownership of the documents of the Welsh see. One of these memoranda (in *Wanley*, p. 290) refers to Leofgar, Bishop of Lichfield (died A.D. 1026). Another, printed by Rees (p. 273), contains the name of Mormarch, who however cannot be the cotemporary of Bishop Herwald, A.D. 1056-1104, mentioned in the *Lib. Landav.*: inasmuch as the S. Chad Gospels plainly got to Lichfield before 1026.

*Similar date. Grant of Freedom to a Serf, made in the presence of  
Laity and Clergy of Llandaff\*.*

IB.—\*\*\* cc ēē t \*\* dene<sup>b</sup> lit \* \* ith, iiii fi \* \* ledri gu \* \* agnunn<sup>c</sup> \* \* uch. et \* ci \* arthiud \* iunt li[bert]atem Ble \* \* filio Sul \* et semini [eius] in sempi[ter]num. Propter. [a]tque hoc est \* e quod dedit [pro] liberta[te] quatuor \* \* os et oc[to] \* \* incias. [Actum cor]am idoneis [t]estibus; de [laic]is Riguo \* n filius \* \* ic, Guen filius \* r, Guoluic [filius \*]jedan, Ou \* f.<sup>d</sup> Guur \* aim, Mer \* an f.<sup>d</sup> Salus, Arthan f.<sup>d</sup> Cimulch, Judri f.<sup>d</sup> Judnerth; de clericis vero Nobis Episcopus Teiliau, Saturnguid sacerdos Teiliav, Dubrino<sup>o</sup>, et Cuhelm filius Episcopi, Saturnbiu cam ibiav, et Sulgen [scho]lasticus qui hanc fideliter scripsit. Qui custodierit hoc decretum libertatis Bleidiud, et prolis eius, sit benedictus. Qui autem non custodierit, sit maledictus a Deo, et a Teiliav, in cuius Evangelio scriptum est. Et [dic]at omnis populus, fiat, fiat. [*In marg. ejusd. MS.* p. 218, and printed in *Hickes, Diss. Epist.* 11; *Wanley, Lit. Sept.* 290; and *Append. to Lib. Landav.* 273.]

\* Similar deeds of manumission occur in Saxon England and Cornwall (*Hickes, Diss. Epist.* 12-15, *Kemble, C. D.*, VI. 209-211). The above is entered on the margins of p. 218 of the MS. Gospels above mentioned, and "its former part is much damaged, and rendered for the greater part

unintelligible by the cutting of the bookbinder" (*Rees, Lib. Landav.* 617).

<sup>b</sup> So *Wanley*: pene *Hickes*.

<sup>c</sup> So *Wanley*: ngim *Hickes*.

<sup>d</sup> i. e. filius.

<sup>e</sup> So *Hickes*: Dubrmo *Wanley*.

A. D. 854. ANN. CAMB.—CCCCX. Annus, Cinnen<sup>a</sup> rex Pouis in Roma obiit. [*M. H. B.* 835. So also *Brut y Tywysog.* a. 854 (*ib.* 845). He was killed there by his own men, according to the Gwentian *Brut.* a. 850.]

\* *Aliter* Cyngen. See his monumental inscription to his ancestor Eliseg, below in App. B.

A.D. 871, 883, 894—BRUT Y TYWYSOG. *Gwent.*

*Oed Crist* 871, bu farw Einion ... Escob Mynyw, ac y gwnaethpwyd Hubert Sais<sup>a</sup> yn Escob yn ei le ef. [p. 14. in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X.]

<sup>a</sup> Seemingly identical with Llanwerth or Llanbert or Llanverd or Llywarch or Lambert or Martin, consecrated to the See of S. David's 874 (*Ann. Camb.* and *Brut y Tywysog.*) by the Archbishop

A.D. 871.—Einion, ... Bishop of Menevia, died; and Hubert the Saxon<sup>a</sup> was made Bishop in his room. [p. 15. *ib.*]

of Canterbury (*R. de Diceto*). Einion must = Novis, Asser's kinsman (*M. H. B.* 488), who (acc. to *Ann. Camb.*, and see also *Brut y Tywysog.*, *ib.* 835, 845) died in 873.

*IB.*—*Oed Crist* 883, ... y bu farw Cydifor abad Llanfeithin<sup>b</sup>, gwr doeth a dysgedig oedd efe a mawr ei dduwioldeb. Efe a ddanfones chwech o wyr doethion ei gor i ddodi addysc i Wyddelod y Werddon. [p. 16. *ib.*]

<sup>b</sup> = Llanccarvan.—Armagh was destroyed by the Danes A.D. 850 and 867, and was restored by Bishop Fethgna 852-874; to whom it is

A.D. 883. .... Cydivor, abbat of Llanveithin<sup>b</sup>, died, a wise and learned man, and of great piety. He sent six learned men of his abbey to Ireland to instruct the Irish. [p. 17. *ib.*]

conjectured that these monks were sent (*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X. 154). See above on p. 198, what is said about the Welsh Juvenius.

*IB.*—*Oed Crist* 894, y bu farw Hywel<sup>c</sup> ab Rhys ab Arthfael arglwydd Morganwg yn ei lawn henaint yn Rhufain ym mhen tridiau wedi ei fyned yno, sef ei oed chweugeinmlwydd a phedair. [pp. 18, 20, *ib.*]

<sup>c</sup> See the inscriptions in Llantwit churchyard, below in App. B. Howel died A.D. 885, according to all the other Chronicles.

A.D. 894.—Howel<sup>c</sup> son of Rhys, son of Arthfael, lord of Glamorgan, died in his full old age at Rome, three days after his arrival, at the age of a hundred and twenty-four. [pp. 19, 21. *ib.*]

*9th and beginning of 10th centuries, to A.D. 929. Synodical Acts of Discipline alleged to have been exercised by Bishops of Llandaff over South Welsh Princes<sup>a</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> See above, pp. 125, 126: and for the form of these documents, below, under Bishop Herwald, A.D. 1056 x 1104. Those which are here referred to are *in extenso* in *Lib. Landav.* 196, 202-206, 221-224, 227-229, and, except the first and last, in *Wilkins, I.* 197-199 (under the misnomer of Councils of Llandaff). They relate to—

i. A synod held merely to receive a grant of land to Bishop Trychan, and to grant absolution to Brochmael and his sons (*L. L.* 196).

ii. A synodical excommunication of Howel King of Gwynedd, and

iii. Of Ili, for murder committed after swear-

ing amity upon relics in the Bishop's presence, by Bishop Cerenhir (*L. L.* 202-206).

iv. Settlement by a synod of a disputed title to a church between Brochmael King of Gwent and Bishop Cyfeiliawg, and

v. Excommunication (synodical) of the same Brochmael and his "family" by the same Bishop, for wrong done to the Bishop and his "family" (*L. L.* 221-224).

vi. And of Tewdwr King of Brecknock by Bishop Liban for stealing the Bishop's dinner by force from the abbey of Llancon (*L. L.* 227-229).

Howel (see also under A.D. 894, above) and Brochmael (cf. § iv., v.) were both tributaries to King Alfred about A.D. 884 (*Asser*). Trychan, and the Brochmael of § i., are placed at an earlier but uncertain period by the *Lib. Landav.*, Trychan's successor being cotemporary with Howel's father (*L. L.* 196). Cyfeiliawg's dates are 870–

927 (see below), Libiau's 927–929.

Part of the satisfaction enjoined upon Brochmael in the last case but one, was the payment to the Bishop of a plate of pure gold the length and breadth of the Bishop's face. And Libiau exacted the "price" of a Bishop, 100 mancus's of gold, sevenfold.

*End of 9th and beginning of 10th centuries [A.D. 870–929?] South Welsh Bishops said to have been consecrated by the Archbishops of Canterbury<sup>a</sup>.*

ASSER, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*.—His temporibus<sup>b</sup>, ego quoque (Asser) a rege (Ælfredo) advocatus, de occiduis et ultimis Britanniae finibus ad Saxoniam adveni, ..... ex consilio et licentia nostrorum omnium<sup>c</sup> pro utilitate illius sancti loci<sup>d</sup> et omnium in eo habitantium; Regi ut promiseram, ejus servitio me devovi, ea conditione ut per sex menses omni anno cum eo commanerem..... Sperabant enim nostri minores tribulationes et injurias ex parte Hemeid Regis sustinere, qui sæpe deprædabatur illud monasterium et parochiam Sancti Degui, aliquando expulsionem illorum antistitem qui in eo præessent, sicut et Novis Archiepiscopum propinquum meum et me expulit aliquando sub ipsis: si ego ad notitiam et amicitiam illius Regis qualicumque pacto pervenirem. Illo enim tempore et multo ante omnes regiones dexteralis Britanniae partis ad Ælfred Regem pertinebant, et adhuc pertinent<sup>e</sup> ..... Anaraut<sup>f</sup> quoque filius Rotri ..... cum a Rege (Ælfredo) honorifice receptus esset, et ad manum Episcopi in filium confirmationis acceptus maximisque donis ditatus, [se] Regis dominio cum omnibus suis eadem conditione subdidit, ut in omnibus Regiæ voluntati sic obediens esset, sicut Æthered cum Merciiis. [*M. H. B.* 487, 488.]

R. DE DICETO, *Abbrev. Chron.*—A. 872. Æthelredus Dorobernensis Archiepiscopus. Hic Chevelliauc Episcopum Landaviae, et post Libau Episcopum Landaviae, et post Lunverd Episcopum Sancti David, Cantuariæ consecravit. [*Twysd.* 451.]

FLOR. WIG., *Chron.* a. 915.—Pagani ... terras septentrionalium Britonum invadunt, et cuncta quæ circa fluminis<sup>g</sup> ripam reperiunt, pene diripiunt. Captum quoque in campo Yrcenefeld nuncupato Britonum Episcopum Cymelgeac, lætantes non modicum, ad naves deducunt secum: quem non multo post XL. libris argenti Rex redemit Eadwardus. [*M. H. B.* 570. So also the *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* a. 918.]

LIB. LANDAV.—DCCCC<sup>mo</sup>. XX<sup>o</sup>. VII<sup>o</sup>. Cimeilliauc Episcopus migravit ad Dominum. .... DCCCC<sup>mo</sup>. XX<sup>o</sup>. IX<sup>o</sup>. Libiau Episcopus

migravit ad Dominum, et ordinationis suæ anno tertio. [*Lib. Landav.* 227, 230. So also the *Canterbury Rolls*, ap. *Godwin*, ed. Richardson.]

ANN. CAMB.—CCCCXXX. Annus. [A.D. 874.] Llunwerth<sup>a</sup> Episcopus consecratur. [*M. H. B.* 835.—Lwmbert of Mynyw, *Brut y Tywysog.* a. 874; *ib.* 845.]

<sup>a</sup> Spiritual subjection usually followed temporal. And therefore, although the precise dates as given are irreconcilable, the fact of consecration of South Welsh Bishops at this period by the Archbishop of Canterbury (especially if one of them was a Saxon by nation) is possibly true. The like story in the *Lib. Landav.* of the consecration of Oulocerus at Canterbury in the beginning of the 7th century is of course a fiction. At the same time the conflicting statements of later date (see under A.D. 972), and the evident inclination of the compiler of the *Lib. Landav.* and still more of Canterbury authorities to make out a connection between Llandaff and Canterbury, throw suspicion upon all assertions of the kind. Æthelred was Archbishop of Canterbury A.D. 870-889. It is possible therefore that he might have consecrated Cyfelliawg. And Llunwerth falls within his Archiepiscopate. But Libiau's consecration is dated by the *Lib. Landav.* within that of Wulfhelm, and 38 years after Æthelred's death.

The Northmen wasted Glamorgan and Gwent, and as far inland as Brecknock, both in A.D. 895 and 915 (*Ann. Camb.*).

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 884 acc. to Spelman, and Pauli.

<sup>c</sup> *Sc. ecclesiasticorum* S. David.

<sup>d</sup> *Sc. S. David's.*

<sup>e</sup> *Sc.* the principalities of Hemeid King of Dyfed, Howel King of Gwelys, Brochmael and Fernmael Kings of Gwent, Heised King of Brecknock.

<sup>f</sup> King of Gwynedd.

<sup>g</sup> *Sc.* the Wye.

<sup>h</sup> If Lumberth, "Episcopus S. David," who intercedes only (as an equal) with Libiau of Llandaff on behalf of Tewdwr King of Brecknock (*Lib. Landav.* 2:8), was really a Saxon (see above, under A.D. 871), his consecration at Canterbury certainly becomes probable. And Asser's connection with Alfred falls also in the early portion of Lumberth's Episcopate: which lasted to 944, if the *Ann. Camb.* may be trusted.

[A.D. 928 (?)—*Laws of Howel Dda*—*Brut y Tywysog. Gwent.* :—

Oed Crist 926, aeth Hywel Dda fab Cadell, Brenin Cymry oll, i Rufain, a chydag ef dri Escob<sup>a</sup>, sef oeddynt Martin Escob Mynyw, a Mordaf Escob Bangor, a Marchlwys Escob Teilaw, a chyda hwnnw Blegywryd ab Owain pencyfeistedd Llandaf, brawd Morgan Brenin Morganwg, a'r achaws eu myned yno, ymgynghori a doethion y modd y gwellheid cyfreithiau gwlad Gymru, a gwybod cyfreithiau gwledydd a dinasoedd eraill, a'r cyfreithiau a fuant gan Amherodron Rhufain yn ynys Prydain yn amser eu hunbennaeth hwy, a gwedi caffael gwybodaeth o'r pethan hynny, a chyngor doethion, dychwelyd i Gymru, lle y galwes Hy-

A.D. 926.—Howel the Good, son of Cadell, King of all Wales, went to Rome, and three Bishops<sup>a</sup> with him,—Martin, Bishop of Menevia; Mordaf, Bishop of Bangor; and Marchlwys, Bishop of Teilaw: and Blegywryd, son of Owain, chief of the court of Llandaff, brother to Morgan, King of Glamorgan, accompanied them. The reason they went there was, to consult the wise in what manner to improve the laws of Wales, and to ascertain the laws of other countries and cities, and the laws in force in Britain during the sovereignty of the Emperors of Rome. And after obtaining information of these things, and the

<sup>a</sup> See however below, p. 219.

wel attaw holl bencenedloedd gwlad au teisbanteuluoedd, a phob doethion a dysgedigion o wyr llên a lleygion yn ddygynnull gorsedd hyd y Ty Gwynn an Daf yn Nyfed. A gwedi chwi-liaw a gaffad o bob gwlad a dinas y caed yn oreuon o'r cyfan cyfreithiau Dyfnwal Moelmud, a thrwy ddysg ac athrawiaethgar ymgais Blegywryd athraw y trefnwyd y rhai hynny, ac au doded wrth farn y dygynnull, oni chaed gannynt eglurhâd, a gwellhâd, ac adlanwad ar y rhai hynny, a gwedi myned wrth farn a rhaith gwlad yn y dygynnull y cadarnhâd y cyfreithiau ac au rhodded yn ddeddfedigawl ar holl wlad Gymru, a gwedi hynny myned i Rufain yr ail waith o Hywel, a chael barn doethion yno, a gwybod bod y cyfreithiau hynny yn gydgerddedogion a chyfraith Duw ac a chyfreithiau gwledydd a dinasoedd tiroedd cred a bedydd, y daeth yn ei ol i Gymru, ac y dodes ei gyfreithiau wrth farn y cantrefi, a'r cymmydau, a rhaith gwlad, ac o hynny ydd aethant yn gadarn yn holl arglwyddiaethau Cymru, ac ym mhob llys arglwydd a chenedl hyd nad oedd a gaeai yn eu herbyn, ag nad oeddent o arall yn un llys gwlad ac arglwydd yng Nghymru, ac achaws daed ei gyfreithiau y gelwir ef Hywel Dda (pp. 20, 22).]

counsel of the wise, they returned to Britain, where Howel convoked all the heads of tribes, of the country and their assistants, and all the wise and learned, ecclesiastical and lay, in a combined session at the White House upon Tav in Dyved. And after searching what was procured from every country, the laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud were found to be the best; and by the learning and doctrinal skill of the Doctor Blegywryd they were arranged; and by the judgment of the assembly they were expounded, improved, and augmented; and after the laws had passed the judgment and verdict of the country in the assembly, they were authorized and made legal in all the country of Wales. And after that Howel went a second time to Rome, and obtained the judgment of the wise there, and ascertained those laws to be in accordance with the law of God and the laws of countries and cities in the receipt of faith and baptism. He then returned to Wales, and submitted his laws to the judgment of the cantreys, comots, and verdict of the country; and thence they became authorized in all the lordships of Wales, and in every court of lord and tribe, until they became paramount; and no others were used in any court of country and lord in Wales; and from the goodness of his laws he was called Howel the Good (*ib.* pp. 21, 23).]

## A.D. 928.—CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA,

AR DDULL GWYNEDD:—

AR DDULL DYVED:—

AR DDULL GWENT.

THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD<sup>a</sup>,

ACCORDING TO THE VENEDOTIAN CODE:—

ACCORDING TO THE DIMETIAN CODE:—

ACCORDING TO THE GWENTIAN CODE.

*[The ecclesiastical portions only of these Laws are here given.]*

A.D. 928(?). *Assembly of Clergy and Laity, representing all Wales, under Howel Dda King first of Deheubarth and ultimately of all Wales, at Whitland in Caermarthenshire, where the following ecclesiastical laws were sanctioned as part of a digest of the laws of the country<sup>a</sup>.*

\* Mr. Aneurin Owen's Preface to his edition of the Welsh Laws (Lond. 1841) will supply full information respecting the digest accomplished by Howel. In course of time the (seemingly) at first single code became distinguished into three, varying with the three great divisions of Wales, viz. Gwynedd (Venedotia), Dyved (Dimetia) for Deheubarth, and Gwent (i. e. Monmouth, &c.) for Morgannwg. The extracts from the code here given are distinguished accordingly. Subsequent revisions, from certainly A. D. 1080 to the Statute of Rhuddlan A.D. 1284 (which introduced English law), have also rendered it impossible to separate in the code, according to existing MSS., the exact laws of the original code from later alterations or additions. It must be borne in mind, therefore, that the following extracts are from 12th and 13th century transcripts only, of a document, embodying no doubt and modifying documents earlier than its own date (of a little after 900), but itself again, as undoubtedly, largely modified before these transcripts were made. The date of the original assembly depends upon the following evidence.—Howel Dda became king of South Wales

A. D. 909, and of North Wales A. D. 915 (*Ann. Camb.*, and see *Lappenberg*), tributary to Eadward of England A. D. 919 and to Æthelstan A. D. 926 (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, and *Flor. Wig.*), was at the latter's court A. D. 931, 932, 933, and 934 (*Kemble, C. D.* 353, 363, 364, 1003, 1007, 1010), at Eadred's A. D. 949 (*ib.* 424, 426), went to Rome A. D. 928 (*Ann. Camb.*, but A. D. 920, i. e. between 920 and 930, *Brut y Tywysog.*) in order to get his laws confirmed by the Pope (*Pref. to Laws, Dimet. Code*, and to Bk. III. of *Venedotian*), and died A. D. 950 (*Ann. Camb.*, but 948, *Brut y Tywysog.*), or 951 (*Sim. Dunelm.*). But the Laws themselves (*Pref. to Dimet. Code*) date the journey to Rome A. D. 914, and name Anastasius, who died A. D. 913, as Pope at the time. The Gwentian form of the *Brut y Tywysog.* (as already quoted) asserts two journeys to Rome, one for advice beforehand, the other subsequently for approbation, and relates both under A. D. 926. The Code itself twice or thrice (sometimes for the purpose of asserting a contrary law) mentions the "law of Rome," both canon and civil.

\*<sup>a</sup> [The notes, throughout the following extracts from Howel Dda's Laws, are Mr. Aneurin Owen's. And the reader is also referred to Mr. Owen's edition of the Laws (8vo. 2 vols. 1841), whence the extracts are taken, for the account of the MSS. designated by the letters A, B, C, D, &c. &c., and for the copious additional various readings given in his edition, but with which it has not been thought worth while to encumber the pages of the present work. The order of the Venedotian Code has been followed in arranging the sections; but for their division and numbering, and for the arrangement of their contents, and for those titles to sections which are within brackets, neither Mr. Owen nor the MSS. are responsible. The Latin variations and additions are taken from two Latin digests of the Dimetian Code, and from a third, a fragment, abridging only one book of the Code, here denoted respectively by α., β., γ., according to the order in which they are printed (under the title of *Leges Wallior*) at the end of Mr. Owen's work. The second of them, β., is that already referred to (p. 127, note \*) as containing several laws nearly verbally identical with certain canons in an 8th century MS., possibly part of the original materials of Howel's digest. For subsequent variations in, and additions to, the Laws, see below in App. C. The extracts in Wilkins, I. 208-212, are taken from Dr. Wotton's *Leges Wallior*.]

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A. D. 928.]

## RHAGLITH.

GWYNEDD<sup>a</sup>.

HEUEL da uab Kadell tewysauc Kemry oll auelles e Kemry en kam arueru or kefreithyeu ac a deuenus atau chueguyr o pop <sup>1</sup>kemut eny tehuysok-aet' [hýt ý Tý Gwýn ar Taf a henný or gwýr doethaf ýný kýuoeth] e peduuar [onadunt] en lleycyon ar deu en escoleycyon. Sef achau e uenuyt er escolycyon rac gossod or lleycyon dym auey yn erbyn er escrythur lan. Sef amser edoythant eno e Garauuys [a] sef achau edoythant e Garauuys urth delehu opaup bot en yaun en yr amser glan hunnu ac na guenelhey kam en [yr] amser gleyndyt. Ac o kyd keghor akysynedycaeth edoython a doytant eno er hen kefreithyeu a esteryasant arey onadunt aadassant yredec arey aemendassant ac ereyll en kubyl adyleassant ac ereyll oneuuyt ahosodassant.

Aguedy honny onadunt ekefreithyeu auarnassant eu cadu [a] Heuel arodes

<sup>1</sup> cantref ýg Kemrý *B.D.*DYVED<sup>b</sup>.

HYWEL da orat Duw mab Kadell brenhin Kymry oll awelas y Gymry yghamaruer ogyureitheu adeuodeu ac wrth hynny a devynnawd attaw o bop kymhwt <sup>2</sup>oe teyrnnas' whegwyr aaruerynt o awdurdawt ac ygneittaeth a holl eglwysswyr yteyrnnas aaruerynt o teilygdawt bagleu megys Archescob Mynyw ac Esgyb ac abadeu aphrioreu hyt ylle aelwir y Ty Gwynn ar Taf yn Dyuet. Y ty hwnnw aberis ef y adeilat o wyeil gwynnyon yn llety ydaw wrth hely pan deley y Deuet ac wrth hynny y gelwit ef y Ty Gwyn.

Ar Brenhin ar gynnu-lleittua honno atrigassant yno trwy yr holl Arawys ywedaiy Duw trwy dyrwest [a gwedi] perffeith ac y erchi rat a darpar yr Brenhin y wellau kyureitheu adeodeu [<sup>3</sup>Kymry]. Ac or gynnulleittua honno pan tervynnavd

<sup>2</sup> yg Kymry *N.O.P.Q.*  
<sup>3</sup> amaw ef X.GWENT<sup>c</sup>.

HYWEL da mab Cadell brenhin Kymry awnaeth trwy rat Duw a dyrwest agweddi can oed eidyaw ef Kymry yny theruyn, [nýt amgen no] pedwar cantrew <sup>4</sup>athrugeint yn Deheubarth, a deunaw cantref Gwyned, a thrugein tref tra Chyrchell a thrugein tref Buellt. Ac yn [ý] teruyn hynny nyt geir geir neb <sup>5</sup>arnadunt hwy' ageir yw <sup>6</sup>eu geir hwy ar pawb.

[E] sef yd oed drwc dedueu, adryc kyfreitheu kyn noc ef, [ac] y kymyrth ynteu chwe gwyr o bob kymwt yg Kymry ac yduc hyt y Ty Gwyn ar Taf, a seith ugein baglawc yrrwg Esgybac Archescgyb, ac abadeu ac athrawon da y wneuthur kyureitheu da ac y diot y rei drwc a oed kyn noc ef, ac yw cadarnhau yny enw ehun.

Ac or niuer hwnnw y

<sup>4</sup> arhugain Z.  
<sup>5</sup> hynny L.  
<sup>6</sup> e X.

<sup>a</sup> Gwynedd, or Venedotia, contained the greater part of what is now called North Wales.

<sup>b</sup> Dyved, or West Wales, in strict acceptation, was the name of the district bounded by the Tywi on the S.E. and by the Teivi on the N.W.; but in a wider sense the country over which the eccle-

siastical supremacy of the see of Menevia extended.

<sup>c</sup> Gwent, the appellation of the district in Wales inhabited by the Silures, comprised the diocese of Llandaff.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## PREFACE.

## VENEDOTIAN.

HOWEL the good, the son of Cadell, prince of all <sup>a</sup>‘Cymru,’ seeing the <sup>a</sup>‘Cymry’ perverting the laws, summoned to him six men, from each <sup>1</sup>‘cymwd’<sup>b</sup> in the principality, the wisest in his dominion, to the <sup>c</sup>White House on the Tav; four of them laics, and two clerks. The clerks were summoned lest the laics should ordain any thing contrary to the holy scripture. The time when they assembled together was Lent, and the reason they assembled in Lent was, because every one should be pure at that holy time, and should do no wrong at a time of purity. And with mutual counsel and deliberation the wise men there assembled examined the ancient laws; some of which they suffered to continue unaltered, some they amended, others they entirely abrogated; and some new laws they enacted.

And after promulgating the laws which they had decided to establish, Howel

## DIMETIAN.

HOWEL the good, son of Cadell, by the grace of God, king of all Cymru, observed the Cymry perverting the laws and customs; and therefore he summoned to him, from every cymwd <sup>2</sup>of his kingdom, six men, who were practised in authority and jurisprudence; and all the clergy of the kingdom possessed of the dignity of the crosier, as the Archbishop of Menevia, and Bishops, and abbats, and priors, to the place called the White House upon the Tav, in Dyved. That house he ordered to be constructed of white rods, as a lodge for him in hunting, when he came to Dyved; and on that account it was called the White House.

And the King, with that assembly, remained there during the whole of Lent, to pray to God, through perfect abstinence, and to implore grace and discernment for the King to amend the laws and <sup>3</sup>customs of Cymru. And, at the termination of Lent,

## GWENTIAN.

HOWEL the good, son of Cadell, king of Cymru, enacted, by the grace of God and fasting and prayer, when Cymru was in his possession in its bounds; to wit, <sup>4</sup>three score and four <sup>4</sup>cantrevs in South Wales, eighteen cantrevs of Gwynedd, three score trevs beyond the <sup>c</sup>Cyrchell, and three score trevs of <sup>f</sup>Bualt. And within that limit the word of no one went before <sup>5</sup>their word, and <sup>6</sup>their word was binding upon all.

As bad customs and bad laws existed before his time, he summoned six men from every cymwd in Cymru, and assembled them at the White House upon the Tav, together with seven score croziers, between Bishops, and Archbishops, and abbats, and good teachers, to form wholesome laws, and to abrogate the bad ones before his time, and to give them stability in his own name.

And, out of that num-

<sup>1</sup> ‘cantrev’ in Cymru *B.D.*

<sup>2</sup> in Cymru *N.O.P.Q.*

<sup>3</sup> those customs *L.*

<sup>4</sup> one *Z.*

<sup>5</sup> his *X.*

<sup>6</sup> his *X.*

<sup>a</sup> ‘Cymru’ signifies Wales, and ‘Cymry’ the Welsh nation.

<sup>b</sup> ‘Cymwd’ is a territorial division, of which two generally form a ‘cantrev,’ though it sometimes contains more.

<sup>c</sup> The White House stood near the site of Whitland Abbey in Caermarthenshire.

<sup>d</sup> There appears to be an error in this reading, as there never were so many cantrevs in all Wales; if ‘cymwds’ be substituted, the account would be

near the truth. The reading of *Z*, as probably correct, would have been inserted in the text, if so modern a transcript could be preferred before five ancient MSS.

<sup>e</sup> Now called Crychell, a brook in Radnorshire, which runs by Abbey Cwm hir and falls into the leithon.

<sup>f</sup> A district in the upper part of Brecknockshire.



[CIVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## RHAGLITH.

## GWYNEDD.

yaudurdaut udunt ac a orckemenus en kadarn eu kadu en craf. A Heuel ar doythyon auuant y kyd ac ef aossodassant eu hemendyth ar hon Kemry holl ar y nep eg Kemry alecrey heb eu kadu ekefreythieu : ac adodassant eu hemendyth ar er egnat a kemero dyofryt braut ac ar er argluyt ay rodhei ydau ar ny uypey teyr kolheuen kefreyth a guerth guellt adof apop pedh [or a berthyn arnadunt or y mae] reyt y dynyaul aruer arnau. [I. 2.]

## BOOK III. RHAGLITH.

[Hewel da vap Kadell tewýssavc Kemrý a devýnnvs attav chwegwýr o pob kantref eg Kemrý oll hýt e Tý Gwýn ar Daf en Dývet a henný or gwýr doethaf en ekevoeth e pedwar onadvnt en lleegýon ar dev en escolheýgýon. Sef achavs e dwcpwýt er escolheýgýon rac dodý or lleegýon pe-thev a veý en erbýn er escrethvr glan. Ac e sef amser e doethant eno

## DYVED.

y Garawys y dewissaud y Brenhin y déudec lleyc doethaf oe wyr ar vn yscalheic doethaf yr hwnn aelwit yr athro Vlegywryt y luneithaw ac y synnhwyraw idaw [ef] ac oe teyrnnas kyureitheu <sup>1</sup>ac aruerod' yn perffeith [o nadunt] ac yn nessaf [ac] y gellit at [yr] wironed a iawnder.

Ac y dechreuis eu hysgriuenu ynteir rann [ac] yn gynntaf kyureith y llys pennydyawl ; yr eil kyureith y wlat ; y tryded aruer o bop vn onadunt [wynteu yn berffaith.] Guedy hynny yd erchis [y Brenhin] gwnneuthur tri llifuyr kyureith : vn vrth y lys peunydyaul [yn] pressuyl [uodic] ygyt ac ef [e hun ;] aral ylys Dinneur ; y trydyd ylys Aberffraw megys ycaffey teir rann Kymry nyt amgen Gwyned Pwys [a] Deheubarth audurdawt kyureith yn eu plith vrth eu reit yn wastat ac yn parawt [pop amser].

Ac o gyghor y doethonn hynny rei or henn gyureitheu [hynny] a gynnhalawd [ef] ereill a wellaawd

## GWENT.

dewisswyt y deudec lleyc doethaf ar un yscalheic kymhenhaf y wneuthur y kyureitheu hynny. Sef awnaethant hwy pan daruudunt wneuthur y kyureitheu dodi emelldith Duw ac un y gynnulleitua honno ac un Gymry benbaladry ar y neb a torhei y kyureitheu hynny.

Ar llyuyr hwn <sup>2</sup>herwyd Morgeneu a <sup>3</sup>Chyfneth y uab adigonet. Ar gwyr hynny' oed oreu yn eu hamser ar cof a chyfreitheu [ac oesseu]. [I. 620, 622.]

## [LL. WALLICÆ.

*Of the Prefaces to the Latin transcripts of the Laws (which are of the Dimetian type) the following only contain new matter.*

Incipit Prologus in Libro Legum Howel Da (Howeli Boni).

Brittannie leges rex Howel, qui cognominatur bonus, id est, da, regni sui, scilicet, Gwynedotorum, Powyssorum, atque Dextralium, sapientium, et in uno loco antea suum tribunal congregatorum, uno consensu et diligenti, quia ex omni natione, medio, circiter,

<sup>1</sup> Kýmry ac i arver P.<sup>2</sup> Blegýwryt yscalheic ae hýscruenwýs ; canýs ef a W.<sup>3</sup> chyureith X.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## PREFACE.

## VENEDOTIAN.

sanctioned them with his authority, and strictly commanded them to be scrupulously observed. And Howel and the wise men who were with him denounced their malediction, and that of all the Cymry, upon him who should not obey the laws: and they denounced their malediction upon the judge who might undertake a judicial function, and upon the <sup>a</sup>lord who might confer it upon him, without knowing the <sup>b</sup>three columns of law, and the worth of wild and tame animals; and everything pertaining to them necessary and customary in a community. [I. 3.]

## BOOK III. PREFACE.

Howel the good, son of Cadell, prince of Cymru, summoned to him six men from every cantrev in all Cymru, to the White House on the Tav, in Dyved, and those of the wisest men in his dominion; four of them laics, and two clerks. The cause for bringing the clerks was, lest the laics should introduce what might be contrary to the holy scripture. And the time of

## DIMETIAN.

the King selected, out of that assembly, twelve of the wisest laics, and the most learned scholar, who was called the master Blegwryd, to form and systemize the laws 'and usages', for him and his kingdom perfectly, and the nearest possible to truth and to justice.

And he began to write them in three parts: the first, the daily law of the palace; the second, the law of the country; the third, the perfect administration of each of them. In the next place, the King ordered three law books to be prepared: one for the use of the daily court, to remain continually with himself; another for the court of Dinevwr; the third for the court of Aberfraw: so that the three divisions of Cymru, namely, Gwynedd, Powys, and South Wales, might have continually amongst them the authority of the law, ready for their reference at all times.

And by the advice of those wise men, the King retained some of the old laws; others he amended;

## GWENTIAN.

ber, twelve of the wisest laics and the best scholar were selected to make those laws. And when they had finished those laws, they imprecated the malediction of God, and of that assembly, and of Cymru in general, upon whosoever should break those laws.

And this book was <sup>2</sup>compiled according to Morgeneu and <sup>3</sup>Cyvnernth his son. And these men were the best in their time for record and laws and periods. [I. 621, 623.]

<sup>1</sup> of Cymru and its custom P.  
<sup>2</sup> the law of X.

<sup>3</sup> written by Blegwryd the clerk; because he was W.

<sup>a</sup> The superior chief of a district.

<sup>b</sup> Which, in Book III., are described to be such as relate to murder, arson, and theft.

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## RHAGLITH.

## GWYNEDD.

pethevnos a mŷ or Garawŷ ac esef achavŷ e doethant eno e Garawŷ vrth na delŷ nep na dewedwŷt kam naŷ gwnevtŷr en er amser gleŷndŷt hvnnv.

Ac ena l'ededrychassant e kŷvreŷthŷev ar hon a veŷ re trom y chosp o nadvnt ŷ hescavŷnhav ar hon a veŷ re eskavŷn onadvnt ŷ hachwanegv: peth or kŷvreŷthŷev a adassant val edoeŷdŷnt peth arall a vŷnnassant ŷ emendav ereŷll a dyleassant en kvbŷl ac ereŷll o newŷd a ossodassant.

Ac ena e dodassant Hewel da a hennŷ o doethŷon ev hemendŷth ar nep a kam arvereŷ or kŷvreŷthŷev hennŷ ac ar er arglwŷd aŷ semvteŷ ŷr vn onadvnt namŷn kan dvvndep kŷnnvleŷtva kŷmeŷnt ac awu eno. Er eŷl emendŷth a dodassant ar er arglwŷd aŷ rodeŷ ac ar e dŷn aŷ kŷmereŷ arnaw teŷlŷgdavt egneŷdŷaeth ar nŷ gwŷpeŷ teŷr kolovŷn kŷvreŷth a gwerth gwŷllt a dof ac aperthŷn attadvnt.

## DYVED.

ereill a dileawd o gwbyl a gossot kyureitŷeu newŷd ynn eu lle. Ac yna ykŷhoedes [ef] y gyureith yr bopyl yn gwbyl ac y catarnnhawd y awdurdawt vdunt arygyureith honnoac y dotet emelltith Duw ar eidaw ŷwynteu ac vn Gymry oll aryneb nys cattwei rac llaw megys ygossottet [yna] onny ellit y gwellaw o gyuundeb gwlat ac arglwŷd.

[Llyma lyfyr ogyfreith awnaeth Hwel da yny Ty Gwynn ar Daf ŷyn Yfed, yr hwnn ŷ doyth yno o wŷs Hwel y chwegwyr doethaf o bop kymwt Ynghymry o lygion a seith vgeint baclawc o Archesgyp ac Esgyp ac athrawon da ac abadeu aphriorieit, o doython Kymry oll. Ef a wnaethbwyt y deudec doythaf o hyny arneilltu y wneuthur y gyfreith, ar vn ysgolheic huotlaf o Gymry oll y ysgrifenu y gyfreith, ac y edrych rac gwneythrdim ynerbyn kyfreith Eglwŷs na chyfreith yr Amherodyr.

A llyma henwau y gwyr llygion hynny oll nid amgen:

<sup>1</sup> i dechreusant K.<sup>2</sup> ynteu I.M.N.O.P.Q.R.S.<sup>3</sup> kyd boed hevyd pethav ereill ynddaw o kyfreithŷr da a wnaŷth doythion kyn no hyny ac wedi hyny a hyn wnaŷthbwŷd ynghyfraith Howel kyfraith Howel a dŷleir i chredv a chyd Z.

## [LL. WALLICÆ.]

temperateque constituit. Acciuit de quolibet pago per suum regnum sex uiros auctoritate et scientia, et omnes Episcopos, Archiepiscopos, abbates, et sacerdotes totius Wallie pollentes ad locum qui dicitur Tŷ Gweŷn ar Taf (Domus Alba super Tavam), et ibi demorati sunt XL<sup>a</sup>. diebus et XL<sup>a</sup>. noctibus in pane et aqua, et tunc temperauerunt reditionem forefacti, id est, *casŷ* (punitionem), superflua diminuere que erant in pluribus reditionibus forefacti: ita fecerunt pretium uniuscuiusque rei et iudicium congruum de qualibet re. Tunc surrexerunt omnes Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, abbates, et sacerdotes, induerunt uestes suas, et insteterunt bacculis cum crucibus et candelis, et ex communi consilio excommunicauerunt transgredientes leges istas, et similiter obseruantes benedixerunt: hec iudicia scripta sunt. (II. 749.)

*At the end of the Preface to the Dimetian (Latin) Code in MS. Bodl. 280.*

“Explicit edictus legibus, liber  
bŷficius,  
Quem Regi scripsit Blangoridus, et quoque fŷz,

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## PREFACE.

VENEDOTIAN.

DIMETIAN.

[LL. WALLICÆ.]

their assembling there was the six weeks of Lent; and the cause for their coming there in Lent was, that no one ought to speak or to do wrong at that time of purity.

And then they <sup>1</sup>examined the laws: such of them as might be too severe in punishment, to mitigate; and such as might be too lenient, to render more rigorous: some of the laws they suffered to remain unaltered; others they willed to amend; others they abrogated entirely; and they enacted some new laws.

And then Howel the good and those wise men denounced their malediction upon such as should pervert those laws; and upon the lord who should change any one of them, except with the consent of an assembly as large as that which met there. Another malediction they denounced upon the lord who should confer, and upon the person who should undertake, judicial authority, without knowing the three columns of law; and the worth of wild and tame animals, and whatever pertains to them.

others he abolished entirely, and established new laws in their place. And then he fully promulgated the law among the people; and he supported it with his authority; and the malediction of God, as well as <sup>2</sup>theirs, and that of all Cymru, was pronounced upon such as should not thenceforth observe it, in the manner then set forth; unless altered by the concurrence of the country and the lord.

Here is the book of the law made by Howel the good at the White House upon Tav, <sup>3</sup>in Dyved, to which there came, by the summons of Howel, six of the wisest laics from every cymwd in Cymru, and seven score croziers, Archbishops, and Bishops, and good teachers, and abbats, and priors, being the wise men of all Cymru. Twelve of the wisest of that number were set apart to form the law, with one clerk, the most learned in all Cymru, to write the law, and to guard against doing anything in opposition to the law of the Church, or the law of the Emperor.

Here are the names of all those laymen, that is to say:

<sup>1</sup> began K.<sup>2</sup> his I.M.N.O.P.Q.R.S.<sup>3</sup> although there are likewise in it many other good laws made by wise men previously and afterwards; and what is inserted in the law of Howel is to be credited; and together Z.

[CYFREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## RHAGLITH.

## GWYNEDD.

Agwedy gwneuthur o  
honunt y kyfreitheu ual  
y tebygynt eu bot yn  
deilwg, yd aeth Howel da  
ac Escob Mynyw, ac Escob  
Assaf, ac Escob Bangor, ac  
y am hynny yny vu ar y  
drydyd ardec o athrawon  
adoethon ereill o leygyon  
ac yd aethant hyt yn  
Ruuein y gymryt awdur-  
dawt Pab Ruuein y gy-  
freitheu Howel. Ac yna  
y<sup>1</sup> darllewyd kyfreitheu  
Howel rac bronn Pab  
Ruuein, ac y bu uodlawn  
y Pab udunt ac y rodes y  
awdurdawt udunt; ac y  
doeth Howel ae gedym-  
deithon adref. Ac yr  
hynny hyt hediw yd ydys  
yn daly o gyfreitheu  
Howel da. [I. 214, 216.]

## DYVED.

Morgeneu ynat;  
Kyfnerth y vab;  
Gweir vab Rvvawn;  
Gronwy vab Moridic;

Kewyd ynat;  
Iddic ynat;  
Gwiberi hen o Iscenein;

Gwrnerth llwyd y vab;

Meddwon ail Kerisc;

Gwgawn Dyuet;  
Bledrws vab Bleidyd;

Gwynn vaer y gwr oed  
berchenawc ar Lantafwin  
bioed y ty y gwnaethbwyd  
y gyfreith yndaw a Blege-  
wryd archdiagawn Llann-  
daf a oed yr ysgolheic a  
doctor ynghyfreith yr Am-  
herawdyr ac ynghyfreith  
yr Eglwys oed ef.

Ac gwedy darfod gwneu-  
thur y gyfraith oll ae hys-  
grifeny yn gwbyl ef a aeth  
Hoel da a theuyrnedd o  
Gymryygidacef a Lambert  
Esgob Mynyw, a Mordaf  
Esgob Bangor, a Chebur  
Esgob Seint Asaph, a Ble-  
gewryd archdiagawn Llann-  
daf, hyd att Anestacius Bab  
hyd yn Ryfein y darllein  
y gyfreith ac y edrych a  
oed dim yn erbyn kyfreith  
Dy o honei hi ac am

## [LL. WALLICÆ.]

Howeli turbæ doctor tunc  
regis in urbe,  
Gornando cano quoque ju-  
dice cotidiano.

Gornerth lwýd mab Gwý-  
beri bach (Gornandus ca-  
nus, filius Gwiberi parvi),  
erat judex curiæ de Dine-  
wur in tempore Hýwel da,  
ut *Þdīu est in uersibus.*"  
(*In Mr. Owen's Preface*, p.  
xxxiv.)]

<sup>1</sup> doeth llyfyr K.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## PREFACE.

## VENEDOTIAN.

And after they had constituted the laws as they considered to be fitting, Howel the good, and the Bishop of Menevia, the Bishop of Asaph, and the Bishop of Bangor, together with others, making thirteen in number, of teachers and of other wise men, of the laity, went to Rome to obtain the authority of the Pope of Rome for the laws of Howel. And there were read the laws of Howel in the presence of the Pope of Rome, and the Pope was satisfied with them, and gave them his authority; and Howel, with his companions, returned home. And from that time until the present day, the laws of Howel the good are in force. [I. 215, 217.]

## DIMETIAN.

Morgeneu, the judge;  
 Cyvnerth, his son;  
 Gwair, son of Ruvon;  
 Goronwy, son of Mo-reiddig;  
 Cewydd, the judge;  
 Iddig, the judge;  
 Gwiberi the aged, of Iscenain;  
 Gwrnerth the grey, his son;  
 Meddwon, son of Ce-risg;  
 Gwgon of Dyved;  
 Bledrws, son of Bleid-dyd;  
 Gwyn, the maer, the man who was the owner of Glantavwyn, to whom the house belonged in which the law was made; and Blegewryd, archdeacon of Llandaff, was the clerk, and he was a doctor in the law of the Emperor and in the law of the Church.

After the law had been all made, and completely written, Howel the good, accompanied by princes of Cymru, and \*Lambert, Bishop of Menevia, and Mordav, Bishop of Bangor, and Cebur, Bishop of Saint Asaph, and Blegewryd, archdeacon of Llandaff, went to Rome, to Pope Anastasius, to read the law, and to see if there were anything con-

## GWENTIAN.

<sup>1</sup> the book came of K.

\* These names are variously written in the *Brut y Tywysog*. (*M. H. B.* 847): and differ still more widely in the Gwentian *Brut*, see above, p. 209.

[CTVRREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## RHAGLITH.

GWYNEDD.

DYVED.

GWENT.

nadoed dim yn gwrthneby  
 idi, hi a deilyngwyd ac a  
 elwid yn gyfreith Hwel  
 dda hi o hynny allann.

Oedran yr Arglwyd Jesu  
 Grist yr amser hwnnw  
 naw kant mlyned a phe-  
 deir ardec. A llyma y  
 gwersseu a wnaeth Blege-  
 wryt yna yn dystoliaeth ar  
 hynny.

Explicit editus legibus liber  
 bene finitus  
 Quem regi scripsit Blangori-  
 dus et quoque fuit  
 Hweli turbe doctor tunc legis  
 in vrbe  
 Cornando cano tunc iudice  
 cotidiano  
 Rex dabit ad partem dexte-  
 ram nam sumerat artem.

Sef oed oed Krist pan  
 aeth Howel da vrenhin  
 y Ryuein y gadarnhau  
 y gyfreitheu drwy . . . .  
 awl vediant XIII. a IX.  
 C mylyned.

<sup>1</sup> Oed Crist XL. a IX.

• ☿ mylyned pan vy varw  
 Howel da penn a moliant  
 yr holl Vrytaniaid.]—[I,  
 338, 340, 342.]

<sup>1</sup> Oed yr Arglwydd Jesu oedd pan vy varw Howel dda vab Kadell vab Rrodri vab Kamwri  
 IX☿XLVIII. Z.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## PREFACE.

VENEDOTIAN.

DIMETIAN.

GWENTIAN.

trary to the law of God  
in it; and as there was  
nothing militating against  
it, it was confirmed, and  
was called the law of  
Howel the good from that  
time forward.

The year of the Lord  
Jesus Christ at that time,  
nine hundred and fourteen.  
And here are the verses  
composed by Blegewryd  
thereupon, in testimony of  
that event.

Explicit editus legibus liber  
bene finitus  
Quem regi scripsit Blangori-  
dus et quoque fuit  
Hweli turbe doctor tunc legis  
in vrbe  
Cornando cano tunc iudice  
cotidiano  
Rex dabit ad partem dexte-  
ram nam sumerat artem.

The year of Christ, when  
king Howel the good went  
to Rome to confirm his  
laws by papal authority,  
was nine hundred and  
fourteen.

<sup>1</sup> The year of Christ was  
nine hundred and <sup>a</sup> forty  
when Howel the good  
died, the chief and glory  
of all the Britons'. [I. 339,  
341, 343.]

<sup>1</sup> The year of the Lord Jesus when Howel the good, son of Cadell, son of Rodri, son of  
<sup>b</sup> Camwri, died, 948. Z.

<sup>a</sup> The discrepancy in the dates concerning the death of Howel is occasioned by the account in the text being taken from a chronicle in which the events of a decade were not particularized. See the *Brut* y *Tyrysog*. a. 948 (M. H. B. 847).

<sup>b</sup> This word, which means 'oppression,' is an epithet here applied to Mervyn the father of Rodri.



[CYFREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## I. AM SWYDDOGION Y LLYS.

## GWYNEDD (BK. I. c. i.)

I. Or llys e kemyrnt de-  
creu; <sup>1</sup>ac egosodes pedu-  
uar arugeyn oguasanaeth-  
guyr en llys' [nyt amgen:]

1. Penteulu.

2. Effeiryat [teŷlu].  
(&c. &c.)

II. [Swydogyon y vren-  
hines ynt y rei hynn.]

1. Dysteyn eurenyn-  
nes.

2. Efeiryat euerenyn-  
nes.  
(&c. &c.)

III. <sup>2</sup>Swydhocyon ery-  
fassam ny huchof dyuethaf  
ar uuyt ynt' <sup>3</sup>.

IV. Teregueyt ene uul-  
uyn e deleant epeduar-  
suydauc arugeyn huchof  
kafael heruuyd kefreyth  
eu bredhenguysc ykan  
ebrenyn ac eu llyeynguysc  
y can eurenynnes [nyt am-  
gen] e Nodolyc a[r] Pasc  
a[r] Sulguyn.

V. E Brenhin adele roy  
ir urenynnes trayan akafo  
o enyll o [e] tyr a [e]  
dayar ac e uelly <sup>3</sup>guasa-  
naytguyr ebrenyn adeleant  
roy trayan y guasanaytuyr  
eurenynnes. [I. 4, 6.]

## DYVED (BK. I. c. i.)

I. Kynntaf y dechreuis  
y Brenhin kyureith yllys  
peunydyaul ac or dechreu  
y gossodes petuar swydawc  
arhugeint ynny lys peu-  
nydyawl nyt amgen:

1. Pennteulu.

2. Offeirrat teulu.  
(&c. &c.)

9. Dystein brenhines.

10. Offeirrat brenhines.  
(&c. &c.)

II. Dylyetyswydogyonn  
hynn yw caffel brethynn-  
wisc y gann [y] Brenhin  
allieynwysc y gann y vren-  
hines teir gweith ynny ul-  
wydynn yn Nadolyc, ar  
Pasc, ar Sulgwynn.

III. Y vrenhines adyly  
caffel [y] trayan y gann y  
Brenhin or ennill a del  
ydaw oetir ac val hynny  
y dily [ant] swydogyonn  
yvrenhines [caffel y] tra-  
yan [or ennill] y gan swy-  
dogyonn y Brenhin. [I.  
344.]

## GWENT (BK. I. c. i.)

I. Ac y dechreussant yn  
gyntaf kyfreitheu llys can  
ynt penhaf canys wrth y  
Brenhin ar urenhines y  
perthynant, ar pedwar  
swydawc arugeint ae can-  
hymdaant [nyt amgen].

1. Penteulu.

2. Effeirat teulu.  
(&c. &c.)

9. Distein [y] bren-  
hines.

10. Effeirat [y] bren-  
hines.  
(&c. &c.)

II. Dylyet yswydogyon  
[oll] yw caffel brethynwisc  
yganybrenhin, allieinwisc  
ygan yurenhines teir  
gweith ynny ulwydyn; y  
Nadolyc, ar Pasc, ar Sulg-  
wyn.

\* \* \*

IV. Swydogyon y uren-  
hines agaffant trayan o holl  
enill swydogyon y Bren-  
hin. [I. 622, 624.]

## II. AM BRIODOLION LEOEDD.

## (BK. I. c. vi.)

[Petwar cadeŷryawc] ar  
dec esyt en [y] llys peduuar

## (BK. I. c. v. § 2.)

Y le ayvd ynny neuad  
amytan ar Brenhin; ac

## (BK. I. c. v. § 6.)

[Y] rwg y gwrthrychat  
ar colouyn yn nessaf idaw

<sup>1</sup> petwar swydawc arugeynt adely bot yndy B.D.  
fw rey y llys, ar wyth dywethaf fw rey y urenhines B.

<sup>2</sup> Ar swydogyon kyntaf aryuassam ny uchot  
<sup>3</sup> swydwyr y Brenhin y swydwyr B.D.

<sup>3</sup> The text here appears to be corrupt, through  
the omission of part of the sentence and the ambi-  
guity of the word 'uuyt' in the ancient orthography

of A., which admits of being read 'wuyt,' 'food,' as  
in E., or 'wyth,' 'eight,' as in B.D.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## I. OF THE OFFICERS OF THE COURT.

## VENEDOTIAN (BK. I. c. i.)

I. He began with the court; <sup>1</sup>and appointed twenty-four servants in the court', namely:

1. Chief of the household.
2. Priest of the household.

(Fourteen others.)

II. These are the officers of the queen.

1. Steward to the queen.
2. Priest to the queen.

(Six others.)

III. <sup>2</sup>The officers whom we have enumerated above are last at table' <sup>a</sup>.

IV. Three times in the year the above twenty-four officers are entitled to receive, according to law, their woollen garments from the King, and their linen garments from the queen; namely, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

V. The King is to give the queen a third of the produce of his landed property; and in like manner <sup>3</sup>the servants of the King are to give a third to the servants' of the queen. [I. 5, 7.]

## DIMETIAN (BK. I. c. i.)

I. First, the King instituted the law of his daily court; and at the first he established twenty-four officers in the daily service of his court, that is to say:

1. Chief of the household.
2. Priest of the household.

(Six others.)

9. Steward to the queen.
10. Priest to the queen.

(Fourteen others.)

II. The due of these officers is to have woollen clothing from the King, and linen clothing from the queen, three times in the year; at Christmas, at Easter, and at Whitsuntide.

III. The queen is to have a third from the King of the produce accruing to him from his land; and in like manner, the officers of the queen are to have a third of the produce of the officers of the King. [I. 345.]

## GWENTIAN (BK. I. c. i.)

I. And they began with the laws of the court, as they are the most important, since they pertain to the King and queen, and the twenty-four officers who accompany them: namely,

1. Chief of the household.
2. Priest of the household.

(Six others.)

9. Steward to the queen.
10. Priest to the queen.

(Fourteen others.)

II. All the officers are to have woollen clothing from the King, and linen clothing from the queen, three times in the year; at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

\* \* \*

IV. The officers of the queen have a third of all the revenue of the officers of the King. [I. 623, 625.]

## II. OF APPROPRIATE PLACES.

(BK. I. c. vi.)

There are fourteen persons who sit on chairs in

(BK. I. c. v. § 2.)

His (the edling's) place in the hall is on the oppo-

(BK. I. c. v. § 6.)

Between the heir-apparent and the pillar, next

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-four officers are to be in it B.D. <sup>2</sup> The foremost officers we enumerated above are those of the court, and the last eight are those of the queen B. <sup>3</sup> the King's servants to the servants B.D.

[CTVREITHIAU HWYEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## AM BRIODOLION LEOEDD.

GWYNEDD (BK. I. c. vi.)

onadunt ys coref adec uch coref. [Yn] kentaf [ew] ebrenyn [ef] adele eyste<sup>1</sup> en nessaf yr kelu<sup>2</sup>: ac enessaf ydau enteu<sup>3</sup> ekeg-hellaur; a guedy henny er<sup>4</sup> hosb; ac guedy henny er<sup>5</sup> edlyg; ac guedy henny e pen hebogyt; ar troydauc yam edyskyl ac ef; ar<sup>6</sup> medyc emon e kolouen yam etan ac ef. Enessaf yr kelluy arall er efeyrryat teylu urth uendygau yuuyt akanu e Pader; ar colouen uch ypen [ef] adely er gostechur ymaydu; enessaf ydau enteu er enat llys; enessaf ydhau enteu ebart kadeyryauc; egof llys empen eueyg rac deulun er efeyrryat. [I. 10.]

DYVED (BK. I. c. v. § 2.)

ynessaf ydaw y brawdwr yr rydhaw ar golofyn ac yn eil nessaf idaw yr offeirrat teulu ac or parth arall yr etlig pennkerd y wlat; guedy hwnnw nyt oes le dyledus yneb or parth hwnnw. [I. 348.]

GWENT (BK. I. c. v. § 6.)

yd eisted yr ygnat llys or parth arall [idaw] yr effeirrat teulu gwedy ynteu y penkerd [ac] odynd yn oes le dilis y neb [yn neuad].—[I. 626.]

[Bk. I. c. xxv. § 1. (8).]

Si Episcopus fuerit in tribus principalibus festis cum Rege, ad dexteram Regis debet sedere, et *Kegbel-laur* (cancellarius) ad sinistram *yn hynaf* (ut senex).—[II. 832.]

## III. AM YR OFEIRIAD TEULU.

(BK. I. c. viii.)

I. Yr eyl eu [er] efeyrryat teulu.

II. Hunu adele ytyr en

ryt ay guysc teyrgueyt en euuluydyn [ae uarch preswel a] ylyeyn [wisc] ykan eurenynes, ay uredhengysc ykan ebrenyn.

(BK. I. c. vii. § 5.)

Naud yr offeirrat teulu yw dwyn ydyn hyt yr eglwys nessaf idaw. [I. 352.]

(BK. I. c. viii. § 9.)

Y neb asarhao offeirrat [teulu] neu ae llado godeuet gyureith sened [arnaw dy] eithyr am wely tauot. [I. 356.]

(BK. I. c. vi. § 4.)

Nawd [yr] effeirrat teulu yw hebrwg [y] dyn hyt yr eglwys nessaf. [I. 628.]

(BK. I. c. vii. § 2-9.)

II. Sef yw<sup>d</sup> galanas dis-tein ygnat llys penkynydd pengwastrawt [penkerd] hebogyd gwasystauell<sup>2</sup> un<sup>3</sup> sarhaet ac un<sup>4</sup> ebediw ac un vreint eu merchet.

<sup>1</sup> yr colouyn B.<sup>2</sup> medyd B.<sup>3</sup> — effeirrad teulu X.

<sup>a</sup> The *canghellor* was an officer in each comot, attendant on the King when in his district.

<sup>b</sup> *hosb* = hospes = guest.

<sup>c</sup> *edlyg* = heir-apparent.

<sup>d</sup> *galanas* = compensation for murder.

<sup>e</sup> *saraad* = fine due for injury.

<sup>f</sup> *ebediw* = a render in the nature of a heriot or relief.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## OF APPROPRIATE PLACES.

VENEDOTIAN (BK. I. c. vi.) the palace; four of them in the lower portion, and ten in the upper portion. The first is the King; he is to sit next the 'screen': next to him the canghellor<sup>b</sup>; then the osb<sup>b</sup>; then the edling<sup>b</sup>; then the chief falconer; the foot-holder on the side opposite to the king's dish; and the<sup>2</sup> mediciner, at the base of the pillar opposite to him, on the other side of the fire. Next to the other screen, the priest of the household, to bless the food and chaunt the 'Pater;' the silentiary is to strike the pillar above his head: next to him the judge of the court; next to him the chaired bard; the smith of the court on the end of the bench, before the priest. [I. 11.]

DIMETIAN (BK. I. c. v. § 2.) site side of the fire to the King; and next to him the judge, between him and the column; and next to him the priest of the household; and on the other side of the edling<sup>b</sup>, the chief of song of the country; after him, there is no privileged place for any one, on that side. [I. 349.]

GWENTIAN (BK. I. c. v. § 6.) to him, the judge of the court sits; and the priest of the household on the other side of him; next to him the chief of song; and after that there is no fixed place for any one in the hall. [I. 627.]

## III. OF THE PRIEST OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

(BK. I. c. viii.)

I. The second [of the King's officers] is the priest of the household.

II. He is to have his land free; his clothing three times in the year; and his horse in attendance; and his linen clothing from the queen, and his woollen clothing from the King.

(BK. I. c. vii. § 5.)

The protection of the priest of the household is, to convey the person to the nearest church. [I. 353.]

(BK. I. c. viii. § 9.)

Whoever does saraad to the priest of the household, or shall kill him, is amenable to the laws of the synod; but not for tongue-wound. [I. 357.]

(BK. I. c. vi. § 4.)

The protection of the priest of the household is, to conduct the person to the nearest church. [I. 629.]

(BK. I. c. vii. § 2-14.)

II. The galanas<sup>b</sup> of the steward, judge of the court, chief huntsman, chief groom, chief of song, falconer, and page of the chamber, <sup>3</sup>and their sa-

<sup>1</sup> pillar B.<sup>2</sup> mead brewer B.<sup>3</sup> — priest of the household X.

\* The hall, it would appear, contained six pillars for the support of the roof; the fire-place occupied a space between two of these pillars, and screens, which extended from these pillars to the side walls, divided the hall into two parts; in the

dais, or upper portion, the king and nine of his officers were seated, in the nether portion were allotted seats for the other four officers, and places for the rest of the household.

<sup>b</sup> See notes <sup>a</sup>, <sup>b</sup>, <sup>c</sup>, <sup>d</sup>, on p. 224.

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 938.]

## AM YR OFEIRIAD TEULU.

GWYNEDD (BK. I. c. viii.)

III. Yle en eneuat [ýv] yam etan ar Brenyn enes-saf yr keluy urth uendykau y uuyt akanu e Pader.

IV. Ylety [ýv] en ty [y] clocyd ar escolegygon y kyd ac ef.

V. Ysaraet eu heruyd braut [ý] senedguyr.

VI. Ay ankuyn eu [bwyt] seyc acorneyt [o] llyn.

VII. Ef adele ofrum ebrenyn apaup [or] yrodho ef ofrum ydau eneteyr guyl ar bennyc.

VIII. Ef adele trayan degum e Brenyn.

IX. Ef adele degum teulu [ac] ef adele adel en eu dayret.

X. Ef adele pedeir kei-nyauc [gabyr] am pop yn-seyl agoret [or] arodher am tyr adayar a neghesseu ereyll maur.

XI. Ef adele ofrum ebrenyn peunyt ar [yr] eferen ac ofrum esuyd-guyr aclan: atrayan [eu]

DYVED (BK. I. c. ix. § 3.)

Llety yr offeirat ar ys-colheigyonn yw ty [ý] cap-lan ytref<sup>a</sup> a llety offeirat [y] brenhines y gyt ac wynt. [I. 358.]

(BK. I. c. xii.)

I. Offeirat teulu ageiff ywisc ypennyttyo y Brenhin yndi y Garawys [ýn] erbyn y Pasc ac [ý] velly offeirat brenhines ageiff ygwisc hitheu.

II. Deudegmuatellir dros sarhaet offeirat teulu ar trayan ageiff ef ar deu-parth yr Brenhin.

III. Ef ageiff offrwm ybrenhin ae teulu ynny teir gwyl arbennic.

IV. Y varch ageiff or ebrann kymeint a rann deu varch ac [ý] velly pob swydawc arbennic.

V. Ef yw ytrydyd dyn ageidw<sup>1</sup> breint llys yn awssen [y] Brenhin.

VI. Offeirat [ý] brenhines ageiff march yn wos-seb ygann y brenines.

GWENT (B.I. c.vii. § 2-14.)

III. Yn y sarhaet ytelir naw mu anaw ugeint aryant.

IV. Yn y galanas y telir naw mu anaw ugein mu gan tri dyrchauel.

V. [Punt ýw ebediw pop vn ohonunt].

VI. Punt yw gobyr<sup>b</sup> eu merchet.

VII. Teir punt yn y chowyll<sup>c</sup>.

VIII. Seith punt yn y hegvedi<sup>d</sup>.

IX. Sarhaet pob un or swydogyon ereill eithyr y penteulu ar effeirat teulu [kýn hanfwýnt or swýdogyon ereill] nyt ynt un ureint [ýnsarhaet pop vn or] swydogyon ereill [ý telir whe bu a whe ugeint arýant].

X. Yn y alanas y telir chwe bu a chweugein mu gan tri dyrchauel.

XI. Yn y hebediw ytelir chweugeint aryant.

XII. Punt abanher yw

<sup>1</sup> cof M.

<sup>a</sup> *truw* = a vill, a territorial division containing four *gavals* or 256 *trws*.

<sup>b</sup> *gobyr* or *amobyr* = maiden-dues, paid to the lord on marriage.

<sup>c</sup> *cowyll* = maiden-fee, given by bridegroom to bride the morning after marriage.

<sup>d</sup> *agweddi* = dower.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

OF THE PRIEST OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

VENEDOTIAN (BK. I. c. viii.)

III. His place in the hall is opposite to the King, on the opposite side of the fire, next to the screen, to say grace, and to chaunt the 'Pater.'

IV. His lodging is in the house of the chaplain, and the clerks with him.

V. His saraad is according to the decision of the synod.

VI. His allowance is a mess of meat, with a hornful of liquor.

VII. He is entitled to an offering from the King, and from every one to whom the King shall give an offering at the three principal festivals.

VIII. He is to have a third of the King's tithe.

IX. He is to have the tithe of the household, and he is entitled to their 'daered.'

X. He is to have four pence fee for every patent seal that is given respecting landed property, and other important transactions.

XI. He is entitled to a daily offering from the King at mass, and the offering of all the ser-

DIMETIAN (BK. I. c. ix. § 3.)

The lodging of the priest and the clerks, is to be in the house of the chaplain of the trev<sup>c</sup>; and the queen's priest is to lodge with them. [I. 359.]

(BK. I. c. xii.)

I. The priest of the household is to have the garment in which the King shall do penance during Lent, against Easter; and in like manner the priest to the queen is also to have her garment.

II. Twelve kine are to be paid as the saraad of the priest of the household; and of this he is to have a third, and the two parts go to the King.

III. He is to have the offering of the King and his household at the three principal festivals.

IV. His horse is to have a ration of provender equal to that of two horses: and the horse of every principal officer the like.

V. He is the third person, to maintain the privilege of the palace in the absence of the King.

VI. The queen's priest is to have from her his horse in attendance.

GWENT. (B. I. c. vii. § 2-14.)

raad<sup>c</sup>, and ebediw<sup>c</sup>, and the rank of their daughters, are the same.

III. For their saraad nine kine and nine score of silver are to be paid.

IV. For their galanas nine score and nine kine, with three augmentations, are to be paid.

V. One pound is the ebediw of each of them.

VI. One pound is the gobyr<sup>c</sup> of their daughters.

VII. Three pounds for their cowyll<sup>c</sup>.

VIII. Seven pounds for their agweddi<sup>c</sup>.

IX. For the saraad of each of the other officers, except the chief of the household and the priest of the household, who, although of the number of the officers, are not of similar privilege, there are to be paid six kine, and six score of silver.

X. For their galanas, six score and six kine, with three augmentations, are to be paid.

XI. For their ebediw six score of silver are to be paid.

XII. The gobyr of

<sup>1</sup> record *M*.

<sup>a</sup> The word 'clochydd,' literally 'bellman,' at present denotes a parish clerk: it is here rendered 'chaplain,' because two ancient Latin MSS. have

'domus capellani,' and some Welsh MSS. have 'caplan.'

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps 'mortuary.'<sup>c</sup> See notes on pp. 224, 226.

[CYFREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## AM YR OFEIRIAD TEULU.

GWYNEDD (BK. I. C. viii.)

gueyny ar deuparth <sup>1</sup>or lle pan hanfo [ent]. A[c euellý am] popet aperi-theno parth ar llys holl o denyon ef byeu trayan eu guasanaet.

DYVED (BK. I. C. xii.)

VII. <sup>2</sup>Offeirad teulu ar hebogyd ar pennkynydd ar brawdwr llys ar penn-guastraut, agaffant veirch y gann y Brenhin wrth eu reit'.

GWENT (B.I. C. vii. § 2-14.)

gobyr [pop vn oc] eu mer-  
chet.

XIII. [Punt yw ahaner eu cowýll].

XIV. Teir punt yn y hegweddi. [I. 632, 634.]

XII. Ef adely y dyllat auo am ebrenyn tra uo en e Garauys.

XIII. Ef adele uod en guastat ykyd ar Brenyn, kanys tredyt anhebchor eu.

XIV. Ef adele kafeal yuarch ual ytreulyho ykan ebrenyn.

XV. Ny dele [er] Escop persony nep ar sapeleu ebrenyn heb ykaynat [namyn er effeyrýat teýlu onýt can kýghor e Brenhýn].—[I. 16, 18.]

VIII. Ac eu tir agynn-halyant yn ryd.

IX. Tri ryw wassanaeth yssyd y offeirad llys yn [ý] dadleuoed [vn ýw] dileu pob dadyl a darffo ythervynu [<sup>3</sup>orol;] eilyw cadw ynnyscriuennedyc hyt varnn pob dadyl <sup>4</sup>hynny teruynner'; trydyd yw bot yn barawt ac yn <sup>5</sup>diuefv vrth reit y Brenhin y wnneuthur llythyreu ac [y] eu darllein. [I. 364.]

(BK. I. C. viii. § 3.)

Lletý ýr effeirad teulu ac yscolheigon ý llýs gantaw uýd tý y caplan. [I. 631.]

(BK. I. C. x.)

I. Y neb asarhaho [neu a <sup>6</sup>latho] effeirad teulu dio-deuet kyfreith sened [yn gyntaf] ac am y sarhaet deudeg mu atelir idaw y trayan ageiff ef ar deuparth yr Brenhin.

(BK. I. C. xiv. § 20,  
in part.)

(BK. I. C. xliii. § 1, 14.)

I. Try anhebkor Brenyn eu [e] efeyryat urth uendykau yuuyt akanu eferen ar egnat llys urth dehospart pop ped pedrus ay teulu urth y negesseu.

[Ac] odyndydyly [y] caplan ybrenhin ydwyndy ef yr eglwys achyt ac ef y deudec swydawc arbennic [y] llys vrth offeren ac gue-dyofferen ac offrwm y gann baupparety caplan idawtygu ary creir ac ar yr allawr ac ywnyeitheit adotter aryr allawr na rodho [ef] cam

II. Effeirad teulu a geiff ywisc y penytyo ybrenhin yndi [ý Garawýs ahýnný] yn erbyn y Pasc.

XIV. Palebennac ed emkafoent er efeyryat

III. Ef bieu offrwm y Brenhin ar teulu ac offrwm y sawl agymerho offrwm yny teir gwyly arbenhic y

<sup>1</sup> yr D.E.<sup>2</sup> Pob swýdoc arbenic a gaiff march wrth i rait i gan ý Brenhin. P.Q.<sup>3</sup> ni thervýnwýt; P.Q.R.<sup>4</sup> diuedw J.P.Q.R.T.<sup>5</sup> holo X.<sup>6</sup> ar ol; T.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## OF THE PRIEST OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

VENEDOTIAN (BK. I. c. viii.)

vants: <sup>a</sup>also a third of their 'gweini,' and the two parts <sup>1</sup>from the place whence they originate. And in every thing pertaining to the court from all persons, he is entitled to a third of their service.

XII. He is to have the dress worn by the King during Lent.

XIII. He is to be constantly with the King, for he is the third indispensable person.

XIV. He is to have a fresh horse, when necessary, from the King.

XV. The Bishop is not to present any one to the King's chapels, without the permission of the priest of the household, except by the advice of the King. [I. 17, 19.]

(BK. I. c. xliii. § 1, 14.)

I. The three indispensables to a King are, his priest to say grace and sing mass; the judge of the court, to elucidate everything doubtful; and his household for his commands.

XIV. Wherever the priest of the household,

DIMETIAN (BK. I. c. xii.)

VII. <sup>2</sup>The priest of the household, the falconer, the chief huntsman, the judge of the court, and the chief groom, are to have horses from the King, as they may be wanted<sup>3</sup>.

VIII. And they are to hold their land free.

IX. There are three duties appertaining to the priest of the court, in its proceedings: one is, to expunge every cause that has been determined <sup>4</sup>from the roll<sup>5</sup>; the second is, to preserve in writing for judgment every cause, <sup>4</sup>until it be determined<sup>6</sup>; the third is, to be prepared and <sup>5</sup>prompt, when required by the King, to write letters, and to read them. [I. 365.]

(BK. I. c. xiv. § 20, in part.)

[A judge elect is to serve a year's apprenticeship,] and then the King's chaplain is to take him to the church, having with him the twelve principal officers of the court, to mass; and after mass, and an offering by every one, let the chaplain require

GWENT. (BK. I. c. vii. § 2-14.)

each of their daughters is one pound and a half.

XIII. One pound and a half is their cowyll.

XIV. Three pounds for their agweddi. [I. 633, 655.]

(BK. I. c. viii. § 3.)

The lodging of the priest of the household, having the scholars of the court with him, is to be in the chaplain's house. [I. 655.]

(BK. I. c. x.)

I. Whoever shall do saraad to, or shall <sup>6</sup>murder the priest of the household, let him first submit to the law of the synod: and, for his saraad, twelve kine are to be paid him: he is to have a third, and the two remaining parts go to the King.

II. To the priest of the household belongs the garment in which the King shall do penance, during Lent, against Easter.

III. To him belongs the offering of the King, and of the household, and the offering of those who shall

<sup>1</sup> to D.E. <sup>2</sup> Every principal officer shall have a horse at command from the King. P.Q. <sup>3</sup> afterwards; T. <sup>4</sup> unfinished; P.Q.R. <sup>5</sup> sober, J.P.Q.R.T. <sup>6</sup> sue X.

<sup>a</sup> This appears to signify that the priest of the household had a third of the servants' 'gweini' or 'dues,' and the priests resident where the servants' revenues originated the other two thirds.



[CTVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## AM YR OFEIRIAD TEULU.

GWYN. (BK.I.C.xliii. § 1, 14.)  
[teulu] ar dysteyn ar enat  
[llys] ena ebyt breynt  
ellys. [I. 76, 78.]

DYVED (BK. I. C. xiv. § 20.)  
varnn vyth hyt ygwypgo  
nac yradolwyn neb nac yr  
gwerth nac yr caryat nac  
yr cas neb. Gwedy hynny  
deuent ygyt at y Brenhin  
adywedent yr hynn awnae-  
thant ymdanaw ac yna  
ydyly y Brenhin rodi y  
swyd idaw, o byd bod-  
lawnn idaw, &c. [I. 370,  
372.]

GWENT (BK. I. C. x.)  
gan y Brenhin [býth hagen  
ý kýmerr offrrwm ýbrenhin].

IV. Bwyt seic ageiff [ýny  
ancwýn] or llys achorneit  
med.

V. A march [bitwosseb]  
ageiff y gan ybrenhin.

VI. Athrayan holl de-  
gwm ybrenhin ageiff.

VII. Ar trydydyn an-  
hepkor [ýr] Brenhin yw  
yr offeirat [teulu].

(BK. I. C. xv. § 7.)

Ef adyly ystynnu pob  
march a 'rodho y' Bren-  
hin ac obop march ykeiff  
ef pedeir keinnawc eithyr  
o tri [meirch] ymarch  
arodher yr offeirat teulu,  
&c. [I. 376.]

(BK. II. C. viii. § 9, 19, 48,  
68, 70.)

IX. Tri anhebcor Bren-  
hin ynt: y offeirat y ganu  
y offerenn ac y vendigaw y  
vwyt ae lynn; ae vrawdyr  
llys y varnu brodyeu ac  
yrodi kyghoreu; ae teulu  
vrth wneuthur negesseu y  
Brenhin. [I. 436, 438.]

XIX. Teir sarhaet ny  
diwygir or keffir trwy ved-  
dawt: sarhaet yr offeirat

VIII. Ar trydydyn a  
gynheil breint llys yn aws-  
sen [y] Breahin [ýw]. [I.  
638.]

(BK. I. C. xiv. § 6.)

Ef bieu estyn y meirch  
[oll] arodho y Brenhin pe-  
deir keinawc a gymer yn-  
teu o bob un eithyr o [r]  
tri [meirch hynn]: march  
[arother yr] effeirat [teulu],  
&c. [I. 648.]

(BK. I. C. xxxiii. § 3.)

Myny bwynt ygyt yr  
effeirat teulu, ar distein,  
ar ygnat llys, breint llys  
auyd yno kyn boet awssen  
y Brenhin. [I. 670.]

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

OF THE PRIEST OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

VEN. (BK.I. c. xliii. § 1, 14.)  
the steward, and the judge  
of the court meet together;  
that place has the privilege  
of the court. [I. 77, 79.]

DIMEITIAN (BK.LC.xiv. § 20.)

him to swear by the relics,  
and by the altar, and by  
the consecrated elements  
placed upon the altar, that  
he will never deliver a  
wrong judgment know-  
ingly, either through the  
entreaty of any one, or  
for worth, or for love, or  
for hatred of any one.  
After that, let them repair  
together to the King, and  
declare what they have  
done in respect to him:  
then the King is to confer  
upon him his office, if sa-  
tisfied with him, &c. [I.  
371, 373.]

(BK. I. c. xv. § 7.)

He [the chief groom]  
is to deliver every horse  
<sup>1</sup>given by the King; and  
for every horse he is to  
have four-pence, except  
for three: the horse given  
to the priest of the house-  
hold, &c. [I. 377.]

(BK. II. c. viii. § 9, 19, 48,  
68, 70.)

IX. The three indis-  
pensables of the King are:  
his priest, to say mass,  
and to bless his meat and  
drink; his judge of the  
palace, to decide causes,  
and to give counsel; and  
his household, to execute  
his commands. [I. 437,  
439.]

XIX. Three saraads not  
to be redressed, if received  
when inebriated: saraad

GWENT. (BK. I. c. x.)

receive an offering from  
the King at the three  
principal festivals: he,  
however, always re-  
ceives the King's offer-  
ing.

IV. He has a dish of  
meat, as provision from  
the palace, and a hornful  
of mead.

V. And he has a horse,  
always in attendance, from  
the King.

VI. And he has a third  
of all the King's tithes.

VII. And the priest of  
the household is one of  
the three indispensable  
persons to the King.

VIII. He is one of the  
three persons who support  
the privilege of the court  
in the King's absence. [I.  
639.]

(BK. I. c. xiv. § 6.)

The chief groom is to  
deliver all the horses which  
the king shall give; he is  
to receive four-pence for  
each, except for these  
three horses: the horse  
that shall be given to the  
priest of the household,  
&c. [I. 649.]

(BK. I. c. xxxiii. § 3.)

Where the priest of the  
household, the steward,  
and the judge of the  
court are together, there  
is the privilege of the  
court, although the King  
be absent. [I. 671.]

<sup>1</sup> given to J.

[CIVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

AM YR OFEIRIAD TEULU.

GWYNEDD.

DYVED.

GWENT.

(BK. II. c. viii. § 9, 19, 48,  
68, 70.)

teulu; ar ygnat llys; ar  
medyc llys: canny dyly vn  
or tri hynny bot yn veddw  
byth canny vdant py ams-  
ser ybo reit yr Brenhin  
vrthunt. [I. 440, 442.]

XLVIII. Tri chyfurwch  
dirgel [ýssýd] a dyly y  
Brenhin y gaffel heb y  
ygnat: gyt ae wreic; achyt  
ae offeirat; achyt ae vedyc.  
[I. 448.]

LXVIII. Tri dyn ytelir  
gwelytauot vdunt: yr Bren-  
hin pan dywetter geir garw  
vrthaw; ac y vrawdwr  
pan wystler yny erbyn am  
[y] iawn varnn os ef ae  
katarnna; ac y offeirat  
yny eglwys yny teir gwyl  
arbennic neu rac [bron]  
ybrenhin yndarllein lly-  
thyreu neu yny yscriu-  
enu. [I. 454.]

LXX. Tri dyn ageidw  
breint llys yn awssenn [y]  
Brenhin: offeirat teulu;  
adistein; abrawdwr llys:  
py le bynnac ybwynt [ell  
tri] ygyt yno y byd breint  
llys. [I. 454.]

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

OF THE PRIEST OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

VENEDOTIAN.

DIMETIAN.

GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. C. viii. § 9, 19, 48,  
68, 70.)

to the chaplain of the household; to the judge of the palace; and to the mediciner of the palace: because no one of those three ought ever to be drunk; as they know not at what time the King may want their assistance.

[I. 441, 443.]

XLVIII. Three private intercourses which the King is to have without the presence of his judge: with his wife; with his priest; and with his mediciner. [I. 449.]

LXVIII. Three persons to whom tongue-wound is to be paid: to the King, when a rough word is spoken to him; to a judge, when a pledge is given against him, as to his right judgment, if he can confirm it; and to a priest in his church on the three principal festivals, or when he reads or writes letters before the King. [I. 455.]

LXX. Three persons who support the privilege of the court in the King's absence: the priest of the household; the steward; and the judge of the court: wheresoever these three shall be together, there is the privilege of the court. [I. 455.]

[CYFREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## IV. O EFFEYRYAT E VRENHYNES, EW HYN.

GWYNEDD (BK. I. c. xxiv.)

I. Er eyl eu er efeyryat eurenynes.

II. Ef adely ytyr en ryd ay uarch [pressvel] ay lyeyn ay uredyn ykan eurenynes ar Brenhyn.

III. Ef [a dele] trayan decum eurenynes ac aperthyn [o] ar er estauell.

IV. Ef adely pedeyr keynyauc [kefreith] opop ynseyl agoret arodho eurenynes.

V. Ef adely yhofrum apaub [or] apertheno atey.

VI. Ef adely dyllat eurenynes er hun ypenytyo endau [en hýt e Garawys,] erbyn e Pasc.

VII. Ef adely bendycau adel ouyrt allyn yr estauell.

VIII. Y lety [ýw] ykyd ac efeyryat ebrenyn en ty eclochyd.

IX. Ynaud eu [hebrwg y dyn] hyd er egluys nessaf.

X. Ysaraet [ýw] heruurt braut [e] senet.

XI. Yguerth [ýw] he-ruuyd breynt ekenedel : ac euelly [am] pop grahur. [I. 52.]

DYVED (BK. I. c. vii. § 13.)

Naud offeirat <sup>1</sup>brenhines yw hebrwg ydyn hyt yr egluys nessaf. [I. 352.]

GWENT (BK. I. c. vi. § 13.)

Nawd effeirat [y] brenhines yw dwyn dyn hyt yr egluys nessaf. [I. 630.]

(BK. I. c. viii. § 4.)

Lletý effeirat y brenhines uyd, tý ý clochýd. [I. 634.]

(BK. I. c. xi.)

I. Effeirat y urenhines ageiff march byth yn osseb y gan y urenhines.

II. [Ae] offrwm [hi] y sawl aperthyno [wrth] yr ystauell teir gweith yny ulwydyn ageiff.

III. Offrwm y urenhines [hagen] ageiff [ýn preswýluodawc].

IV. Ar wisc y penytyo [ýurenhines] yndi y Garawys ageiff [ý heffeirat.

V. Lle ýr effeirat ýurenhines auýd gýuarwýneb ahi].—[I. 638.]

## V. AM NAWDD EGLWYS.

(BK. I. c. ix. § 19.)

Ef adele gossod naudh :

(BK. I. c. vii. § 1.)

Or pann safho ydistein

(BK. I. c. xii. § 16.)

Or pan dotto y dis-

<sup>1</sup> Brenhin P.Q.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## IV. OF THE PRIEST OF THE QUEEN, THIS TREATS.

VENEDOT. (BK. I. c. xxiv.)

I. The second is the queen's priest.

II. He is to have his land free; and his horse in attendance; and his linen and woollen from the queen and the King.

III. He is to have a third of the queen's tithe; and of what may pertain to the chamber.

IV. He is to have four legal pence for every patent seal which the queen shall give.

V. He is to have her offering, and that of every one pertaining to her.

VI. He is to have the clothes in which the queen shall do penance during Lent, against Easter.

VII. He is to bless the meat and drink which are brought to the chamber.

VIII. His lodging is with the King's priest, in the house of the chaplain.

IX. His protection is, to accompany an offender to the nearest church.

X. His saraad is according to the decision of the synod.

XI. His worth is according to the privilege of his kindred: and so of every graduate. [I. 53.]

DIMET. (BK. I. c. vii. § 13.)

The protection of the priest to the <sup>1</sup>queen is, to accompany the person as far as the nearest church. [I. 353.]

[See also above, c. ix. § 3, and c. xii. § 1, 6, on pp. 226, 228.]

GWENT. (BK. I. c. vi. § 13.)

The protection of the priest to the queen is, to conduct the person to the nearest church. [I. 631.]

(BK. I. c. viii. § 4.)

The lodging of the priest to the queen is to be in the house of the chaplain. [I. 635.]

(BK. I. c. xi.)

I. The priest to the queen has a horse always in attendance from the queen.

II. And he has her offering, and the offerings of the persons belonging to the chamber, three times in the year.

III. The offering of the queen, however, he is to have at all times.

IV. And the priest also has the garments in which she shall do penance during Lent.

V. The place of the priest to the queen is opposite to her. [I. 639.]

## V. OF CHURCH PROTECTION.

(BK. I. c. ix. § 19.)

He [the steward] is to

(BK. I. c. vii. § 1.)

From the time when

(BK. I. c. xii. § 16.)

From the time the

<sup>1</sup> King P. Q.

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## AM NAWDD EGLWYS.

GWYNEDD (BK. I. c. ix. § 19.)

... [a] puybenac atorro enaudh kefredyn ahossodho ef, nydoes y hunnu un naud. [I. 22.]

(BK. II. c. x.)

I. Tripeth ni deleur naud racdunt kaneubot en kevadeuedic \*goruodogaith a meichniaith a goresgin.

II. O deruid y personeu ir egluys dewedyt gallu onadunt huy rody naud en erbin [ur] un o [r] tri peht [henne] bit epen ebrenhin egur a roes udunt huy e nodua [honno] en [y] deturit pa delo e roes ef udunt huy enodua honno ac o roes ev enierbin euhun katwent huinteu eren a roho ef udunt huy.

III. Pop perchenauc tir llan adeleant deuot ar pop Brenin newid adel ydau kanu ydau ef eu breint ac eu deleet; ac essewachausedatkanant ydau ef rac tuyllau ebrennin: ac guedy e datkanont ydau ef [eu breynt] o guil ebrennin bot yn aun eu breynt estynet ebrennin udunt eu nodua ac eu breint.

IV. O deruid ydin gun-

DYVED (BK. I. c. vii. § 1.)

yny neuad adodi naud Duw ar honn y Brenhin ar vrenhines ar <sup>b</sup>gwyrda ac eu tagnef [ed] ary llys ar nyuer [ac] atorro ytagnef honno nyt oes ydaw naud yn un lle [yn y byt] kannys y naud oll yn gyffredin yw honno ac y ar naud paub naud y Brenhin ynbenhaf ac vrth hynny nyt oes naud idaw y gann [un o honunt nac y gan creyreu nac y gan] eglwys. [I. 350.]

(BK. II. c. viii. § 13, in part.)

Trydyd petwar yw y petwar dyn nyt oes naud vdunt nac yn llys nac yn llann rac y Brenhin: [vn yw] dyn atorho naud [y] Brenhin yn vn or teir gwyl arbennic yny lys; eil yw dyn awystler oe vod yr Brenhin; trydyd yw y gwynnossawc yneb adlyho y borthi ynos honno ac nys portho; petweryd yw ygaeth. [I. 438.]

[Bk. III. c. xvii. § 29. (β). Quatuor sunt homines qui in nullo loco refugium habent: primus est qui post silentium assecl in tribus festis principalibus

GWENT (BK. I. c. xii. § 16.)

tein naud Duw ac un ybrenhin ar urenhines oe seuyll, [yny llys ar <sup>b</sup>gujyr da] atorho y naud honno nyt oes naud idaw nac yn llys nac yn llan onyt gan sant yny eglwys. [I. 640.]

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 45, in pt.)

Y trydyd pedwar yssyd pedwar dyn nyt oes naud udunt nac yn llys nac yn llan rac Brenhin: un o honunt dyn atorho y naud yn un or teir gwyl arbenhic yny lys; eil yw [y] dyn awystler oe uod yr Brenhin; trydyd yw cwynnossawc [y] Brenhin [dyn adlyho y borthi ac ae gatt ynos honno heb uwyty] pedweryd yw [y] gaeth. [I. 788.]

\* *goruodogaith* = suretiship for one accused of crime.

<sup>b</sup> *gwyrda* = a freeholder.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## OF CHURCH PROTECTION.

VENEDOT. (BK. I. c. ix. § 19.)  
proclaim protection: . . .  
and whoever shall violate  
the protection he shall  
proclaim is not entitled to  
any protection. [I. 23.]  
(BK. II. c. x.)

I. Three things against  
which there is no protec-  
tion, if they be acknow-  
ledged: \*gorvodogaeth,  
and suretiship, and 'bgo-  
resgyn.'

II. If the persons of the  
church say, that they are  
capable of granting pro-  
tection against any one  
of those three things; it  
is the prerogative of the  
King, who gave them that  
sanctuary, to determine in  
what manner he gave them  
such sanctuary; and if he  
gave it to his own detri-  
ment, let them keep what  
he may have given them.

III. All possessors of  
church land are to come to  
every new King who suc-  
ceeds, to declare to him  
their privilege and their  
obligation; and the cause  
why they shall declare them  
to him is, lest the King be  
deceived: and after they  
may have declared to him  
their privilege, if the King  
see their privilege to be  
right, let the King con-  
tinue to them their sanc-  
tuary and their privilege.

IV. If a person do an

DIMET. (BK. I. c. vii. § 1.)  
the steward stands in the  
hall, and proclaims the  
protection of God, and  
that of the King and  
queen and of the \*gwr-  
das, and their peace, upon  
the court and the company;  
the individual who shall  
break that peace is to  
have no protection any-  
where: because that is the  
protection of all generally;  
and especially the protec-  
tion of the King; and, on  
that account, there is no  
protection for him from  
any one of them, neither  
by relics, nor by church.  
[I. 351.]

(BK. II. c. viii. § 13, in part.)

The third fours are, the  
four persons for whom  
there is no protection,  
either in court or in  
church, against the King:  
one is, a person who shall  
violate the King's protec-  
tion, in one of the three  
principal festivals, in the  
palace; the second is, a  
person who is delivered  
with his own consent as  
a hostage to the King;  
the third is, a person to  
whom the King is a sup-  
per guest, who ought to  
supply him with food that  
night, and who does not  
supply him; the fourth is,  
the King's bondman. [I.  
439, 441.]

GWENT. (BK. I. c. xii. § 16.)  
steward, standing up in  
the palace, shall proclaim  
the protection of God, and  
the protection of the King  
and the queen, and of the  
\*gwr-  
das; whoever shall  
break that protection is  
not to have protection,  
either in the court or out  
of it, except from a saint  
in his church. [I. 641.]

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 45, in pt.)

The third four are, the  
four persons to whom  
there is no protection,  
either in court, or in  
church, against the King:  
one of them, a person who  
shall violate his protection  
at any one of the three  
principal festivals in the  
court; the second is, a  
person who shall be pledg-  
ed willingly to the King;  
the third is, the King's  
supperer, a person who  
ought to provide for him,  
and leaves him that night  
without food; the fourth  
is, his bondman. [I. 789.]

\* See notes on p. 236.

† Literally 'to super-ascend,' a term used for taking possession of land to which a person is entitled.



[CTYREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## AM NAWDD EGLWYS.

## GWYNEDD (BK. II. C. X.)

euthur agkeureyth a rac  
eragkewrith eno kerchu  
naut ac ef ar [y] naut  
honno keuodi haul arnau;  
ni dele er abbadeu nar  
efeireit yhebrug ef eni  
wnel yaun amer ageureyth  
kesseuin [honno]: o deruit  
na kefroho haul arnau ef  
hepregken vintheu euo hit  
en [y] lle edelehont yhe-  
brug.

## DYVED.

pacem Regis fregit; secun-  
dus est, pignus; tercius,  
excommunicatus; quartus,  
captivus.]—[II. 890.]

## GWENT.

V. O deruit ydin guneu-  
thur cam [kewerthýd] ke-  
niauc y ar e nodua, a keu-  
odi haul arnau ef am er ag-  
heureyth [honno] redigo-  
nes y ar [e] nodua; nydele  
[er abadeu] yamdiffin or  
naud e gnyath [e] cam [ý]  
arnau onis atnewida onaud  
arall oy newid en llan  
arall.

VI. Puipennac akemero  
naud ef adele emdeyth ene  
uenwent ar gorrflan hep  
kreireu arnau ai escribil  
ygit ac escribil e clas ar  
abbadeu hit ed eluuint  
pellaw ac ed ergeduynt e  
buches tracheuen.

VII. O deruit ydyn bot  
creireu arnau aguneythur  
cam ohonau a dan ecreireu  
ni dele [caffael naud nac] e  
amdyffin or creireu hinni  
kanis haydus.

VIII. Messur [ý] corflan

## OF CHURCH PROTECTION.

VENEDOTIAN (BK. II. C. X.)

DIMEIAN.

GWENTIAN.

illegal act, and, on account of that illegal act, seek protection, and, while under that protection, a suit arise against him; neither the abbats nor the priests are to conduct him until he do right for that first illegal act: if no suit be commenced against him, let them conduct him to the place to which they ought to conduct him.

V. If a person do a wrong, to the value of a penny, from out the sanctuary, and a suit arise against him for the illegal act he committed from out the sanctuary; he is not to be defended by the abbats by the protection under which he did the wrong, unless he obtain another protection anew in another church.

VI. Whoever shall take protection, is to walk about within the church-yard and the burial-ground, without relics upon him; and his cattle are to be with the cattle of the community and the abbat's to the furthest limits they go and return to their cow-lair again.

VII. If a person have relics upon him, and does an illegal act under the relics, he is not to have protection nor defence through those relics; for he has not deserved it.

VIII. The measure of

[CIVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

AM NAWDD EGLWYS.

GWYNEDD (BK. II. C. X.)

DYVED.

GWENT.

[yw] eru keuureithiaul en  
[y] hit ay phen are uen-  
went ahenne ekelch euen-  
went e dele bot en cum-  
pas.

IX. O deruit bot egluys  
adewetho deleu kenhal dyn  
ar enodua seythblenet hep  
uneythur yaun neu yspeyt  
auo huy abot er argluyt  
auo areglat en gurthunebu  
ydy [hý am] hynny ac [yn]  
deveduid nat edyu e can-  
thau ef ydy [hi] ebreynt  
hunu; reyt hiu yregluys  
bot akatwo ydy [hý] ebre-  
ynt hunnu otestoyn [adu-  
wyn] deduaul; ac os keiff  
gather ydy endywarawun  
ybreint ac onis keiff hitheu  
nepreghet eregluys ef mal  
e deleo oreu neu entheu  
gunayit yaun or agheu-  
reyth redigones. [I. 138,  
140.]

## VI. O YMLADD.

(BK. I. C. xliii. § 19-21.)

(BK. II. C. vii. § 1-3, 6.)

XIX. [\*Kamluru deu-  
deblyc a dele bot en llys  
ac en llan a \*dirwy velly].

I. Tri ryw dirwy\* yssyd:  
vn o ymlad; ac arall o  
treis; tryded o letrat.

XX. Puybenac aguenel  
kam [yn] yuam ecluys talet  
[ýdy] pedeyr punt ardec,  
er hanner yr abat o[r]  
byd duyauul letherur ar-

II. Deudyblyc vyd dir-  
wy yn llys ac yn llann os  
mam eglwys ac vchelawg  
vyd.

\* *camluru* = a fine of three kine or nine score pence, and *dirwy* = a fine of twelve kine or three pounds.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## OF CHURCH PROTECTION.

VENEDOTIAN (BK. II. C. X.)

DIMETIAN.

GWENTIAN.

the burying-ground is a legal 'erw' in length, with its end to the church-yard; and that, circling the church-yard, is to be its compass.

IX. If any church should declare, that it can keep a person in its sanctuary for seven years, without his doing right, or for a longer period; and the lord of the country oppose this declaration, and say, that no such privilege originated from him to it; it is necessary for the church to have that privilege secured by respectable customary witnesses: if it can do so, let its privilege be preserved undisturbed; and if it fail, let the church conduct him as it best may, or let him do right for the illegal act which he committed. [I. 139, 141.]

## VI. OF FIGHTING (VIZ. IN CHURCH OR CHURCHYARD.)

(BK. I. C. xliii. § 19-21.)

(BK. II. C. vii. § 1-3, 6.)

XIX. A double camlwrw<sup>a</sup> is to be in the palace and in the church, and so a dirwy<sup>b</sup>.

I. There are three kinds of dirwy<sup>b</sup>: one for fighting; another for violence; the third for theft.

XX. Whoever shall do a wrong in a mother church, let him pay to it fourteen pounds: one half to the abbat, if he be a divinity

II. A dirwy is to be twofold, arising in court, or in church if it be a mother church and paramount.

<sup>a</sup> The 'erw' appears to have contained about 4320 square yards. It was applied exclusively to arable lands.

<sup>b</sup> See note on p. 240.

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

O YMLADD.

## GWYNEDD.

(BK. I. c. xliii. § 19-21.)

llall erug er <sup>1</sup>efeyryat ar clas. Ogueneyr kam en euenuent seyth punt [a taler un ford e rennŷr e reŷ henne] en deuhanner ual elleyll.

XXI. Puybennac aguenel kam emeun ecluys arall talet seyth punt e neyll hanner yr <sup>1</sup>efeyryat ar llall yr <sup>2</sup>person. [I. 78, 80.]

## DYVED.

(BK. II. c. vii. § 1-3, 6.)

III. O ymlad awnelher y mywn [ŷ] mynwent <sup>3</sup>pedeir punt ardec atelir: os o vaes [or vynwent] <sup>4</sup>ynny nodua seith punt atelir. Hanner y punoed hynny adaw yr abat os kyureithawl vyd ac eglwyssic [a] llythyrawl ar hanner arall adaw yr <sup>5</sup>offeireit ar kynnonwyr a vwynt yn gwassanaethu Duw yno yryw rann honno avyd [ŷ] rwg yr abbat ar kynnhonwyr or ymlad awnel y nawdwyr a gymerwynt nawd ygan yr <sup>6</sup>offeireit ar abat. Ac [ŷ] velly yrennir pob peth or a del yr sant o offrwm ac nyt y allawr nac yneb arall.

## GWENT.

VI. O ymlad awnelher y mywn nodua gwaet neu gleis a seif yn tystolyaeth yr abat ac yr <sup>7</sup>offeireit trwy vreint eglwyssic yr abbadaeth. [I. 432, 434.]

[VII. AM VILAINAID, &amp;c.]

(BK. I. c. xliii. § 11.)

XI. Teyr keluydyt ny dely mab tayauc eu descu heb kanyat yargluyd aked

(BK. II. c. viii. § 7, 28.)

VII. Teir keluydyt ny eill tayawc eu dysgu y vab heb ganyat y arglwyd: ys-

(BK. I. c. xlii. § 6, 7.)

VI. Chwech aphedwar ugein yw ebediw tayawc [tiryawc.

<sup>1</sup> efeyryeŷt B.D.  
N.P.Q.R.

<sup>2</sup> personau B. personyeit D.  
<sup>6</sup> offeirat N.P. kanonwyr I.S.

<sup>3</sup> teir J.  
<sup>7</sup> offeirat N.O.

<sup>4</sup> y N.P.

<sup>5</sup> offeirat

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## OF FIGHTING (VIZ. IN CHURCH OR CHURCHYARD).

## VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. I. c. xliii. § 19-21.)

scholar; and the other half between the <sup>1</sup>priest and the community. If a wrong be committed in a churchyard, seven pounds; to be divided in two halves like the other.

XXI. Whoever shall do a wrong in another church, let him pay seven pounds: the one half to the <sup>1</sup>priest, and the other to the <sup>2</sup>parson. [I. 79, 81.]

## DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. c. vii. § 1-3, 6.)

III. For fighting with in the churchyard, <sup>3</sup>fourteen pounds are to be paid: if <sup>4</sup>out of the churchyard, in the sanctuary, seven pounds are to be paid. The half of these sums belongs to the abbat, if his privilege be judicial, ecclesiastical, and civil; and the other half belongs to the <sup>5</sup>priests and the canons, who shall be there serving God: a similar share shall accrue to the abbat and the canons, for any fighting that takes place among the persons who take sanctuary from the <sup>6</sup>priests and the abbat. And in like manner everything is to be shared, that comes to the saint, as offering, and not to the altar, nor to any other person.

VI. For fighting that takes place in a sanctuary, either blood or a bruise is a sufficient testimony to the abbat and to the <sup>7</sup>priests, by the ecclesiastical privilege of the abbacy. [I. 433, 435.]

## GWENTIAN.

## [VII. OF TAEOGS (VILLEINS) AND TAEOG-TREVS (VILLEIN-TOWNSHIPS).]

(BK. I. c. xliii. § 11.)

XI. Three arts which the son of a taeog is not to learn, without the per-

(BK. II. c. viii. § 7, 28.)

VII. Three arts which a taeog is not to teach to his son without the per-

(BK. I. c. xlii. § 6, 7.)

VI. Four score and six pence is the ebediw of a taeog having land.

<sup>1</sup> priests *B.D.*<sup>6</sup> priest *N.P.* canons *I.S.*<sup>2</sup> parsons *B.*<sup>7</sup> priest *N.O.*<sup>3</sup> thirteen *J.*<sup>4</sup> without *N.P.*<sup>5</sup> priest *N.P.Q.R.*

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A. D. 928.]

[AM VILAINAID, &amp;c.]

## GWYNEDD.

(BK. I. c. xliii. § 11.)

asdesko ef adely y duyn  
trakeuen onyt escoleyc  
guedy e kemerko urtheu  
sef eu [ý rey] henny esco-  
lectaut agouanaet abard-  
hony. [I. 78.]

## DYVED.

(BK. II. c. viii. § 7, 28.)

colheictawt; agouyanaeth;  
abardoniaeth; canys o dio-  
def yr arglwyd hyt pan  
rother corun yr yscolheic  
neu yny el y gof ynny  
eueil neu varth [ynyel]  
wrth y gerd nydichawn  
eu caethau wedy hynny  
[vyth].

XXVIII. Try dyn ag-  
ynnyd eu breint yn vn  
dyd: tayawctref y kys-  
seccrer eglwys yndi gan  
gannyat y Brenhin dyn or  
tref honno auei y bore yn  
tayawc ar nos honno yn  
wr ryd; eil yw y dyn y  
rotho ybrenhin vn or pe-  
deir swyd arhugeint llys  
breinhawl idaw kynn rodi  
yswyd idaw yn tayawc  
agweddy [y] rodi yn wr  
ryd; trydyd yw yscolheic  
ydyd ' kynn caffel' corun  
yn vab tayawc ar nos  
honno yn wr ryd. [I.  
436, 444.]

## GWENT.

(BK. I. c. xlii. § 6, 7.)

VII. Or býd eglwys ar-  
ýtir wheugeint uýd ý ebe-  
diw].—[I. 686.]

(BK. II. c. xl. § 15.)

XV. Par gymerho taj-  
awc tir ý gan ý Brenhin  
trugeint adýlý ý Brenhin  
o pop \* rantir ýgan ý taj-  
awc: ac or býd eglwys ar  
tir ý taj awc tref wheu-  
geint adaw ýr Brenhin ý-  
gan ýneb ae kýmero. [I.  
792.]

(BK. II. c. xii. § 22.)

XXII. Or byd eglwys  
ar tir [ý] bilaein Brenhin  
wheugeint atal yny ebe-  
diw. [I. 492.]

\* *rhandyr* = share-land, containing 4 *tyddyns* or 16 *erws*.' y kaffo *I.M.N.O.P.Q.R.S.T.*

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF TAEOS (VILLEINS) AND TAEOS-TREVS (VILLEIN-TOWNSHIPS).]

## VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. I. c. xliii. § 11.)

mission of his lord; and, if he should learn them, he must not exercise them, except a scholar, after he has taken holy orders: these are, scholarship, smithcraft, and bardism. [I. 79.]

## DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. c. viii. § 7, 28.)

mission of his lord; scholarship; smithcraft; and bardism: for if the lord be passive until the tonsure be performed on the scholar; or until the smith enter his smithy; or until a bard be graduated in song; he cannot afterwards enslave them.

XXXIII. Three persons whose privileges increase in one day: the first is, where a church is consecrated in a taeog-trev with the permission of the King, a man of that trev, who might be a taeog in the morning, becomes on that night a free man; the second is, where the King confers one of the twenty-four offices of a privileged court on a person, who, before the office was given him, was a taeog, and, after it was given, becomes a free man; the third is, a clerk, who, on the day <sup>1</sup> before he receives the tonsure, being the son of a taeog, is on that night a free man. [I. 437, 445.]

(BK. II. c. xii. § 22.)

XXII. If there be a church upon the land of a King's villain, six score pence is to be paid for his ebediw. [I. 493.]

## GWENTIAN.

(BK. I. c. xlii. § 6, 7.)

VII. If there be a church on his land, his ebediw is six score pence. [I. 687.]

(BK. II. c. xi. § 15.)

XV. When a taeog shall take land from the King, the King has three score pence for each <sup>a</sup>randir from the taeog: and, if there be a church upon the land of the taeog-trev, six score pence come to the King from the one who shall take it. [I. 793.]

<sup>a</sup> See note on p. 244.<sup>1</sup> he shall receive *I.M.N.O.P.Q.R.S.T.*



[CYFREITHLAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM VILAINAID, &amp;c.]

GWYNEDD.

DYVED.

GWENT.

(BK. II. c. xxii. § 7.)

VII. Or gwnneir eglwys  
ogannyat ybrenhin y mywn  
tayawctrev ac offeiraf yn  
oferenu yndi aebot yn-  
gorfflan hi ryd vyd ytfref  
honno ohynny allann. [I.  
542.]

VIII. AM WRAGEDD.

(BK. II. c. i. § 1, 9, 10, 12,  
14, 17, 18, 31.)

I. [Kentaf ýw o na-  
dunt:] oderuyt egreic  
bod rodyeyt ydy adan  
ehaguedy edele vod hyd  
epem e seith blenet <sup>1</sup>ac  
o byd' teyr nos [en eys-  
sýeu] or seyhuet blenet  
[allan,] ac escar onadunt  
rannent [yn] deu hanner  
pob pedh [or] auo vdunt.

IX. [Ac] os kyn e sey-  
thuet vullydin edescarant  
taler yhi ehaguedy ae <sup>a</sup>har-  
kefreu ae <sup>2</sup>couyll; [ac] os  
en voruyn erodyr er hyn  
auo ar y carn or pheheu  
hene [a geýff:] ac os kin  
eseythuet bludyn ededeu  
hy egur kubyl ohene akyll  
eythyr ekouyll ae <sup>b</sup>hunep-  
uurth <sup>3</sup>am <sup>c</sup>egocuyrn.

X. Os egur hitheu auyt

(BK. II. c. xviii. § 1, 2, 4,  
21, 22, 28, 29.)

I. Or kymer gwr wreic  
orod kenedyl ac os gat  
kynn penn yseith mlyned  
[ý wrthaw] talet idi teir  
punt yny hegvedi os  
merch [<sup>d</sup>breyr] vyd [a]  
punt a hanner yny chow-  
yll [a] wheugeint yny go-  
byr os merch tayawc vyd  
punt ahanner yny hegwedy  
awheugeint yny chowyll  
aphedeir arhugent yny  
gobyr.

II. Os gwedy [y] seith  
mlyned ygat [ef hi] bit  
rann deuhanner y rydunt  
onnyt breint adyry ragor  
yr gwr deuparth yplant  
adaw yrgwr ar trayan yr  
vam yr hynaf ar ieuaf yr  
tat. Os agheu ae gwa-  
hann byt rann deuhanner  
yrydunt o bop peth.

(BK. II. c. xxix. § 5, 12, 13,  
14, 26, 27, 30.)

V. Or kymer gwr gw-  
reic o rod kenedyl, ac os  
gat kyn pen 'y seith mly-  
ned; talet yhegwedi idi.

XII. Os gwedy pen y  
seith mlyned y gedir, bit  
ran deu hanher y rydunt  
onnyt breint [ygwr] a dwc  
ragor yr gwr.

XIII. Deuparth y plant  
adaw yr gwr; nyt amgen  
yr hynaf, ar ieuaf; ar  
trayan yr uam.

XIV. [Os agheu ae gu-  
ahana bit ran deu hanher  
yrydunt o pop peth].

XXVI. O tri achaws ný  
chýll gureic ýhegwedi kýt  
adawho hi ý gwr nyd am-  
gen o glauýri adryc anadýl  
ac eisseu kýt.

<sup>1</sup> a chet boet B.<sup>2</sup> cholledu D.<sup>3</sup> ac D.B.<sup>a</sup> argyrcreu = paraphernalia.

<sup>b</sup> *wynneb-warth* = face-worth  
*wynneb-warth* = face-shame = { fine payable  
for insult.

<sup>c</sup> *gowyn* = fine due to the wife from the hus-

band for the latter's adultery.

<sup>d</sup> *breyr* = a mote-man, a South Welsh term for  
a class of freemen.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF TAEOGS (VILLEINS) AND TAEOG-TREVS (VILLEIN-TOWNSHIPS).]

VENEOTIAN.

DIMETIAN.

GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. C. xxii. § 7.)

VII. If a church be built, by the permission of the King, within a taeog-trev, and there be a priest offering mass in it, and it be a burying-place; such a trev is to be free thenceforward. [I. 543.]

## VIII. OF WOMEN.

(BK. II. C. i. § 1, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 18, 31.)

I. The first of [the laws of the women] is: if a woman be given in marriage, she is to abide by her 'agweddi' unto the end of the seventh year; and if there be three nights wanting of the seventh current year, and they separate, let them share into two portions everything belonging to them.

IX. And if they separate before the seventh year, let there be paid to her her agweddi, her 'bargyvreu,' and her 'cowyll<sup>2</sup>;' and if she was given when a maid, whatever of those things remain she shall have: and if she leave her husband before the seventh year, she loses all these, except her cowyll, and her 'wynneb-werth<sup>3</sup> for his 'dgowyn.'

X. Should her husband

(BK. II. C. xviii. § 1, 2, 4, 21, 22, 28, 29.)

I. If a man take a wife by gift of kindred, and he desert her before the end of the seven years; let him pay her three pounds, as her agweddi, if she be the daughter of a 'breyr; and one pound and a half, as her cowyll; and six score pence, as her 'gobyr: if she be the daughter of a taeog, one pound and a half, as her agweddi; six score pence, as her cowyll; and twenty-four pence, as her gobyr.

II. If, after the seven years, he leave her; let all be shared between them, unless privilege should give precedence to the husband: two parts of the children go to the husband, and the third to the mother; the eldest and the youngest go to the father.

If they be separated by

(BK. II. C. xxix. § 5, 12, 13, 14, 26, 27, 30.)

V. If a man take a wife, by gift of kindred, and leave her before the end of seven years; let him pay her agweddi to her.

XII. If she be left after the end of seven years, let there be an equal sharing between them; unless the privilege of the husband entitle him to more.

XIII. Two thirds of the children come to the husband; to wit, the eldest and the youngest; and the third to the mother.

XIV. If they be separated by death, everything is to be equally shared between them.

XXVI. From three causes a woman loses not her agweddi, although she may leave her husband: to wit, on account of leprosy; bad breath; and default of connexion.

<sup>1</sup> and though there be B.<sup>2</sup> losses D.<sup>3</sup> and her D.B.<sup>a</sup> 'Dower.'<sup>b</sup> See notes <sup>a</sup>, <sup>b</sup> on p. 246.<sup>c</sup> 'Maiden-fee.'<sup>d</sup> See note <sup>c</sup> on p. 246.<sup>e</sup> See note <sup>d</sup> on p. 246.

[CIVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## AM WRAGEDD.

## GWYNEDD.

(BK. II. C. i. § 1, 9, 10, 12,  
14, 17, 18, 31.)

claur neu anadal dreu-  
edyc neu na hallo emreyn  
os oacaus vn or trifeth  
henyhedeu [hi y gwr] hy  
adele cafael kubyl or eyd-  
hy.

XII. Ac os ouaru abeu  
edes carant ranet eclaf ay  
peryglauek ekyt ac ef a  
deusset eryac.

XIV. Os o veuu egua-  
hanant triked hy ar eydhy  
en ety hyt emen enau  
nyeu a naunos a guybot  
ae kefreithyaul he guahan  
as os yaun e guahan o pen  
e nauuetyt ayt yda hy or  
blaen ac ar ol ekenyauc  
dyuethaf aet [hitheu] he-  
hun.

XVII. O myn [y] gur  
grueyc arall guedy ed es-  
caro ar [wreic] kandaf ryt  
vyt ekentaf.

XVIII. Oderuyt egur  
escar [ae wreic] amenu  
ohono vr arall abod en  
ediuar gan egur cantaf  
reescarassey aygreyc a  
[e] godyuues ohonau hy  
ar neylltroet ene gueli ar  
llall eythir egueli egur can-  
taf adele cafael egureic.

XXXI. Puebenac aces-

## DYVED.

(BK. II. C. xviii. § 1, 2, 4,  
21, 22, 28, 29.)

IV. Gwr a eill ynryd  
gadu ywreic os gwanna  
hitheu yr gwr arall yn  
honneit [ac] nycheiff hi  
dim oe hiawn namyn y  
tri pheth ny dygir rac  
gwreic ar gorderch atal  
y sarhaet yr gwr kyurei-  
thawl.

XXI. [O] tri achaws  
nychyll gwreic y hegvedi  
kyt adaw [ho] ygwr: vn  
yw oglauri, ac o eisseu kyt;  
a dryc annadyl.

XXII. Teir gweith y  
keiff gwreic yhwynneb-  
werth: [yn] kynntaf y  
[keiff] wheugeint; yr eil  
weith punt; y tryded  
weith y dicaun adaw  
ygwr a mynet ae holl  
dyllyet genti ac o diodef  
hi dros ytryded weith ny  
cheiff [hi] wynnebwerth.

XXVIII. Or gat gwr  
y wreic ynagkyureithawl  
adwyn arall attaw ywreic  
vrthot adyly triccyaw yny  
thy hyt ympen ynwauet-  
tyd ac yna or gellygir hi  
ywrth ygwr ynhollawl pob  
peth or eidi hi adyly my-  
net yngyntaf or ty a hitheu

## GWENT.

(BK. II. C. xxix. § 5, 12, 13,  
14, 26, 27, 30.)

XXVII. Tri pheth ny  
dygir rac gureic kyt gatter  
hi am y cham y chowyll  
ae hargyfreu ae bhwynneb-  
werth pan gyttjo y gwr  
agureic arall].

XXX. [Teir gweith y  
keiff gureic yhwynnebwerth  
y gan y gwr pan gyttjo ef  
agureic arall<sup>1</sup> ac os diodef  
<sup>2</sup>dros hynný ny cheiff  
dim].—[I. 746, 748, 750.]

<sup>1</sup> —teir gweith X.<sup>2</sup> hi ybedwarded weith X.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## OF WOMEN.

## VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. II. C. I. § 1, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 18, 31.)

be leprous, or have fetid breath, or be incapable of marital duties; if on account of one of these three things she leave her husband, she is to have the whole of her property.

XII. If by dying and living they separate, let the sick, aided by the confessor, share, and let the healthy choose.

XIV. If living they separate, let her and her property remain in the house to the end of nine days and nine nights, to ascertain whether the separation be legal; and if the separation be right, at the end of the ninth day, let her property go before, and, after the last penny, let her go herself.

XVII. If the husband take another wife, after he shall have parted from the first wife; the first is free.

XVIII. If a man part from his wife, and she be minded to take another husband, and the first husband should repent having parted from his wife, and overtake her with one foot in the bed and the other outside the bed, the prior husband is to have the woman.

XXXI. Whoever shall

## DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. C. XVIII. § 1, 2, 4, 21, 22, 28, 29.)

death, let everything be equally shared between them.

IV. A man is free to forsake his wife, if she notoriously attach herself to another man; and she is to obtain nothing of her right, excepting the three things which are not to be taken from a woman; and the seducer is to pay to the lawful husband his *saraad*.

XXI. For three causes, if a woman desert her husband, she is not to lose her *agweddi*: for leprosy; want of connexion; and bad breath.

XXII. Three times a woman is to obtain her *wyneb-werth*: the first time, she is to have six score pence; the second time, one pound; the third time, she can leave her husband, and depart with all her due: but if she endure beyond the third time, she is not to obtain her *wyneb-werth*.

XXVIII. If a man deserts his wife unlawfully, and takes another; the rejected wife is to remain in her house until the end of the ninth day; and then, if she be suffered to depart entirely from her husband, everything

## GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. C. XXIX. § 5, 12, 13, 14, 26, 27, 30.)

XXXVII. Three things of which a woman is not to be deprived, although she be abandoned for her crime: her *cowyll*; her *argyvreu*; and *wyneb-werth*, when her husband shall be connected with another woman.

XXX. Three times a wife has her *wyneb-werth* from her husband, when he shall be connected with another <sup>1</sup>woman; and, if she endure <sup>2</sup>beyond that, she has nothing. [I. 747, 749, 751.]

<sup>1</sup> —three times X.<sup>2</sup> the fourth time X.

[CTVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## AM WRAGEDD.

## GWYNEDD.

(BK. II. c. i. § 1, 9, 10, 12,  
14, 17, 18, 31.)

ko teyrnos gan gureyc or  
pan anhuder etan eny da-  
danudher tranohet, a[c o  
henne allan] mennu o ho-  
nau escar talet ydhy ey-  
dyon atalo ugeynt ac arall  
atalo deg ar ugeynt ac arall  
atalho <sup>1</sup> trugeynt ac os duc  
ar ty ac anloet ae ybod  
ekyd ac ef hýt empen [y]  
seyth blenet rannu a hy [a  
dele o henne allan] megis  
agureic arodyeyt ydhy.  
[I. 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90.]

(BK. II. c. i. § 13.)

XIII. Ny dele eclaf  
kemennu dym namen e  
a daeret [yr] ecluys ac  
[ebediwr yr] argluyt ae de-  
leedyon aked askemeno  
emab aeyll torry ekemen  
ahunu aeluyr [y] mab  
anuar. Puebennac [en-  
teu] adorro kemen ky-  
freythaul nyt amgen ae  
daeret ae delehedyon es-  
kemun [edýc] vyt, [megys  
puplican neu bagan.]-[I.  
84.]

(BK. III. c. ii. § 45.)

XLV. Ý chýureýth Hý-  
wel ýbu tal am ledrat ar  
eýl tal ac [odýna] ý sýmu-

## DYVED

(BK. II. c. xviii. § 1, 2, 4,  
21, 22, 28, 29.)

yn diwethaf adyly mynet  
or ty yn ol yholl da ac  
odyna gan dwyn yllall  
yrty ef adyly rodi <sup>b</sup> dil-  
ystawt yr wreic gyntaf  
kanny dyly vn gwr dwy  
wraged o gyfreith.

XXIX. Pwybynnac a-  
atto ywreic ac auo ediuar  
gantaw y gadu ahitheu  
gwedi y rodi ywr arall  
os gordiwed ygwr kynn-  
taf hi ar neill troet idi y  
mywn ygwely ar llall  
ymaes ygwr kynntaf o  
gyureith ae keiff. [I. 514,  
516, 520, 524.]

[IX. AM DDAERED.]

(BK. II. c. viii. § 62.)

LXII. Tri da nyt reit  
mach arnunt: da arodho  
arglwyd y dyn; achymyn  
a gymero offeiraf y gan  
ymarw; a da a gymero  
medyc ygan y neb a ve-  
dyccinnaetho. [I. 452.]

<sup>1</sup> deu ugeint E.<sup>a</sup> daeret = mortuary.<sup>b</sup> dilysdawd = assurance.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## OF WOMEN.

## VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. II. C. I. § 1, 9, 10, 12,  
14, 17, 18, 31.)

sleep three nights with a woman, from the time the fire is covered until it be uncovered the following morning, and after that willetth to separate; let him give her an ox that shall be worth twenty pence, another worth thirty pence, and another worth <sup>1</sup> sixty pence; and if he take her to house and home, and she live with him unto the end of seven years; thenceforwards he is to share with her, as with a betrothed wife. [I. 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91.]

## DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. C. XVIII. § 1, 2, 4,  
21, 22, 28, 29.)

belonging to her is to go in the first place out of the house; and then she is to go last out of the house, after all her property: after that, on bringing the other into the house, he is to give 'a dilysdawd' to the first wife; because no man, by law, is to have two wives.

XXIX. Whoever shall leave his wife, and shall repent leaving her, she having been given to another husband; if the first husband overtake her with one foot in the bed, and the other out; the first husband, by law, is to have her. [I. 515, 517, 521, 525.]

## GWENTIAN.

## [IX. OF BEQUESTS TO THE CHURCH.]

(BK. II. C. I. § 13.)

XIII. The sick is not to bequeath aught, except a <sup>a</sup>daered to the church, and an ebediw to the lord, and his debts: and, should he bequeath, the son can break the bequest; and such a one is called the uncourteous son. Whoever therefore shall break a legal bequest, whether daered or debts, shall be excommunicated, as a publican or pagan. [I. 85.]

(BK. III. C. II. § 45.)

XLV. In the law of Howel, there was a payment for theft, and a se-

(BK. II. C. VIII. § 62.)

LXII. Three kinds of property for which no surety is necessary: property that shall be given to a person by a lord; a testamentary bequest received by a priest from the dead; and property received by a medical attendant from a person whom he attends professionally. [I. 453.]

<sup>1</sup> two score E.<sup>a</sup> See notes on p. 250.

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM DDAERED.]

GWYNEDD.

DYVED.

GWENT.

(BK. III. c. ii. § 45.)

dus Bledŷn uab Kŷnuŷn  
[am uot en dŷgaun] talu ŷ  
dŷn ŷ gollet urth ŷ dam-  
dug. Ỳ da [enteu] ŷ ford  
ŷ cŷmŷnno aet onŷ bŷd  
plant Ỳdau [ac] o bŷd plant  
[Ỳdau enteu] nŷ dŷlŷ [en-  
teu] cŷmŷnnw eŷthŷr Ỳ  
dŷlŷedyon a daŷret Ỳr eg-  
luŷs. [I. 252, 254.]

[X. AM Y TAVODIAWG, &amp;c.]

(BK. II. c. iv. title and  
§ 1-3.)

LEMA [Ỳ] DECREU KE-  
FREYTHYEU EGULAD.

Kentaf [Ỳu e] nau  
\*tauodyauc ŷef eu erey  
hene,

I. Argluŷd erug Ỳdeu  
<sup>1</sup>guas:

II. <sup>2</sup>Eŷefryat erug Ỳdeu  
uanac:

III. Tat erug Ỳdeuab:

O byd un or rey a deu-  
edassam ny huchof ny  
menho dody empen etri  
tauodyauc ar llall eny uen-  
hu kefreŷt aeyrc Ỳ dody  
[ŷneu penn] &c. [I. 108.]

(BK. II. c. iii. § 16, 18.)

XVI. Or daw lleidyr at  
offeirrat Ỳadef ac Ỳ ennwi  
Ỳ getymdeithon amletrat  
a thygu hynny ar drws Ỳ  
vynnwent [ac ar drws Ỳr  
eglwys] ac ar drws Ỳ cor  
heb erchi eu kelu byth-  
bynnac adarffo ymdanaw  
wedy hynny credadwy vyd  
Ỳr offeirrat amyr hynn ad-  
ŷwawt Ỳ lleidyr wrthaw  
kyffelyb vod ahynny vyd  
am dyn a vannacco lleidyr  
a lletrat a dyccer or twg  
[ef] Ỳ vannac mal hynny  
yggwyd Ỳr offeirrat.

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 40  
in part.)

XL. O teir ford Ỳ dygir  
mab 4 Ỳ tat' un o honunt  
gwreic llwyn a pherth or  
byd beichawc pan uo ar Ỳ  
llawuaeth, dyget Ỳ hofferat  
plwyf attei athyget  
wrthaw [mal hynn:] esgor  
neidyr Ỳ mi [Ỳ] ar Ỳ bei-  
chogi hwn os crewys tat  
gan uam namyn ygwr hwn  
ae enwi ac Ỳ uelly kyurei-  
thawl Ỳ dwc, &c. [I. 784.]

(BK. II. c. xi. § 25 in part.)

XXV. [Ac] ena e mai  
ŷaun Ỳr enat gouin Ỳr  
haulur may breint de des-  
tion dy. Ac ena emay

XVIII. Managwr dio-  
fredauc or daw Ỳ gyt ar  
<sup>3</sup>colledic at Ỳr offeirrat Ỳ  
drws Ỳr eglwys archet Ỳr

<sup>1</sup> ur B.D.<sup>2</sup> abat D.<sup>3</sup> Ỳsgolhaic P.<sup>4</sup> ac Ỳdiwedir X.\* *tavodlog* = definitive umpire.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF BEQUESTS TO THE CHURCH.]

VENEDOTIAN.

DIMETIAN.

GWENTIAN.

(BK. III. c. ii. § 45.)

cond payment; and then Bleddyn, son of Cynvyn, altered this rule, because it suffices to pay a person for his loss according to his oath. The property of the criminal is to go in the way he may bequeath it, unless he have children; but, if he have children, then he is to bequeath nothing, except his debts, and daered to the church. [l. 253, 255.]

## [X. OF THE PRIVILEGE OF PRIESTS AS WITNESSES.]

(BK. II. c. iv. title and § 1-3.)

(BK. II. c. iii. § 16, 18.)

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 40 in part.)

HERE BEGIN THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRY.

First, are the nine 'tavodiogs': these are,

I. A lord, between his two <sup>1</sup>servants:

II. A <sup>2</sup>priest, between his two monks:

III. A father, between his two sons:

If one of those we have mentioned above does not will to submit to the decision of the three tavodiogs, and the other wills it; the law requires submission to their decision, &c. [l. 109.]

(BK. II. c. xi. § 25 in part.)

XXV. And then it is right for the judge to ask the plaintiff: 'What is the privilege of thy wit-

XVI. If a thief come to a priest to confess, and to name his confederates, in theft, and swear thereto, at the door of the church-yard, and at the door of the church, and at the door of the chancel, without desiring concealment; whatever may happen to him afterwards, the priest is to be believed in respect to what has been told him by the thief: and it is similar in regard to a person who shall inform of a thief and of theft; if he swear in like manner to his information in the presence of the priest.

XVIII. If an informer under a sacred vow come, along with the <sup>3</sup>person robbed, to the priest, at

XL. By three ways is a son to be affiliated <sup>4</sup>to a father: one of them, when a woman of bush and brake shall be pregnant, upon arrival at her full time, let her parish priest visit her, and let her swear before him, in this manner: 'May I be delivered of a snake by this pregnancy, if any father has begotten it on a mother, other than that man;' and naming him; and so she affiliates him lawfully &c. [l. 785, 787.]

<sup>1</sup> men *B.D.*<sup>2</sup> abbat *D.*<sup>3</sup> clerk *P.*<sup>4</sup> and denied *X.*

\* See note on p. 252.



[CYFREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM Y TAVODIAWG, &amp;c.]

## GWYNEDD.

(BK. II. c. xi. § 25 in part.)

yaunt yr haulur deueduit breint ytestion, ae vintoe en <sup>a</sup>veirri neu [wýntew] en <sup>b</sup>keghelloron ae vnteu en veneich neu en ahtraon ae vnteu en efferiet neu en escoleicion ae vinteu en lleecion [breinhawl]. [I. 154.]

(BK. III. c. ii. § 28.)

XXVIII. Puýbýnnac a uýnho gwneuthur dogýn uýnac aet ar yr argluýd a dýwedet rý wneuthur lle-drat o dýn [ac] ný leueýs [ef] ý dýweduyt arnau aý rac ý uonhed aý rac ý uedýant: yna ý mae ýaun yr argluýd dýuýnnu yr effeýrýat atau a dýwedet urthau yr hýn rý dýwet-puýt urthau ýnteu ac ellýg yr effeýrýat ý gýt ac ew hýt ar drus yr egluýs achroyset racdau na týgho anudon. Ac omýn týgu týghet ýn gýntaw ar drus yr egluýs ar eýl [llv] ar [drws] ý gagell ar trýdýd ar yr allawr. Ac od ýna doet yr effeýrýat ar yr argluýd a dýwedet [rý] gafael ý cubýl; ar argluýd adýlý týghu rý gafael dogýn uýnac [o honav] pan holo [ef] ý dýn ýn [e] dadleu ac ýn erbýn hýnný ný ellýr dým. Ný býd eneyt uadeu ew yr <sup>1</sup>hýn-ný namýn [ý uot en] lleý-

## DYVED.

(BK. II. c. iii. § 16, 18.)

offeirat idaw yno yr Duw na dywetto gelwyd vrthaw [ac] or twng yno na dyweit namyn gwir tynghet y kyffelyp ar drws ygagell artrydyd weith vch benn yr allawr [gyssegyr ac] os gwatta y dyn kylus wedy hynny kadarnnhaet yr offeirat aryeir teirgweith ac os gwatta ydyn [kylus] yna tyghet yr offerat vn weith gwelet ymannagwr ae glybot ynn cadarnnhaw y vannac trwy twg yny mod ygwnaeth ac odyнна ynellir gwat ynn erbynn hynny a hwnnw yw dogynvanac. [I. 418.]

(BK. II. c. v. § 1, 2, 6.)

I. Kyntaf yw arglwyd [ý] rwg y deuwr trwy na bo [ef yn] kyurannawc arydadyl neu ar yr hynn y bo ydadyl ymdanaw. Ot adef pob vn or gwyr rytuot eu kynnhen yny wyd ef kynnohynny ac na bwynt vn dull, ac or gwatta vn yn erbyn y llall dir yw [idaw] tygu yggwyd yr arglwyd: yspeit naw nieu ageiff arglwyd amylw y

<sup>1</sup> caffael ý dogen uanac B.

<sup>a</sup> *maer* = the bailiff in each cymwd over the villeins.

<sup>b</sup> *canghellor* = the officer in each "canghellor-

ship" to determine disputes among the King's villeins and to secure the King's waste.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF THE PRIVILEGE OF PRIESTS AS WITNESSES.]

VENEDOTIAN.

DIMETIAN.

GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. c. xi. § 25 in part.)

(BK. II. c. iii. § 16, 18.)

nesses?' Then it is right for the plaintiff to state the privilege of his witnesses, whether *\*maers*, or *\*canghellors*, whether monks, or teachers, whether priests or scholars, or privileged laymen. [I.155.]

the door of the church, let the priest there desire him, for the sake of God, not to tell him a falsehood; and, if he then swear that he speaks nothing but the truth, let him swear in like manner at the door of the chancel; and the third time over the sacred altar: if the guilty person deny it after that, let the priest confirm it, upon his word, three times; and if the guilty person shall still deny it, let the priest swear once, to have seen the informer, and heard him confirm his information by an oath, in the way it was done by him; thenceforwards there can be no denial made against that: and that is a competent information. [I.419.]

(BK. III. c. ii. § 28.)

XXVIII. Whoever may will to make a full information, let him go to the lord and say, that a person, whom he dare not mention, either on account of his rank, or of his property, has committed a theft: then it is right for the lord to summon the priest to him, and state to him what had been imparted to him; and send the priest along with the informant to the church door, and let him charge him to beware of being guilty of perjury. Then, if he willeth to swear, let him swear first at the church door; secondly, in the chancel; and thirdly, at the altar. And from thence, let the priest return to the lord, and say, that he has had the whole; and the lord is to swear to having had full information, when he shall examine the person,

(BK. II. c. v. § 1, 2, 6.)

I. The first [of the nine, who are to be believed in giving testimony upon oath,] is, a lord between his two men, if not interested in the suit or in the matter of the suit. If both parties acknowledge that their cause had been previously before him, and they disagree as to the mode, and one deny the statement of the other;

\* See notes on p. 254.

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM Y TAVODIAWG, &amp;c.]

GWYNEDD.

(BK. III. c. ii. § 28.)

dŷr gwerth [ac] onŷ eŷll  
[enteu] cafael ŷ werth  
dŷhŷlŷer ual lleŷdŷr. Ere-  
ŷll [or keureŷthŷeu] a uŷn  
gadu gwat ŷdau ŷr gŷrr ŷr  
argluŷd ual ŷr gŷrr per-  
chennauc [arall] a hunnw  
muŷhaw ŷ coŷllŷa gwŷr  
Gwŷnet ŷdau. [I. 246.]

DYVED.

(BK. II. c. v. § 1, 2, 6.)

vedylyaw py vod tytygho.  
Oet yssyd y offeiraf amy  
lw hyt yr amsser ygallo  
canu offerenn [ŷn] gyntaf.

GWENT.

II. Eil [dyn] yw abbat  
[y] rwg y deu vynnach.

\* \* \*

VI. Whechet yw offei-  
rat y rwg y deu dyn plwyf  
amyrhynn atystassant idaw  
kynno hynny. [I. 422,  
424.]

(BK. II. c. viii. § 92.)

XCII. Trilleidyrgwerth  
yssyd lleidyr y caffer dog-  
yn vannac arnaw trwy  
eglwys achyttleidyrr [ŷ]  
lleidyr agroccer am letrat  
alleidyr a dalher gwerth  
pedeir keinnawc kyureith  
gantaw neu lei o da mar-  
wawl ynletrat. [I. 462.]

[XI. AM REITHOEDD, AC AM LW GWEILYDD, &amp;c.]

(BK. II. c. vi. § 3 in part.)

III. Ac es sef eu oet  
ereis honno vithnos or  
Sul nessaf ac es sef le  
eroder erreihis honno yhd-  
hauef ene llann eguarran-  
daho ef eferen [yndi;] ac  
es sef amser e kemerrir [y  
reith honno] er rug [e]

(BK. I. c. xxxi. § 1, 2.)

I. Kynntaf y gossodes  
ybrenhin pumb swydauc  
ympob llys or wlat yg  
Gwyned a Phwys nyt am-  
gen maer kyghellaur righill  
offeiraf y yscrivenu dad-  
leueu ac vn brawdwr trwy  
swyd:

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 34, 41.)

XXXIV. Tri lle ny  
dyly dyn rodi llw gweilyd:  
un yw [ar] pont o un pren  
heb ganllaw idi; eil yw  
ar porth y uynwent canys  
canu y Pader adyly [dŷn]  
yna rac eneideu Cristono-  
gyon y byt ar ar drws yr

\* *raith* = compurgation-jury, in this instance in a case of denial of suretship.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF THE PRIVILEGE OF PRIESTS AS WITNESSES.]

VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. III. c. ii. § 28.)

in the courts; and against this nothing can be done. Still, he is not to lose his life 'for that', but is to be a saleable thief; and unless he can obtain his worth, let him be exiled as a thief. Other of the laws allow him a denial against the prosecution by the lord, in the same manner as in a prosecution by the owner: and that form is mostly preferred by the men of Gwynedd. [I. 247.]

DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. c. v. § 1, 2, 6.)

it is necessary for him to swear in the presence of the lord: the lord is to have the space of nine days to consider in what manner he is to swear. The time for a priest to consider as to his oath, is during such time as he can sing mass first.

II. The second person is, an abbat between his two monks.

\* \* \*

VI. The sixth is, a priest between his two parishioners, in respect to what they had previously testified to him. [I. 423, 425.]

(BK. II. c. viii. § 92.)

XCII. There are three thieves liable to be sold: a thief against whom an information has been made through the church; a fellow thief to one who is hanged for theft; and a thief upon whom shall be found, of stolen dead property, what is worth four legal pence, or less. [I. 426.]

## [XI. OF LEGAL PROCESSES TO TAKE PLACE IN CHURCH OR BEFORE A PRIEST.]

(BK. II. c. vi. § 3 in part.)

III. The period of that *raith* is a week from the following Sunday; and the place where that *raith* is to be given is the church wherein he shall hear mass; and the time for receiving that *raith* is

(BK. I. c. xxxi. § 1, 2.)

I. First, the King placed five officers in each court in Gwynedd and Powys; that is, a *maer*, a *canghellor*, an *apparitor*, a priest to write pleadings, and one judge by virtue of office:

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 34, 41.)

XXXIV. There are three places where a person is not to give the oath of an absolver: one is, on a bridge of a single timber, without a hand-rail; the second is, at the porch of a churchyard; for the

<sup>1</sup> although the full information is had *B.*

<sup>a</sup> See note on p. 256.

[CTVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM REITHOEDD AC AM LW GWEILYDD, &amp;c.]

## GWYNEDD.

(BK. II. c. vi. § 3 in part.)  
Benedicamus a [rodi y]  
barra eferen. [I. 114.]

(BK. II. c. xi. § 10 in part.)

X. Esseu ual [hýnn] et  
estedyr en keureythiaul  
eiste or Brenihin neu or  
neb a uo enile ae keuen  
ar erêul neu ar e [dryc]  
hin rac aulonidu or hin  
oyuyneb ef; ar enat llis  
neu egnat ekemut er hun  
henau auo en eiste rac  
euron ef; ac ar [y] llau  
assu yhunnu er <sup>1</sup>egnat  
arall<sup>2</sup> auo enemays neu er  
<sup>2</sup>eneid [ereill] ac ar ellau  
dehau ydau [ef] er efei-  
riat o bit ene mays neu er  
efeiryeyt; ac egkell erar-  
gluid, &c. [I. 144.]

(BK. II. c. xi. § 21 in part.)

XXI. A guedy estad-  
kano aynt er egneyt allan  
ar effeyryhet [neu yr offei-  
rat] ygyt ac vy [nt] a rig-  
hyll y gyt aguy [nt] hy eu  
kadv rac douot dynyon  
[atunt] y warandau arna-  
dunt. .... Ac ena guedy  
ed eystedont huy [yn eu  
brawt le] emay hiaun  
yr effeyryat guedya Duy  
ydangos o Duy er yaun  
udunt akanu onadunt hu-  
yntheu eu Pader ac guedy  
e Pader emay yaun yr  
egnat dadkanu e duyke-

## DYVED.

(BK. I. c. xxxi. § 1, 2.)  
II. Aphetwar megys  
yrei kynntaf ympob lllys  
yn Deheubarth alliaws o  
vrawdwy'r nyt amgen [no]  
pob perchenn tir megys  
yddoedynt kynn Hywel  
da o vreint tir heb swyd.  
[I. 404.]

(BK. II. c. vi. § 15, 20.)

XV. Mach awatto y  
vechni gwadet ar y sei-  
thuet or dynyon nessaf y  
werth; ac os <sup>a</sup>briduwawat-  
ta ehun ae tteg uch [pen  
y] seith allawr kyssegredic  
neu seith weith ar [yr] vn  
allawr.

XX. Pwybynnac agy-  
mero mach ar dylyet  
amarw ymach kynn talu  
ydylyet doet ar ved ymach  
athyget ar yseithuet or  
dynyon nessaf ywerth y  
ryvot hwnnw yn vach  
[idaw] arydylyet [hwnnw]  
or keiff y bed ac onys  
keiff tyget ar yr allawr  
gyssegredic agweddy hynny  
yr arglwyd bieu kymell y  
uechni dros ymarw. [I.  
430.]

(BK. III. c. vi. § 19.)

XIX. Or deruyd am-  
rysson rwg deudyn am-  
geissaw creir y damtwg  
ac ef, abot vn yn dywe-

## GWENT.

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 34, 41.)  
eglwys canys canu y Pader  
adyly [dýn] yna rac bron  
y groc.

XLI. O teir ford y di-  
wedir mab [o genedy!:]  
un yw kymryt or gwr y  
mab [y dywetter y uot yn  
vab idaw ae dodi y rydaw  
ar allawr] a dodi y law  
[asseu] ar y pen ar llaw  
arall ar y creireu ar allawr  
gysegyr athygu nas crewys  
ef [ygan yvam,] ac nat oes  
un dauyn oe waet yndaw  
ae diwat: eil yw [ony byd  
ytat yn yvw,] penkenedyl  
aseith law kenedyl gantaw  
ae diwat: trydyd yw ony  
byd penkenedyl <sup>3</sup>rodi llw  
degwyr adeugeint oe gen-  
edyl ae diwat; [ar mab  
hynhaf yr gwr yd oed y  
mab ar y gwystylwn bieu  
tygu yny blaen].—[I. 784,  
786.]

<sup>1</sup> offeirat D.<sup>2</sup> offeireit D.<sup>3</sup> idaw V.W.X.<sup>a</sup> *briduw* = a solemn asseveration on a person's faith.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF LEGAL PROCESSES TO TAKE PLACE IN CHURCH OR BEFORE A PRIEST.]

## VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. II. c. vi. § 3 in part.)

between the 'Benedicamus' and distributing the sacramental bread. [I. 115.]

(BK. II. c. xi. § 10 in part.)

X. [In a suit for land,] the legal form of sitting is as follows: first, the King, or his representative, with his back to the sun or to the weather, lest the weather incommode his face; and the judge of the court, or the judge of the *cymwd*, whoever is the oldest, is to sit before him; and at that person's left hand, the 'other judge' that may be in the field, or the <sup>2</sup>judges; and upon his right hand, the priest or priests, if there be any in the field; and next the lord, &c. [I. 145.]

(BK. II. c. xi. § 21 in part.)

XXI. [The pleadings in such a suit being over,] after he [the judge] shall have stated them, let the judges go out, and the priests or the priest along with them, and an apparitor with them, to prevent other persons from coming to listen to them.... Then, after they shall be seated in their judgment-place, it is right for the priest to pray to God, that God may shew them the right, and for them to chaunt

## DIMETIAN.

(BK. I. c. xxxi. § 1, 2.)

II. And four, like the preceding, in each court in South Wales, and many judges, that is, every owner of land, as they were before the time of Howel the good, by privilege of land without office. [I. 405.]

(BK. II. c. vi. § 15, 20.)

XV. A surety who shall deny his suretiship, let him deny it along with six persons nearest to himself in worth; and, if he deny <sup>a</sup>briduw, he himself is to swear upon seven sacred altars or seven times upon the same altar.

XX. Whoever shall accept surety for a debt, and the surety die before payment of the debt; let him come upon the grave of the surety, and swear along with six persons nearest to himself in worth, that the deceased was surety to him for that debt, if he find the grave; and if he do not, let him swear upon the sacred altar: and, after that, the lord is to compel the fulfilment of the suretiship for the deceased. [I. 431.]

(BK. III. c. vi. § 19.)

XIX. If there should arise a contention between two persons as to the procuring a relic to

## GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 34, 41.)

'Pater' is to be there chaunted for the souls of the Christians of the world; and at the church door; for the 'Pater' is there to be chaunted before the rood.

XLI. By three ways is a son disowned by a kindred: one is, the man is to take the boy, said to be his son, and place him between himself and the altar; and put his left hand upon the boy's head, and the other hand upon the relics on the holy altar; and swear that he has not begotten him on his mother, and that there is not one drop of his blood in him; and deny him: the second is, if the father be not living, the chief of kindred, with the hands of seven of the kindred, deny him: the third is, if there be no chief of kindred, <sup>3</sup>the giving' the oaths of fifty men of his kindred deny him; and the eldest son of the man, to whom the child was pledged, is to swear first. [I. 785, 787.]

<sup>1</sup> priest D.<sup>2</sup> priests D.<sup>3</sup> to him V.W.X.<sup>a</sup> See note on p. 258.

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM REITHOEDD AC AM LW GWEILYDD, &amp;c.]

## GWYNEDD.

(BK. II. c. xi. § 21 in part.)  
ghessaith [yr] eylweyth.  
[l. 148.]

(BK. II. c. xxxi. § 2-4, 6.)

II. Pa wreyc bynnac a  
uynno duyn mab yn gy-  
ureythaul ual hyn y mae  
[yavn] ydy y duyn [y]  
dyuot hy ar mab hyt yr  
egluys y bo y guydua yndy  
a dyuot hyt [ar] yr allaur  
a doddy y llau deheu [ydy]  
ar yr allaur [ac] ar creyr-  
yeu ar llau assu [idi] ar  
ben y mab ac y uelly  
tyghu y Duw yny blaen  
ac yr allaur honno ac yr  
creyryeu da y syd arney  
ac y uedyt y mab nas ry  
creus tat y callon mam y  
mab hun yman namyn y  
gur [hwnn] ar gur erbyn  
y henw ym kallon y. Ual  
hynny y dylir duyn mab  
y Gymro.

## DYVED.

(BK. III. c. vi. § 19.)

dut: Tibieu keissaw [y]  
creir: Titheu bieu keis-  
saw [y] creir: y gyureith  
honn adyweit panyw y neb  
bieffo llithyaw y llw bieu  
keissaw y creir, kany y-  
creir adewisso [ef] bieu y  
dwyn y lithyaw ac ef. [l.  
614.]

[LEGES WALLICÆ, Bk.

II. c. xlix. § 5. (B.) Si  
alicui homicidium impo-  
nitur, et non est ei titulus  
comprobandi, xlviii. homi-  
num nominatorum jura-  
mento se purgabit, ex qui-  
bus xxiiii. in ecclesia jurent  
eum esse ab homicidio im-  
munem: quodsi non jura-  
verint, ancillas v. et tres  
servos reddat, et securus  
sit. II. 875. (See above,  
on p. 128, Canon. Wallic.  
c. 3.)]

III. Ac y ual hyn y  
dylir duyn mab y \*alltud  
dyuot [hyt] yr egluys y  
cymero [ef e] duuyr suyn  
ay uara eferen [yndi] ac  
yna y duyn ydau [ynteu]  
megys y dywetpuyt uchoth.  
[Ac] yna y mae yaun yr  
tat gwneuthur un o deu-  
peth ay kymryt y mab yn  
gyureythaul ay [ynteu] y  
wadu yn gyureythaul.

\* *alltud* = a foreigner in villenage under the King or a freeholder.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF LEGAL PROCESSES TO TAKE PLACE IN CHURCH OR BEFORE A PRIEST.]

## VENEDOTIAN.

## DIMETIAN.

## GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. c. xi. § 21 in part.)

(BK. III. c. vi. § 19.)

their Pater; and after their Pater, it is right for the judge to state the two pleadings a second time. [I. 149.]

swear by; and one say: 'It is for thee to procure the relic:' and the other: 'Thou art to procure the relic:' this law says, that the person to whom the procuration of the oath pertains is to procure the relic, for he is to bring the relic he may choose to be made use of. [I. 615.]

(BK. II. c. xxxi. § 2-4, 6.)

II. Whatsoever woman may will lawfully to affiliate a child, thus it is right for her to do: to come with the child to the church wherein her burying place is, and approach the altar, and place her right hand upon the altar and the relics, and her left hand upon the head of the child, and so swear, to God first, and by that altar, and by the sacred relics thereon, and by the baptism of the child, that no father has formed in the womb of its mother this present child, but such and such a man, naming him, in her womb. In this manner is a child to be affiliated to a Cymro.

[And see above, Bk. I. c. xiv. § 20, Bk. ii. c. iii. § 16, 18; pp. 228, 252, sq.]

III. And thus is a child to be affiliated to an all-tud: to come to the church in which he shall take the holy water and the sacramental bread, and there affiliate it to him, like as it has been said above. And then it is right for the father to do one of two things; either to receive the child lawfully, or else to deny him lawfully.

\* See note on p. 260.



[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM REITHOEDD AC AM LW GWEILYDD, &amp;c.]

GWYNEDD.

DYVED.

GWENT.

(BK. II. c. xxxi. § 2-4, 6.)

IV. Os ý wadu a uýn  
[ýdav] ýaun ýu ýdau dýuot  
hýt ýr egluýs rý dýwed-  
assam ný uchoť a [c yna]  
dodý ý lau deheu [idaw]  
ar ýr allaur [ac] ar creýr-  
ýeu auo arney ar llau assw  
ar ben ý mab ac ý uellý týgu  
ý Duw ýný blaen ac ýr al-  
laur honno ac ýr creýrýeu  
da ýsyd arney ac ýr Gur  
aý gwahanws ew o creed-  
ýgaeth tat a mam nas [re]  
creus ew ý mab hunnw ýg  
kallon [y] gwreic [honno]  
erýoet ac nat oes [un]  
dauýn oý waet ew ýndau  
onýt [adaw] o Adaw.

VI. O deruýd ýdý hý-  
theu ceýssýau oet ý geýs-  
sýau creýrýeu ný dýlý hý  
oet namýn trýdýeu caný  
dýlý hý geýssýau creýr-  
ýeu namýn ýný kýmüt  
hunnw. [I. 206, 208.]

## [XII. AM EGLWYSWYR.]

(BK. I. c. xii. § 6 in part.)

VI. Ef adely pedeir ke-  
nynauc o pop march [or]  
arodho ebrenyn, eythyr y  
[gan] tridyn sef eu erey  
henney er Esgob ar penhe-  
bogyť ar croessan : sef  
achaus nas dely ykan er  
Escob, urth yuod en bery-  
glaur yr Brenyn a [dýlyu  
or Brenin] keuody racdau,  
ac eyste enyhol adale ylle-  
uys traemolcho, &c. [I. 28,  
30.]

(BK. II. c. i. § 32.)

XXXII. Or byd car yr  
llouryd neu yr lladedic yn  
wr eglwissic rwymedic  
vrth vrdeu kyssegredic  
neu wrth greuyd neu [yn]  
glauur neu [yn] vut neu  
[yn] ynvyť nythal [dim]  
ac nyt erbynnya dim dros  
alanas. Nydylýir gwneu-  
thur dial ar vn or rei hyn-  
ny dros alanas ac ny dy-  
lyant wynteu dial [ý] neb  
[or] alather ac ny ellir eu

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 15, 22.)

XV. Tri dyn yssyd ryd  
udunt kerdet ford, adiei-  
thyr ford : effeirat y ouwy  
claf ygýt ae gennat ; eil  
yw righyll yn negesseu y  
arglwyd ; trydyd yw me-  
dyc gýt achennat y claf.

XXII. Tri diwynneb  
gwlat : arglwyd ; ac offei-  
rat ; a chyfreith : ac ný

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF LEGAL PROCESSES TO TAKE PLACE IN CHURCH OR BEFORE A PRIEST.]

VENEDOTIAN.

DIMETIAN.

GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. C. XXXI. § 2-4, 6.)

IV. If he will to deny him, it is right for him to come to the church we have already mentioned, and there place his right hand upon the altar and the relics thereon, and his left hand upon the head of the boy, and so swear, to God first, and by that altar, and by the sacred relics upon it, and by the Being who formed him by the agency of father and mother, that he never procreated that child in the womb of that woman, and that there is not one drop of his blood in him, except from Adam.

VI. If the woman seek time to fetch relics, she is to be allowed only three days; for she is not to seek relics except in that cymwd. [I. 207, 209.]

[And see above, Bk. III. c. ii. § 28; pp. 254, 255.]

## [XII. OF ECCLESIASTICAL PERSONS.]

(BK. I. c. xii. § 6 in part.)

(BK. II. c. i. § 32.)

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 15, 22.)

VI. He [the chief groom] is to have four pence for every horse which the King may give, except from three persons; these are, the Bishop, the chief falconer, and the jester. He receives nothing from the Bishop, because he is the King's confessor, to whom the King is to rise and to sit down after him, and to hold his sleeves whilst he

XXXII. If there be a relative of the murderer, or of the murdered, who is an ecclesiastic in holy orders, or in an ecclesiastical community, or leprous, or dumb, or an idiot, such neither pays nor receives any part of galanas. No vengeance is to be exercised against any one of those for galanas; neither are they to avenge

XV. There are three persons free to travel the road, and out of the road: a priest, to visit the sick, along with his messenger; the second is, an apparitor, upon his lord's commission; the third is, a mediciner, along with the messenger of the sick.

XXII. The three presentials of a country: a lord; a priest; and law:

[CIVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM EGLWYSWYR.]

## GWYNEDD.

(B. II. c. vi. § 39.)

XXXIX. Llauer o ke-  
urŷv dennion ni dele [ant]  
menet en vach na rodŷ  
mach essev achauŷ yv hin-  
nŷ kanŷdeleant huŷ guadu  
mach ny delleant huy roy  
mach nyt amgen na ma-  
nach [ac] hermiduir adin  
agheŷieih ac scoleic escol  
afop din nihallo deuot hep  
cannat arall e guassanaessu  
kefreis. [I. 128.]

(BK. II. c. xii. § 10.)

X. 'Teŷr gorsetua' ŷ  
sŷd a allant gwneuthur eu  
cabŷdul[trwydunt ehunein  
a true eu keureŷth] ehun  
ŷn ŷ lle na llesteŷrŷhoŷnt  
keureŷth ŷ Brenhŷn: sew  
ŷu ŷreŷ hŷnnŷ abat ac  
Escop [yny orsed ehun]  
ac meŷtŷr] <sup>2</sup>hŷspŷtŷ:  
[pob un yny orsed].—[I.  
170.]

(BK. III. c. i. § 14, 21.)

XIV. Nŷ tal gwreŷc  
cŷnnŷauc baladŷr canŷt  
oes paladŷr ŷdŷ namŷn ŷ  
chogeŷl ac nŷs tal ŷscol-  
heŷgŷon: ac nŷ thal gwre-  
ŷc galanas o rŷd ŷ llu na  
bŷd meŷbŷon ŷdŷ; ac nŷs  
tal ŷscolheŷgŷon heuŷt ac  
nŷs tal mab nŷ uo pedeŷr  
bluŷd ardec.

## DYVED.

(BK. II. c. i. § 32.)

kymell o neb fford ŷtalu  
nac y erbynnyaw dim dros  
alanas. [I. 410, 412.]

(BK. II. c. vi. § 23.)

XXIII. Ny dŷly neb  
rodi alltut yn vach na neb  
[or] a uo kadarnnach noc  
ef na mynach [na brawt]  
heb gannyat y abat nac  
ŷscolheic ŷscol heb gann-  
yat y athro na gwreic onyt  
arglwydes y talawdyr vyd  
na mab heb gannyat y tat  
tra dŷlyo vot drostaw kyt  
el yrei hynny yn veicheu  
ny dŷlyir kymell mechni  
neb o honunt. [I. 432.]

(BK. II. c. viii. § 124, 128,  
130, 132.)

CXXIV. Tri dyn ny  
allant ymwystlaw yn er-  
byn brawt trwy gyureith  
vn yw Brenhin [y] lle ny  
allo herwyd kyureith seu-  
yll ymywn dadyl gyr bronn  
y brawdwr y holi neu y  
atted trwy vreint anny-  
anawl neu trwy vreint y  
tir mal \*breŷr neu arall;  
eil yw dyn eglwyssic rwy-  
medic yn vrdeu kyssegre-  
dic; trydyd yw dyn egl-  
wyssic rwymedic ygkreued  
kanny dichaun neb herwyd  
kyureith rodi gwystyl yn

<sup>1</sup> Trŷ gorsedauc B.D.K.<sup>2</sup> espŷtwŷr II.

\* breŷr = mote-man, a kind of freeman.

## GWENT.

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 15, 22.)

ellir bot hebdunt mal  
kynt. [I. 780, 782.]

[LEGES WALLICÆ, Bk.

II. c. viii. § 55 (a), and  
Bk. II. c. xlv. § 2 (b).  
Tres homines non sunt  
occidendi; scilicet, Rex,  
sacerdos, et *Kerdaur* (jo-  
culator): et ideo galanas  
eis secundum leges non  
est constitutum. II. 777,  
871.

Bk. II. c. xxii. § 12 (a),  
and Bk. III. c. xiv. § 25  
(b). *Ebedŷau* sanctimonia-  
lis, xvi. (xii. b) denarii. II.  
797, 885.]

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF ECCLESIASTICAL PERSONS.]

## VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. I. c. xii. § 6 in part.)  
shall wash himself, &c. [I. 29, 31.]

(BK. II. c. vi. § 39.)

XXXIX. Many persons are not to become surety, or to give a surety; and the cause for that is, since they are not to deny a surety they are not to give a surety; such are, a monk, an eremite, a foreigner, a scholar of a school, and every person who cannot come without the permission of another to attend the courts. [I. 129.]

(BK. II. c. xii. § 10.)

X. There are <sup>1</sup>three superiories that can make their capitular regulations themselves, and by their own law, where they shall not contravene the law of the King: these are, an abbat, a Bishop in his own jurisdiction, and the master of <sup>2</sup>an hospital: each in his jurisdiction. [I. 171.]

(BK. III. c. i. § 14, 21.)

XIV. A woman does not pay a spear penny, for she has not a spear, but her distaff only; neither do clerks pay it: and a woman does not pay galanas, if she make oath that she shall have no children; neither do clerks pay it: and it is not paid by a boy under fourteen years of age.

## DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. c. i. § 32.)

a relative that is killed: and they cannot in any way be compelled to pay, or receive, anything on account of galanas. [I. 411, 413.]

(BK. II. c. vi. § 23.)

XXIII. No one is to give an allud as surety; nor such as may be more powerful than himself; nor a monk, nor a friar, without the consent of his abbat; nor a clerk of a school, without the consent of his master; nor a woman, unless she be the debtor's lady paramount; nor a son, without the consent of his father, whilst under his authority: though such as these should become surety, their suretyship is not to be enforced. [I. 433.]

(BK. II. c. viii. § 124, 128, 130, 132.)

CXXIV. There are three persons who cannot enter into a mutual pledge, by law, against a judgment: the first is, a King, for he cannot, according to law, stand in a suit before a judge, to prefer a claim or to answer, by virtue of natural privilege, or by the privilege of land, like a <sup>a</sup>breyr or other person; the second is, an ecclesiastical person, bound in holy orders; the third is, an ecclesiastical person

## GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 15, 22.)

and they cannot be dispensed with, as formerly. [I. 781, 783.]

<sup>1</sup> three superiors B.D.K.

<sup>2</sup> hospitalers B.

<sup>a</sup> See note on p. 264.

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM EGLWYSWYR.]

## GWYNEDD.

(BK. III. c. i. § 14, 21.)

XXI. Nŷ dŷlŷ ŷr ŷscol-  
heŷgŷon nar gwraged ran  
o[r] alanas canŷt ŷnt dŷ-  
alwŷr uŷnt adŷlŷant [ha-  
gen] y talu dros ŷ plant  
neu wŷnteu a watoent na  
bo plant udunt uŷth. [I.  
224, 226, 232.]

## DYVED.

(BK. II. c. viii. § 124, 128,  
130, 132.)

erbyn brawt onyt dan be-  
rigyl werth y tauot ac nyt  
oes gwerth gossodedic  
ygkyureith Hywel [da]jar  
aelawt agwaet asarhaet  
dyn eglwyssic ac vrth  
hynny ny eill neb ohonunt  
wy rodi gwystyl yn erbyn  
brawt nachyt abrawt holl  
argywed segyrffyc a wnel-  
her yr eglwysswyr adylyir  
y emendeuhau vdunt yny  
sened herwyd kyureith  
eglwysic.

## GWENT.

CXXVIII. Tri dyn ys-  
syd ny dicaun vn ohonunt  
bot yn vrawdwr teilwg  
trwy gyureith vn yw oho-  
nunt dyn anauus megys  
bydar neu dall neu glauur  
neu dyn gorffwyllawc [sef  
yw hwnnw] dyn aorffo  
yrwymaw vn weith amy  
ynvyttrwyd neu dyn ny  
allo dywedut yn iawn me-  
gys cryc anyanawl; eil yw  
dyn eglwyssic rwymedic  
vrth vrdeu kyssegredic  
neu wrth greuyd; trydyd  
yw lleyc heb allu ohonaw  
varnu ogyureith ovreint  
tir nac ovreint swyd.

CXXX. Ny ellir kymell

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF ECCLESIASTICAL PERSONS.]

## VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. III. C. I. § 14, 21.)

XXI. Neither clerks nor women are to have a share of the galanas, since they are not avengers: however, they are to pay for their children; or make an oath that they shall never have any. [1. 225, 227, 233.]

## DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. C. viii. § 124, 128, 130, 132.)

in a religious institution: since no one, by law, can give a pledge against a judgment, but under the penalty of the worth of his tongue; and there is no established worth, in the law of Hywel, for a limb, the blood, or the saraad of a clerical person; and therefore not one of them is able to give a pledge in opposition to a judgment, nor in support of a judgment: every unworthy injury done to the clergy is to be repaired to them in the synod, according to ecclesiastical law.

CXXXVIII. There are three persons, no one of whom, by law, can be a qualified judge: one of them is, a person having a defect; as one who is deaf, or blind, or leprous, or an insane person, such is a person whom it has been necessary once to bind on account of his madness, or a person who is unable to speak perfectly, as one having a natural impediment; the second is, an ecclesiastical person, connected with holy orders, or with religion; the third is, a laic, without the qualification for judging, by law, from privilege of land, or privilege of office.

CXXX. An ecclesiasti-

## GWENTIAN.

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM EGLWYSWYR.]

GWYNEDD.

DYVED.

GWENT.

(BK. II. c. viii. § 124, 128,  
130, 132.)

dyn eglwyssic y wrtheb  
yneb ovaes ysened or ka-  
meu adywetter arnaw.

CXXXII. Kyn gallo  
gwr eglwyssic bot ymywn  
barnn o vreint [y] tir y  
gyt alleycyon hynny vo  
amser y datkanu ny di-  
chaun ef datkanu y varnn  
trwy gyureith rwg [ŷ]  
kynnhenusson kanyt oes  
werth gossodedic yg ky-  
ureith arytauot trwy yr-  
hwnn ypoenir pob braw-  
dwr [or] arotho cam varnn  
os kadarnnha trwy ym-  
wystlaw. [I. 474, 476, 478,  
480.]

(BK. II. c. xii. § 23.)

XXIII. Ebediw abbat  
¹ deudec punt. [I. 492.]

(BK. III. c. iii. § 24.)

XXIV. A oes vn lle y  
dylyir diennydyaw dyn am  
letrat [ynn llaw] agwarant  
idaw? Oes: or geilw dyn  
warant o offeiraf, neu o  
greuydwr arall a bot  
hwnnw yn barawt y  
gymryt ylletrat oe law;  
ny dylyir y rodi idaw, ² ac  
ynteu ac vrdeu [Duw]  
arnaw: allyna ylle edylyir  
diennydyaw dyn [am le-  
drad] agwarant idaw'. [I.  
602, 604.]

¹ dec M.

² canyt oes le kyfreith arnaw Q.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF ECCLESIASTICAL PERSONS.]

VENEDOTIAN.

DIMETIAN.

GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. c. viii. § 124, 128,  
130, 132.)

cal person cannot be compelled to answer to any one out of the synod, for misdemeanors reported of him.

CXXXII. Although an ecclesiastic can sit in judgment, by privilege of his land, jointly with laics, until the time for passing sentence; he cannot, by law, pronounce the judgment between the litigants; as the worth of his tongue is not set down in law, by which every judge is punished who shall give a wrong judgment, if he confirm it by mutually pledging. [I. 475, 477, 479, 481.]

(BK. II. c. xii. § 23.)

XXIII. The ebediw of an abbat, <sup>1</sup> twelve pounds. [I. 493.]

(BK. III. c. iii. § 24.)

XXIV. Is there any case wherein a person is to be put to death for theft in hand, although having a guarantor? There is: if a person call a priest, or any other religious man, as a guarantor, and he should be ready to receive the thing stolen from his hand; it is not to be given to him, <sup>2</sup> he being invested with holy orders: and this is the case wherein a person is to be put to death for theft, although having a guarantor. [I. 603, 605.]

<sup>1</sup> ten *M*.<sup>2</sup> for there is no place for law against him *Q*.



[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

## [XIII. AM OEDAU CYVRAITHIAWL.]

## GWYNEDD.

(BK. II. c. vi. § 40.)

XL. O deruit ydin rodi mach ar deleet [ar oet] adiguitau er oet en vn or teirguil arpennic e Pasc ar Sulguin ar Nodolic yr e holý ohonau ný kýll [dim] onýt ýannot. Os diu Nodolýc ekeffrý ý haul ni keyff hi haul ny keif atep hit tranoeth guedi [duw] kalan; os e Pasc vit [duw Mawrth] tranoes guedi dihu Pasc beccan [y keiff ateb]; os e Sulguin vit [duw Mawrth] tranoes guedi [e] Sul nessaf ir Sulguin [y rodir ateb idaw] ar teir vhehnos hinny aeluir o[c] eu breint en vndit dethon. [I. 128, 130.]

## DYVED.

(BK. II. c. xxiii. § 50.)

L. Oet barwaessaf yn vn gymwt neu yn [un] gan-tref tridieu os yn arglwy-diaeth arall ynagos naw nieu ac ny dodir teruynn [nac] ar duw Sul na [c ar] duw Llun. [I. 556.]

## GWENT.

(BK. II. c. xxxvii. § 1.)

I. Ny dyly twg ar tir dyw Sul na dyw Llun dyw Sul dyd ywediaw; dyw Llun dyd y lauuryaw y keissaw creireu adefneu y tygu y tir. [I. 772, 774.]

## XIV. AM VRY DYW E TRAETHA HYN.

(BK. II. c. vii. § 1, 4.)

I. O deruit ydin rodi<sup>a</sup> bridiu [i arall] ar peth talet neu guadet malle deu-etho kefreih eseu adeueiht e kefrehit ony vrthtug ar-nauhu bot en digaun ellu ehun [oe wadu;] os gurrh-tug auit arnau [enteu] galuuet enteu am braut; essef a barn e kefreiht [idaw] ylu ar iseihuet oý guadu peduuar o parth etat adeu o parth euam ac [ef] ehun en eihuet. Oet ereiht [honno yu

[See above, Bk. II. c. vi. § 15; p. 258.]

<sup>a</sup> *bridu* = a solemn asseveration on a person's faith.

<sup>b</sup> *arwaessaf* = guarantee.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## [XIII. OF LAWFUL TIMES.]

## VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. II. c. vi. § 40.)

XL. If a person give surety for a debt for a time, and the time fall upon one of the three principal festivals, Easter, Whitsuntide, or Christmas, though he claim it, he shall lose nothing but his time. If he urge his claim on Christmas day, he shall not obtain an answer until the morning after the calends; if he urge it upon Easter day, on the Tuesday next after little Easter day he shall have an answer; if on Whitsunday, on Tuesday next after the Sunday following Whitsunday there shall be an answer given to him: and those three weeks, on account of their privilege, are called blank days. [I. 129, 131.]

## DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. c. xxiii. § 50.)

L. The time for an <sup>a</sup>arwaesav, in the same cymwd, or in the same cantrev, three days; if in another lordship contiguous, nine days; and which is not to determine on a Sunday, nor on a Monday. [I. 557.]

## GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. c. xxxvii. § 1.)

I. There is to be no swearing to land on a Sunday, or on a Monday; Sunday is a day for praying; Monday is a day for labouring, to procure relics and essentials for swearing to land. [I. 773, 775.]

## XIV. OF BRIDUW THIS TREATS.

(BK. II. c. vii. § 1, 4.)

I. If a person give his <sup>a</sup>briduw to another for anything, let him either pay or deny, as the law shall say: the law says, unless he be counter-sworn against, that his own oath is sufficient to deny it; but, if there be a counter-oath against him, let him then call for judgment; and the law requires from him the oaths of seven to deny it; four of kin to his father, and two of kin to

[See above, Bk. II. c. vi.  
§ 15; p. 259.]

<sup>a</sup> See notes on p. 270.

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 938.]

AM VRY DYW E TRAETHA HYN.

GWYNEDD.

DYVED.

GWENT.

(BK. II. c. vii. § 1, 4.)

<sup>1</sup> wythnos] or Sul rac hue-  
neb [ac] o keffir ereihit  
dogen eu: o deguit en  
ereiht y camlure yr Bre-  
nin ac yr Egluis bit [yny  
ol] atahalet e deleet en  
cubil.

IV. Eregluis ar Brenin  
adele kemell bridu kanes  
<sup>2</sup> Diu akemerhuit en lle  
mach. Ar Egluis bieu  
iguahart am bridu [na-  
thorror] ar Brenin y ka-  
mell: kanes ykan pop din  
[or] auedeter edeleir kem-  
rit bridu ac y can gur ac  
y can greic. [Ac] vrth  
hene edele agur agurich  
roy bridu het in oet mab  
seihisbluit ael a dan lau  
[e] periglaur. [I. 132, 134.]

[XV. AM DADYL EGLWYS, &amp;c.]

(BK. II. c. xi. § 55.)

LV. Nýt caŷedýc cý-  
ureýth am dýr Egluýs un  
amser y rýgthunt ehun,  
caný henýu oc an cýureýth  
ný: o holan huýnteu nýný  
neu nýnheu wýnteu, caý-  
edýc uýd. [I. 166.]

(BK. II. c. xii. § 8, 9.)

VIII. Ný dýlý untýr bot  
ýn dýurenýn. O býd  
abbatýr, ew adýlý udunt

(BK. II. c. viii. § 40, 131.)

XL. Tri phrenn yssyd  
ryd eu llad yn fforest [ý]  
Brenhin: prenn crip egl-  
wys; aphrenn peleidyr a  
wnelher reit y Brenhin  
ohonunt; aphrenn elor.

(BK. II. c. xxx. § 25.)

XXV. Pwybynhac abo-  
lo tir eglwyssic nyt erhy  
nawuet dyd namyn agoret  
uyd gwir idaw pan y gou-  
ynho. [I. 758.]

(BK. II. c. xxxi. § 8.)

VIII. Llys bieu teruynu  
[am dir] ac gwedy llys llan;  
ac gwedy llan breint; ac  
gwedi breint kygwarchadw

CXXXI. Os gwr egl-  
wyssic agynheil tir trwy  
dyltet dan ybrenhin y

<sup>1</sup> peitheunos A.E.<sup>2</sup> dyn C.

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## OF BRIDUW THIS TREATS.

VENEDOTIAN.

DIMETIAN.

GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. C. vii. § 1, 4.)

his mother, and he himself the seventh. The time for that raith is a <sup>1</sup> week from the Sunday following; and if the raith be obtained, it is sufficient: if he fail in his raith, [let him pay] his camlwrw to the King, and let the Church proceed against him, and let him pay the debt in full.

IV. The Church and the King are to enforce the briduw, for <sup>2</sup> God has been taken instead of a surety. And therefore the Church is to forbid the briduw being broken; and the King is to enforce it: because from every person who has been baptised the briduw is to be taken, as well man as woman. Therefore both man and woman are to give briduw, from a child of the age of seven years, which shall go under the hand of the confessor. [I. 133, 135.]

## [XV. OF CHURCH SUITS, PROPERTY, &amp;c.]

(BK. II. C. xi. § 55.)

LV. The law is not closed for Church land at any time among themselves; for it did not emanate from our law: if the clergy sue us, or we them, it is closed. [I. 167.]

(BK. II. C. xii. § 8, 9.)

VIII. No land is to be without a King. If it be abbey land, he is to have,

(BK. II. C. viii. § 40, 131.)

XL. There are three trees which are free to be cut in the King's forest: timber for the roof of a church; timber for spear shafts applied to the use of the King; and timber for a bier.

CXXXI. If an ecclesiastic should hold land by title under the King, for

(BK. II. C. xxx. § 25.)

XXV. Whoever shall claim Church land, is not to wait for a ninth day; for justice is to be open for him when he shall ask. [I. 759.]

(BK. II. C. xxxi. § 8.)

VIII. It belongs to the court to meer land; and after the court, the Church; and after the

<sup>1</sup> fortnight A.E.<sup>2</sup> man C.

[CTYREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM DDADYL EGLWYS, &amp;c.]

## GWYNEDD.

(BK. II. c. xii. § 8, 9.)

o bŷdant leŷgŷon dŷruŷ  
a chamlwru ac amobyr ac  
ebedŷw a llwyd a lledrat  
[ef ae dele.] O bŷd Es-  
coptŷr ew adŷlŷ llwŷd all-  
edrat. O bŷd ŷspŷtŷr ew  
a dŷlŷ lledrat [ac ymlad.]  
Ac urth hŷnnŷ nŷt oes un  
tŷr hepdau.

IX. Pan uo maru ŷr  
Escop ŷ Brenhŷn bŷeu ŷ  
da oll canŷ dŷfeŷth Bren-  
hŷn ŷu pob da heb per-  
chennauc ŷdau eŷthŷr  
gwŷsgŷoed yr elgwŷs aŷ  
thlŷsseu ac a berthyno  
ateŷ. [I. 170.]

(BK. II. c. xvi. § 19.)

XIX. Gwŷr auo a dan  
abbadeu a gwŷr auo a dan  
Esgŷp wŷnt a allant prŷd-  
au eu tŷr gan ganhŷat  
ŷreŷn hŷnnŷ os mŷnnant.  
[I. 180.]

## DYVED.

(BK. II. c. viii. § 40, 131.)

perthyno gwnneuthur  
gwassannaeth yr Brenhin  
ohonaw ef adŷly gwrtheb  
ynllŷs ybrenhin or tir ae  
berthyneu kannŷs [ŷ]  
Brenhin bieu tir y teyrn-  
nas oll ac onny wrtheb or  
tir yn vuyd ybrenhin bi-  
eiuŷd [ŷ tir].—[I. 448,  
478.]

(BK. II. c. xx. § 2, 3.)

II. Pann dechreuher  
kennhen am tervyneu ti-  
red neu trefyd os y rwg  
tir y llŷs athir ywlat y  
dechreuŷr llŷs ateruynnha;  
os yrwg tir Eglwys athir y  
wlat Eglwys ateruynna;  
os y rwg [tir] kyttetiued  
yonn breint atervynna; os  
y rwg tir kyuanned athir  
diffeith kynnwardhaw  
atervynna: adeil acarad-  
wy yw kyuanned.

III. Pann teruynno llŷs  
maer achyghellawr bieu  
dangos y teruynneu drosti  
os Eglwys bagyl ac euegyl  
[a teruyna].—[I. 536.]

(BK. II. c. xxii. § 8.)

VIII. Pwybynnac ahol-  
ho tir eglwysŷic nyt reit  
[idaw] arhos nawuettyd  
ymdanaw namyn agoret  
vyd gwir idaw pan y  
mynho. [I. 542.]

## GWENT.

(BK. II. c. xxxi. § 8.)

ar diffeith; ty ac oŷyn ac  
ysgubawr yw kygwar-  
chadw. [I. 762.]

(BK. II. c. xxxix. § 20, 33.)

XX. Tri chyffredin  
gwlat [ŷssŷd:] lluyd; a  
dadleu; ac eglwys: [kanŷs  
guŷs auŷd ar pawb vduŷt].

XXXIII. Tri phren  
ryd yssŷd [eu llad] yn fo-  
rest [ŷ Brenhin: pren]  
crib eglwys; a gwyd elor;  
a pheleidyŷ a el yn reit y  
Brenhin. [I. 780, 782, 784.]

(BK. II. c. xli. § 3.)

III. Oet nawuetdŷd ŷs-  
ŷŷd rwg llŷs allan kŷn  
atteb; ahŷnnŷ guedŷ hawl  
pan uo amrŷsson am tir.  
[I. 794.]

(BK. II. c. xix. § 4.)

IV. Pop gwŷstŷl adŷ-  
gwŷd ŷm pen ŷ nawuet  
dŷd eiŷthŷr ŷ rei hŷn, &c.  
Arueu eglwŷŷic nŷ dŷlŷlŷr  
eu gwŷstlaw achŷt gwŷst-  
ler nŷ dŷgwŷdant. [I.  
726.]

[LEGES WALLICÆ, Bk.  
II. c. xlv. § 3 (8). In  
tribus locis dividit lex:  
inter sacerdotem et judi-  
cem, inter vivum et mor-

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF CHURCH SUITS, PROPERTY, &amp;c.]

## VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. II. C. xii. § 8, 9.)

if they be laics, dirwy, and camlwrw, and amobyrr, and ebediw, and hosts, and theft. If it be Bishop land, he is to have hosts and theft. If it be hospital land, he is to have theft and fighting. And, therefore, there is no land without him.

IX. When the Bishop dies, all his property belongs to the King; for every property without an owner is waif to the King, except vestments and ornaments of the church, and what shall pertain to it. [I. 171.]

(BK. II. C. xvi. § 19.)

XIX. Men who are under abbats, and men who are under Bishops, may engage their lands, with the consent of those persons, if they will. [I. 181.]

## DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. C. viii. § 40, 131.)

which service is to be performed to the King, he is to answer in the King's court, as to the land and its appurtenances; for the King is owner of all the land of the kingdom: and unless he answer obediently for the land, it shall belong to the King. [I. 449, 479.]

(BK. II. C. xx. § 2, 3.)

II. When a dispute shall be commenced concerning boundaries of lands or trevs; if it be commenced between land of the court and land of the community, the court is to meer; if between Church land and land of the community, the Church is to meer; if between the land of co-inheritors, privilege is to meer; if between occupied land and a waste, pre-conservancy is to meer: building and tillage denote occupation.

III. When the court shall meer, the maer and the canghellor are to define the meers; if the Church, the crozier and the gospel decide. [I. 537.]

(BK. II. C. xxii. § 8.)

VIII. Whoever shall claim Church land, it is not necessary for him to wait the ninth day concerning it, but justice is to be open to him when he shall will. [I. 543.]

## GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. C. xxxi. § 8.)

Church, privilege; and after privilege, prior conservancy on waste; a house, a kiln, and a barn constitute prior conservancy. [I. 763.]

(BK. II. C. xxxix. § 20, 33.)

XX. There are three universalities of a country: armament; pleas; and church: for everybody is under summons to them.

XXXIII. There are three free timbers in the forest of the King: the roof-tree of a church; wood for a bier; and shafts which go for the use of the King. [I. 781, 783, 785.]

(BK. II. C. xli. § 3.)

III. There is a period to the ninth day between the court and the Church, before answering; and that after a claim, when there shall be a dispute as to land. [I. 795.]

(BK. II. C. xix. § 4.)

IV. Every pledge lapses at the end of the ninth day unless, &c. Ecclesiastical implements should not be pledged; and if pledged, do not lapse. [I. 727.]

[CYFREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[AM DDADYL EGLWYS, &amp;c.]

## GWYNEDD.

## DYVED.

(BK. II. c. xxiii. § 28,  
37, 46.)

XXVIII. Or ymlad gwr Escob neu wr abbat a gwr y Brenhin [ar tir y Brenhin] neu deuwr yr Esgob neu deuwr yr abbat neu wr yr Esgob agwr yr abbat y Brenhin bieu eu dirwyon.

XXXVII. Or tyrr llog ar tir Esgob deuhanner vyd yr enill rwg ybrenhin ar Esgob os ar tir y Brenhin [ehun] y tyrr y Brenhin ehun bieuyd yr enill.

XLVI. Rwg llys allann naw nieu yrodi atdeb anaw yrodi mach anaw yrodi gwir or hawl deissyuedic. [I. 550, 554.]

## [LEGES WALLICÆ.]

tuum, inter gentes terminos suos injuste perjurantes. — (II. 871.) — (In D. Bk. II. c. xx. § 4, 6, and G. Bk. II. c. xxxi. § 9, — I. 536, 762, — to the third case here given are added two others, neither of them relating to the Church.)

IB. c. xxi. in fin. (γ). Tria edificia sunt communia fratribus; *nid amgen, egluis, abreuandi, a coret*: id est, ecclesia, molendina, piscina i. *coret*. — (II. 906.)]

## [XVI. KYFREITH BRODYR AM TIR.]

(BK. II. c. xvi. § 2.)

II. Y gyfureyth [Eglwys] a dywejt eylweyth na dylj un mab trew tat namyn y mab hynaw yr tat or wrejc brjaut: kyureyth Hywel [hagen] aj barn yr mab jeuaw megys yr hynaw ac a uarn na doter pechaut [y tat] naj achyureyth yn erbyn y mab am trew y tat. [I. 178.]

(BK. II. c. viii. § 27.)

XXVII. Tri meib ysyd ny dilyant gyuran otir y gan eu brodyr vn vam vn tat ac wynt: [vn yw] mab agaffer yn llwyn ac ymperth ac yn anneduawl agwedy hynny kymryt y vam [y mab or gwr] orod kenedyl achaffel [y] mab arall [o honunt] ny dily hwnnw kyranu tir ar mab agahat kynoc ef yn

(BK. II. c. xxxi. § 4.)

IV. Tri meib yn tri broder un uam un dat, ac ny chan ydeu rann otref eu tat gan eu brawt un uam dat acwynt: un ohonunt mab llwyn apherth, ac gwedy cael y mab hwnnw kymryt y wreic o rod kenedyl or gwr achaffel mab or un wreic honno; ny dily y mab hwnnw rannu tir ar mab agaffat

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

[OF CHURCH SUITS, PROPERTY, &amp;c.]

VENEDOTIAN.

DIMETIAN.

GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. c. xxiii. § 28,  
37, 46.)

XXVIII. If there be fighting between a Bishop's man, or an abbat's man, and a man of the King, upon the King's land; or between two of a Bishop's men, or two of an abbat's men; or between a Bishop's man, and an abbat's man; to the King belong their dirwys.

XXXVII. If a ship be wrecked upon the land of a Bishop, the proceeds are to be shared between the King and the Bishop: if it should be wrecked upon the land of the King himself, the proceeds belong the King.

XLVI. Between court and Church, nine days to give an answer, and nine to give surety, and nine to render justice, in respect to the claim demanded.  
[I. 551, 555.]

## [XVI. THE LAW OF BROTHERS FOR LAND.]

(BK. II. c. xvi. § 2.)

II. The ecclesiastical law says again, that no son is to have the patrimony, but the eldest born to the father by the married wife: the law of Howel, however, adjudges it to the youngest son as well as to the oldest; and decides that sin of the father, or his illegal act, is not to be brought against

(BK. II. c. viii. § 27.)

XXVII. There are three sons who are not to share in land with their brothers by the same mother and same father: one is, a son begotten in grove and bush and illegitimate, and after that, the mother of the son being taken in marriage by the man by gift of kindred, another son is born to them; such

(BK. II. c. xxxi. § 4.)

IV. There are three sons, three brothers, by the same mother, the same father, two of whom have no share of their father's property from their own brothers: one of them is a son of bush and brake, whose father afterwards takes the woman, by gift of kindred, and begets a son by that same woman;



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[KYFREITH BRODYR AM TIR.]

## GWYNEDD.

## DYVED.

(BK. II. c. viii. § 27.)

llwyn ac ymperth: [ŷr]  
eil yw kymryt oyscolheic  
wreic orod kenedyl achaf-  
fel mab o honei ac o'dyna  
kymryt or yscolheic vrdeu  
offeiradaeth ac o'dyna caf-  
fel mab or vn wreic or  
offeirad ny dyl ymab aga-  
hac kynnoc ef kyuranu tir  
ahwnnw cannys yn erbyn  
dedyf y cahat: trydyd yw  
mut kany dyl tir neb nyt  
atteppo drostaw kany ro-  
dir gwlat yvut. [I. 444.]

## GWENT.

(BK. II. c. xxxi. § 4.)

kyn noc ef yn llwyn ac ym-  
perth; eil yw or byd yscol-  
heic achymryt gwreic o  
rod kenedyl achaffel mab  
o hommo, ac o'dyna kymryt  
or yscolheic urdeu effeira-  
daeth achaffel mab arall  
or un wreic; ny dyl y  
mab agaffat kyn noc ef  
kyuran tir ahwnnw canys  
yn erbyn dedyf y caffat;  
trydyd yw mut cany dyl yir  
rodde gwlat yfut. [I. 760.]

(BK. II. c. vi. § 2 in part.)

II. .... Ena emae yaun  
yr egnat kamret ekereir  
ene lau adeuedut vrth eke-  
nogen naut Duo racgod  
anaut Pap Ruuein anaut  
de argluit na dos en llu  
cam, &c. [I. 114.]

(BK. III. c. i. § 18.)

XVIII. Y wadu llad  
[dŷn] o fŷrnŷgruŷd llw  
chwechanwr [adav] oŷ  
wadu canŷ deudŷblŷc ŷu  
ŷ alanas aŷ benŷt [ac]  
urth hŷnnŷ ŷ bŷd deudŷ-  
blŷc ŷ wat. [I. 230.]

[XVII. AM BENYT, &amp;c.]

(BK. II. c. xxiii. § 25.)

XXV. Pwybynnac aw-  
nel brat arglwyd neu awn-  
nel kynnllwyn ef agyll tref  
ytat ac or keffir crogadwy  
vyd onny cheffir [ynteu]  
amynnv kymot ohonaw  
achenedyl ac ar arglwyd  
tal deudyblyc adaw arnaw  
odirwy agalanas ac or  
kyrch llys ypab adyuot  
llythyr gantaw adangosso  
yrydhau or Pab tref ytat  
ageiff. [I. 550.]

(BK. II. c. xix. § 8.)

VIII. Y neb aadawho  
da y [dyn] arall pan del  
hwnnw y ouyn os diwat  
kyfreith anudon arnaw.  
Os yn gyhoed y twng  
talet tri buhyn camlwrw  
yr arglwyd achymeret yn-  
teu y penyt am yr anudon  
ar llall orbyd tyston gan-  
taw y da ageiff. [I. 728.]

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 938.]

[THE LAW OF BROTHERS FOR LAND.]

## VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. II. c. xvi. § 2.)

the son, as to his patrimony. [I. 179.]

## DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. c. viii. § 27.)

son is not to share land with the son begotten before him in grove and bush: the second is, where a clerk takes a wife by gift of kindred, and has a son by her, and afterwards the clerk takes priest's orders, and subsequently, when a priest, has a son by the same woman; the son previously begotten is not to share land with such son, as he was begotten contrary to decree: the third is a mute; because no one is entitled to land who cannot answer for it: for land is not given to a mute. [I. 445.]

## GWENTIAN.

(BK. II. c. xxxi. § 4.)

such son is not to share the land with the son begotten before him in bush and brake: the second is, if there be a scholar, and he take a woman, by gift of kindred, and beget a son by such woman, and then takes priest's orders, and begets another son by the same woman; the son begotten before him is not to share land with him; because he was begotten contrary to decree: the third is a mute, since land is not to be given to a mute. [I. 761.]

## [XVII. OF PENANCE, &amp;c.]

(BK. II. c. vi. § 2 in part.)

II. [When a debtor denies surety,] then it is right for the judge to take the relic in his hand, and say to the debtor; 'The protection of God prevent thee! and the protection of the Pope of Rome! and the protection of thy lord! do not take a false oath,' &c. [I. 115.]

(BK. III. c. i. § 18.)

XVIII. To deny the killing of a person with savage violence, the oaths of six hundred men are required; for the galanas and its penance being double [the amount in an ordinary case of murder], so the denial also is to be double. [I. 231.]

(BK. II. c. xxiii. § 25.)

XXV. Whoever shall commit treason against his lord, or waylay, is to forfeit his patrimony; and, if caught, he is liable to be hanged; but, if not caught, and he will to be reconciled to the kindred and to the lord, a twofold payment of dirwy and galanas is to be levied upon him: and if he repair to the court of the Pope, and return with a letter in his possession, showing that he is absolved by the Pope, he is to have his patrimony. [I. 551.]

(BK. II. c. xix. § 8.)

VIII. Whoever shall promise property to another, when such a person comes to demand it, if he deny it, the law of perjury is to be applied to him. If he swear publicly, let him pay three kine camlwrw to the lord; and let him do penance for the perjury; and the other, if he have witnesses for him, shall have the property. [I. 729.]

[See also above, LEGES WALLICÆ, Bk. III. c. xvii. § 29 (β); above on pp. 236, 238.]

[CYFREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

[XVIII. AM GYFREITH MAB, &amp;c.]

GWYNEDD.

(BK. II. c. xxviii. § 2 in part, 4, and 8 in part.)

II. . . . Y gyureyth a dyweyth bot yn yaunaw barnu yn ol y peth [penhaf] a bot galanas gur arnau a hynný [hýt] yný uedýdýer; allýna yr achau pob dýn aholer y alanas a dýlyr y enwý erbýn y henw na gur uo na gwreyc ac na ellýr enwý nep erbýn y henw yný uedýdýer ac urth hynný y mae dýr y uot ýnteu ar ureynt <sup>1</sup> gur yný uedýdýer.

IV. O ben y seyth blýned allan ew ehun a dýlý <sup>2</sup> týghu dros y weythret aý dat býeu talu canýs ýna ýda a dan lau y berýglaur ac y cýmer <sup>3</sup> gwedeu arnau.

VIII. Ým pen y petwaret ardec wluýdýn y dýlý y tat duýn y uab ar yr argluýd aý orchýmýn ýdau ac ýna y dýlý ýnteu gurhau ýdau [ef] abot urth ureynt y argluýd ac [ef] ehun býeu ateb drostau o bop haul [or] a ouýnner ýdaw ac [ef] ehun býeu medu y da, &c. [I. 200, 202.]

[XIX. AM DYSTON, &amp;c.]

DYVED.

(BK. II. c. iv. § 4 in part.)

IV. Tystonn aellir eu gwrthneu, . . . oe bot ynnysgymun 'geir' yenw. [I. 422.]

(BK. III. c. i. § 10 in part.)

X. Gwrthneu gwybydeit yw pann ym dangossont gyntaf yn erbyn [yr] amdif-fynnwr or achwysson hynn: . . . neu o ysgymyndawt geir y enw. [I. 590.]

(BK. III. c. ii. title in part, and § 10, 17.)

NYT AMGEN ÑOR DYNNYON HYNN YMA NY DYLY EU TYSTOLYARTH SEUYLL YN VNN LLE.

\* \* \* \* \*

X. Ac adycco da kyssegredic, neu da arall o gysseggyr.

XVII. Ysgymyn geir y enw. [I. 594, 596.]

XX. SEITH ESCOBTY YSSYD YN DYUET.

DYVED.

(BK. II. c. xxiv.)

I. Vn yw Mynyw yn eistedua arbennic yg Kymry.

II. Eil yw Eglwýs <sup>a</sup> Ysmael.

III. Tryded yw Llan <sup>b</sup> Degman.

IV. Pedwarded yw Llann <sup>c</sup> Vsyllt.

V. Pymhet yw Llann <sup>d</sup> Teilaw.

VI. Whechet yw Llann <sup>e</sup> Deulydawc.

VII. Seithuet yw Llann <sup>f</sup> Geneu.

VIII. Abadeu Teilaw a Theulydawc ac Ysmael a Degman adilyant vot ynlyth-yrawl vrdolyon.

<sup>1</sup> y beichogi D.B.C.J. weichogi K.<sup>2</sup> talu D.<sup>3</sup> gwed Duw D.B.C.J.K.<sup>a</sup> S. Ishmael?<sup>e</sup> Llandudoch or S. Dogmael's?<sup>b</sup> Now Rhoscrowther on Milford Haven.<sup>f</sup> Llangan, in which parish Whitland Abbey is<sup>c</sup> S. Issell's near Tenby? <sup>d</sup> Llandeilowach?

situated?

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

## [XVIII. OF THE LAW OF A SON ABOUT COMING OF AGE.]

VENEDOTIAN.

(BK. II. c. xxviii. § 2 in part, 4, and 8 in part.)

II. . . . The law says, that it is most right to decide from the higher subject, and that the galanas of a man is to be upon it [viz. upon a child from the time of conception]; and that until it be baptized: and this is the cause; every person, whose galanas is required, is to be named, whether male or female; and no one can be called by name until baptized; and therefore it is conclusive that it should have the privilege of a <sup>1</sup>male until baptized.

IV. At the end of seven years, he himself is to <sup>2</sup>swear for his acts, and his father is to pay; for then he shall come under the hand of his confessor, and shall take <sup>3</sup>duties upon himself.

VIII. At the end of the fourteen years, the father is to bring his son to the lord, and commend him to his charge; and then the youth is to become his man, and to be on the privilege of his lord: and he is himself to answer to every claim that may be made on him; and is to possess his own property, &c. [I. 201, 203.]

## [XIX. OF WITNESSES, &amp;c.]

DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. c. iv. § 4 in part.)

IV. Witnesses may be contravened, ... from being excommunicated by name. [I. 423.]

(BK. III. c. i. § 10 in part.)

X. Contravening of evidences is when they shall first appear against the defendant for these causes: ... or, for being excommunicated by name. [I. 591.]

(BK. III. c. ii. title in part, and § 10, 17.)

THE TESTIMONY OF THESE PERSONS IS OF NO EFFECT IN ANY CASE.

\* \* \* \* \*

X. A purloiner of consecrated property, or other property from a consecrated place.

XVII. A person excommunicated by name. [I. 595, 597.]

## XX. THERE ARE SEVEN BISHOP-HOUSES, IN DYVED.

DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. c. xxiv.)

I. One is, Menevia, a principal seat in Cymru.

II. The second is, the Church of <sup>a</sup>Ismael.III. The third is, <sup>a</sup>Llan Ddegeman.IV. The fourth is, <sup>a</sup>Llan Usyllt.V. The fifth is, <sup>a</sup>Llan Deilo.VI. The sixth is, <sup>a</sup>Llan Deulydog.VII. The seventh is, <sup>a</sup>Llan Geneu.

VIII. The abbats of Teilo, Teulydog, Ismael, and Degeman, should be graduated in literary degrees.

<sup>1</sup> foetus D.B.C.J.K.<sup>2</sup> pay D.<sup>3</sup> duty to God D.B.C.J.K.<sup>a</sup> See notes on p. 280.

[CYVREITHIAU HYWEL DDA. A.D. 928.]

SEITH ESCOBTY YSSYD YN DYUET.

DYVED.

(BK. II. C. XXIV.)

IX. Ebediweu yrei hynny yw yarglwyd Dyuet <sup>1</sup>dec punt ar neb adel yn eu lle talet.

X. Mynyw adily bot yn ryd o bop ryw dilyet.

XI. Llan Geneu a Llan Vsyllt [ŷn] ryd ynt o ebediweu kannyt oes tir eglwys vdunt.

XII. Y neb awnnel gwaet ar abat vn or eisteduau arbennic racydwededic talet seith punt idaw a golchydes oe genedyl yr gwaradwyd yr genedyl ac yr cadw cof am <sup>2</sup>tal ysarhaet'. [I. 556, 558.]

[LEGES WALLICÆ, Bk. II. c. xviii. § 13 (a). Nemo Menevensem antistitem sine ipso presente vel suis canonicis iudicare præsumit. (II. 791.)

IB. Bk. II. c. lvi. § 5 (B). Nemo Menevensem, id est, Episcopum, sine ipso et suis canonicis audeat iudicare: et similiter de Sancto Beuno, et Terillo [? Teulo], et Tydecho. (II. 879.)

(a. also adds an eighth church, i.e. seven besides S. David's itself, viz. "Eglwys Hwadeŷn," or Llan Huadein; and for "Eglwys Ysmael" in § 2, has "Lan ŷssan in Ros." And both a. and β. (II. 790, 869), in § 8, substitute for "graduated in literary degrees," *clerici sive ordinati*; and in § 9, twelve for ten; and in § 12, six for seven. See also, upon § 12, the *Anomalous Laws*, Bk. X. c. i. § 3 (II. 306), and for the "Archbishop of Menevia," *ib.* c. xiii. § 1 (II. 364), below in Appendix C.)]

<sup>1</sup> deudec I.O.Q.S.T.<sup>2</sup> y dial I.O.S.

[In the *Venedotian Code*, Bk. II. c. xvi. § 2 (I. 178),—above, p. 276,—the "ecclesiastical law" is set aside for a contrary provision of Howel's Laws. The civil law is treated with similar independence in the *Dimetian*, Bk. II. c. iv. § 5 (I. 422),—

"Ygkyureith Rufein ykeffir y lle nyt enwer rif tystonn vot yn digau deu tystonn: yggyfreith honn a dyweit nat cwbyl tystolyaeth vn tyst onyt vn or naw vyd."

"In the law of Rome it prevails, where the number of witnesses is not specified, that two witnesses are sufficient: this law says, that the testimony of one witness is not complete, unless he be one of the nine:" i.e. of the nine *tavodiogs* (see above on p. 252).

A relic (*oreyr*) was, it appears, either necessary or usual for a legal oath: see the *Venedotian Code*, Bk. II. c. vii. § 2, c. xi. § 26, Bk. III. c. ii. § 18 (I. 114, 134, 154, 242); the *Dimetian*, Bk. II. c. viii. § 89, 135, c. xviii. § 17, c. xxv. § 15, Bk. III. c. iii. § 48 (I. 460, 462, 480, 520, 560, 610); the *Gwentian*, Bk. II. c. xxviii. § 20, c. xxix. § 23 (I. 742, 748); and above, on pp. 236, 238, 258, 260, 262, 270, 278.

A cross was used as a boundary-mark—"Croesuau sef yw hwnnw maen ffin," *Gwent. Code*, Bk. II. c. xxxii. § 4 (I. 764),—which it belonged to the "canghellor" to place in case of a suit at law (*ib.* Bk. I. c. xxxv. § 16, I. 674), or again to the lord of the two suitors (*Dimet. Code*, Bk. III. c. iii. § 12, I. 600). See also the *Anomalous Laws*, and especially Bk. IX. c. xvii.; II. 254.

See also above on p. 121.]

[For the following words, see notes on the pages affixed to them:

Alltud, p. 260.	Canghellor, pp. 224, 254.	Galanas, p. 224.	Raith, p. 256.
Agweddi, pp. 226, 247.	Cowyll, pp. 226, 247.	Gobyrr or Amobyrr, p. 226.	Rhandyr, p. 244.
Amobyrr, see Gobyrr.	Daered, pp. 226, 250.	Gorvodogaeth, p. 236.	Saraad, p. 224.
Argyvreu, p. 246.	Dilysdawd, p. 250.	Gowyn, p. 246.	Tavodiog, p. 252.
Arwacsav, p. 268.	Ŵirwy, p. 240.	Gwrda, p. 236.	Trev, p. 226.
Breyr, pp. 246, 264.	Ebediw, p. 224.	Hosb or Osb, p. 224.	Wynneb-werth or Wynneb-warth, p. 246.]
Briduw, pp. 258, 270.	Edling or Edlyg, p. 224.	Maer, p. 254.	
Camlwrw, p. 240.	Erw, p. 241.	Osb, see Hosb.	

[THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD. A.D. 928.]

THERE ARE SEVEN BISHOP-HOUSES IN DYVED.

DIMETIAN.

(BK. II. c. xxiv.)

IX. Their ebediws, due to the lord of Dyved, are <sup>1</sup>ten pounds; and those who succeed them are to pay them.

X. Menevia is to be free from every kind of due.

XI. Llan Geneu and Llan Usyllt are free from ebediws; because there is no church land belonging to them.

XII. Whoever draws blood from an abbat of any one of those principal seats before mentioned, let him pay seven pounds; and a female of his kindred to be a washer-woman, as a disgrace to the kindred, and to serve as a memorial of the <sup>2</sup>payment of the saraad'. [I. 557, 559.]

<sup>1</sup> twelve I.O.Q.S.T.<sup>2</sup> revenge I.O.S.

[Howel's Laws, in addition to Epiphany, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, and to the Lent fast, mention as dates, but without giving (except in the two cases specified below) the days of the month assigned to them, the feasts of S. Bridget or Bride (Feb. 1), S. Patrick (March 17), S. Curig (Cyrique, an Asiatic, not a Welshman, June 16), S. John (the Baptist, June 24, Midsummer Day, but called "in autumn" by the *Leges Walliores*), S. Michael (Sept. 29), All Saints (Nov. 1), S. Martin (Nov. 11): also the "first feast of the Virgin" (=the Purification, *Vened.* Bk. III. c. xxv. § 20, and see *Gwent.* Bk. II. c. x. § 14; I. 328, 710), and "Little Easter Day" (=Low Sunday, *Vened.* Bk. II. c. vi. § 40, I. 130). S. Curig is mentioned only by the *Gwentian Code* (Bk. II. c. x. § 20, c. xxiv. § 5; I. 712, 734, 736), and by the *Leges Walliores* (a. Bk. II. c. xxxiii. § 22; II. 807); S. Bridget only by the *Venedotian* (Bk. II. c. xi. § 7, Bk. III. c. iv. § 9, c. xxv. § 1; I. 142, 262, 322); S. Patrick by the *Venedotian* (Bk. III. c. vii. § 6, c. xxv. § 27; I. 274, 328) and the *Gwentian* (Bk. II. c. xi. § 7; I. 714), and by the *Leges Walliores* (*Dimetian*, β. Bk. II. c. xxviii. § 22; II. 859); All Saints, and S. Martin, only by the *Dimetian* (Bk. II. c. xvi. § 8, c. xxiii. § 56; I. 502, 556), and by the *Leges Walliores* (a. Bk. II. c. xiii. § 9, c. xiv. § 1, c. xvii. § 4, c. xxxiii. § 22, β. Bk. II. c. xxxix. § 2, c. xlv. § 7, 8, c. lvii. § 24; II. 784, 788, 807, 867, 871, 880).

The later additions to the Laws (from the 12th century onwards, see below in Appendix C.) add to these, 1. the day of S. Dewi, the Laws themselves in their *Dimetian* form repeatedly invoking S. Dewi of Brevi, and once "S. Dewi of Brevi of the Blessed Hill" (Bk. III. c. i. § 26; I. 595, &c.), but not mentioning any day set apart for him, whereas Bk. XII. c. iv. (II. 458, 460, 14th century) specifies his day (which was March 1); 2. the day of S. Teilo (Bk. XII. c. i.; II. 454, Feb. 9); 3. the "Feast of the Cross of the Kalends of May" (Bk. XII. c. x.; II. 446, apparently the invention of the Holy Cross, but in that case it should be May 3); 4. S. Luke's day (Bk. XI. c. v. § 35; II. 442, Oct. 18); 5. the day of S. John the Apostle ("the feast of S. John within the Christmas week," viz. Dec. 27, Bk. XI. c. xi.; II. 466); 6. the day of S. Mor (Mor ap Ceneu, Bk. IX. c. xxxiii. § 1, Bk. XIV. c. iii. § 31, c. x. § 28; II. 264, 582, 610). They also distinguish S. John Baptist's day, June 24, as "wyl Jeuan y moch"—"the feast of S. John of the swine" (Bk. XIV. c. xx. § 1; II. 644), as being the day "when the swine go into the wood" (Bk. V. c. i. § 5; II. 40).

The invocations of S. Dewi, it ought to be added, which occur in the *Dimetian Code*, belong apparently to the copyist, not to the Laws themselves; and if so, to the 12th century.]

[WELSH CHURCH IN RELATION TO SAXON.]

A.D. 958<sup>a</sup> or 959. *Limits of the (diocese of Llandaff and) kingdom of Morganwg, alleged to have been settled by Eadgar King of England as suzerain over Owen King of Deheubarth and Morgan King of Morganwg*<sup>b</sup>.

LIB. LANDAV.—Istud hic scriptum est, pro eo quod charta illa, in qua scriptum erat, præ nimia vetustate ferè tabefacta est.

Sciant omnes Christiani quod septem sunt cantref<sup>c</sup> in dominio Morcannuc, et in Episcopatu suo similiter, Ecclesiæ scilicet Landaviæ. Primus quidem cantref est Bican; secundus vero cantref est Guyr, et Cædweli, et Carnwaliaun; tercius vero cantref est Wurhinit; quartus cantref Penychen; quintus cantref Gunlyuch et Edelyvon; sextus cantref Wen-ys-coyt; septimus cantref Went-huc-coyt, et Ystradyw, et Ewyas, qui ambo vocantur semper *Deu uwr laweys Went-huc-coyt*. De Went-huc-coyt sunt et insuper hoc Ergyn et Anergyn, sicut in isto gref Teliau reperitur per totum finem Morgannuc per circuitum. Insuper autem scitote quod in uno tempore fuerunt Edgar Rex totius Britanniæ, et Huwel Da, et <sup>d</sup>Morgan Hen; et isti duo tamen erant subjecti Regi Edgardo. Morgan Hen obtinuit quoque tunc temporis totum Morgannhuc in pace, et quietè; sed Huwel Da voluit auferre huic Ystradiw et Ewyas tunc temporis, si posset: quo audito, Rex Edgarus advocavit Huwel Da, et Morgan Hen, et filium suum Huweyn, ad curiam suam; et ibi in pleno concilio Rex Edgarus tractavit de litigatione amborum; et repertum est justo iudicio curiæ Regis Edgari, quod Huwel Da nequiter egisset contra Morgan Hen, et filium suum Huweyn; et depulsus est Huwel Da ab his duabus terris, scilicet Istradiu et Euias, in perpetuum sine recuperatione. Et postea Rex Edgar dedit et concessit Huweno filio Morgan Hen illas duas terras, videlicet Istradiw et Euias, nominatim in Episcopatu Landaviæ constitutas, sicuti suam propriam hæreditatem; et illas easdem duas terras sibi et hæredibus suis per chartam suam sine calumnia alicujus terreni hominis confirmavit. Communi vero assensu et testimonio omnium Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, et Abbatum, Comitum, et Baronum totius Angliæ et Walliæ factum est; et quod maledictus esset a Deo Patre, qui illas duas terras a dominio Morgannuc et parochia Landaviæ unquam separaret, et quod iterum benedictus foret a Domino Jesu Christo, qui hoc observaret, et a cuncto populo Christiano a modo, et usque in sempiternum. Amen. Insuper scitote quod charta illa quæ illo die facta fuit, et scripta coram Rege Edgardo in pleno concilio suo, in ecclesiam

[WELSH CHURCH IN RELATION TO SAXON.]

Landavensem deposita est. Valete. [pp. 237, 238; and in *Spelm.* I. 414; *Wilkins IV.* 773. See also the *Myvyr. Arch.* II. 612.]

\* So the *Gwentian Brut* in an. 958; but possibly A.D. 962, when Eadgar is said to have come to Caerleon on Usk (*Brut y Tywysog.*, *Gwentian*, p. 28, in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X.)

<sup>b</sup> Howel Dda died A.D. 950. Eadgar became King of Mercia A.D. 955, and of England A.D. 959 (958 *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*), being then sixteen years old. And the *Gwentian Brut y Tywysog.* (in *Arch. Camb.*), A.D. 958, names (correctly) Owen in lieu of Howel, and Ewys and Eryngy as the disputed districts, and yet quotes the original of the document in the text as its authority. While another tradition, in the *Iolo MSS.* (pp. 69, 70, 456), asserts Gower to have been taken away from Morgan by Eadgar's judgment. The errors are in the original MS. of the *Llb. Llandar.* (now at Oswon near Doncaster), as well as in the copy from which Rees printed it. If the document be nevertheless genuine, it is the earliest record of the claim to extend the diocese of Llandaff, urged without success in the 12th century by Bishop Urban. This claim referred to three districts: 1. that between the Tywy and the Tawi, from Gower, Kidwelly, and Carnwylion, on the coast, as far as to a line drawn from above Llandovery southwards and eastwards along the sources of the Usk, and by the Tawi and the Neath to the Taf near Merthyr Tydvil,—one indeed not widely differing from the present west and south boundaries of Brecknockshire,—including thus most of Cantref Bychan and all east of the Tywi in Caermarthenshire, and reaching to Cantref Selyf and even Buallt in Brecknock; 2. that within a line from near Merthyr northwards across the Usk near Llandetty and below Brecon, and round to the northernmost point of Monmouthshire at the head of Llantony valley, including both Llantony itself and Crickhowel (which was built by Howel of Morganwg, father of Morgan, according to the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 373), but apparently extended further north still by the document in the text and by Bishop Urban, so as to inclose all Ystradyw as far as to the Wye near Hay; 3. from the head of Llantony valley eastwards down a stream rising in the Cusop hill to the Dwr and southwards along the Dwr to its junction with the Worm or Gwormwy, inclosing the district of Ewys in Herefordshire; and then turning sharply north-eastwards up the Worm and down another small stream (called in the *Llb. Llandar.* by the name of Taratyr) into the Wye below Hereford, and thence by the Wye to the Bristol Channel, adding thus

the district of Eryngy or Archenfield between the Mynwy and the Wye; all, except Eryngy, assigned ultimately to S. David's, while Eryngy is in both county and diocese of Hereford (*Llb. Llandar.* 126, 127, 374-376, with Rees's notes). Gower however is now made over to Llandaff, with all Monmouthshire, besides other changes. An earlier statement of boundaries (*ib.* 67, 126, 311) takes the limit from Cusop hill to the Wye at Mochros or Moccas, thus inclosing (as no doubt the Welsh diocese once did) all Herefordshire on the Welsh side of the Wye. "From the mouth of the Taratyr on the Wye to the mouth of the Tywi," is the common brief description of the diocese in the *Llb. Llandar.*

<sup>c</sup> The districts named (which omit the central district round Llandaff itself) are in order, Cantref Bychan (viz. according to Owen's map of Ancient Wales, and according to the places specified in the *Llb. Llandar.* itself, the district round Llandovery); Gower, Kidwelly, and Carnwylion, along the shore from Tawi to Tywy, all (except Gower) in Caermarthenshire; Gorwenydd (see *Iolo MSS.* p. 398) and Penychen, both cantref of Glamorganshire; Gwentlwg, Edelygion, Gwentiscoed and Gwentuwchcoed, cantref of Gwent, and all in Monmouthshire, save that the last includes Ewys and Eryngy (and Anergyng), both now in Herefordshire; lastly, Ystradyw in Brecknock. The last-named district and Ewys are called, in the (italicized) Welsh words in the text, "the two real sleeves of Gwentuwchcoed," a phrase for which see *Iolo MSS.* pp. 23, 391; and Owen's Welsh map. Cantref Bychan, in the second list of Cantrefis and Commots in the *Myvyr. Arch.*, lies close to Gower, Kidwelly, and Carnwylion on the inland side: which would be a more probable locality than the other, did not the boundaries mentioned in the last note reach to the more northern cantref so called. See however *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, II. 114.

<sup>d</sup> In a previous document it is asserted, that "Morcant Hen, filius Yugein, Rex Morcannuc, contemporaneus Etgari Regis Anglorum, reddidit ejusdem admonitione, et Dunstani Dorobernensis Ecclesie Archiepiscopi exhortatione, et commendatis literis, Gucauno Episcopo Landavie omnia territoria ejusdem Ecclesie et cum omni sua dignitate et privilegio .... liberas ab omni servitio per totam Gualiam" (*Llb. Llandar.* 230). Eadgar however died 975, and Gwgan according to the *Llb. Llandar.* was consecrated 982 (more probably, however, 972).

A.D. 961. *Marriage of Priests still allowed in South Wales, etc.*

BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwentian*,  
A.D. 961.—Yr un flwyddyn y bu

The same year Padarn Bishop  
of Llandaff died; and Rhodri son



## [MARRIAGE OF PRIESTS, &amp;c.]

farw Padarn Escob Llan Daf, ac y doded Rhodri ab Morgan Mawr yn ei le, a hynny o anfodd y Pab, ac achaws hynny ai gwenwynwyd ef, a doded ar yr offeiriad na phriodynt heb fyned yng nghan-nad y Pab, ac o hynny y bu terfysc dirfawr ym mhlwyf Teilaw oni farnwyd yn oreu cennad priodas i'r offeiriad. [p. 28, in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X.]

A.D. 972. BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwentian*.—Oed Crist 972, y bu farw Edgar Brenin y Saeson, yr hwn a wnaethai fonachlog Bangor Fawr, a llawer o fonachlogydd eraill, yng Nghymru a Lloegr. [*ib.* p. 32.]

A.D. 975. BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwentian*.—Oed Crist 975. Ydd aeth Dunwallawn Brenin Ystrad Clude i Rufain lle y cymmerth gorun. [*ib.*]

A.D. 975. ANN. TIGERNACH.—Donaldus filius Hoani, Rex Britonum, (obiit) in peregrinatione. [*O'Connor*, II. 259.]

\* This record is contemporary with Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury 960–988. There were "Saxon clerks" in the monastery of Llaniltyd in 959 (*Brut*, *Gwent.*, in an.).

<sup>b</sup> Eadgar died A.D. 975 (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*).

of Morgan the Great was placed in his room, against the will of the Pope, on which account he was poisoned; and the priests were enjoined not to marry without the leave of the Pope, on which account a great disturbance took place in the diocese of Teilaw, so that it was considered best to allow matrimony to the priests. [*ib.* p. 29.]

A.D. 972. Edgar King of the Saxons <sup>b</sup>died. He erected the monastery at Great Bangor, and many other monasteries in Wales and England. [*ib.* p. 33.]

A.D. 975. Dunwallon King of Strathclyde<sup>c</sup> went to Rome and took the tonsure. [*ib.*]

<sup>c</sup> Viz. that in Flint and Denbighshire, set up A.D. 890 by fugitives from the northern Strathclydwyd, from the Dee to the Conway and the Elwy: see the *Brut y Tywysog.* (*Gwentian*), in an. 890. Dunwallon = Dufnall in *Flor. Wig.* a. 973.

10th and beginning of 11th Centuries. [A.D. 929–1022?]. *Acts of discipline attributed to Bishops of Llandaff as exercised upon Welsh Princes*.\*

\* Similar synodical censures and absolutions to those already mentioned pp. 125, 207, 208, are assigned also to Bishops of Llandaff in the 10th century.—viz.

i. Excommunication of Llywerth son of Cadwgan King of Glamorgan by Bishop Gulfrid for wasting church lands (*Llb. Landav.* 212, 213; *Wilkins*, I. 198).

ii. Of Nowi King of Gwent twice by Bishop Pater, once for violating sanctuary, the second time (A.D. 955 according to the document itself, which yet speaks of Howel as alive, who

died A.D. 950) because six of his "family," in spite of the presence of Blegywryd (see above pp. 209, 215, 219), murdered a deacon before the altar (*Llb. Landav.* 208–211; *Wilkins*, I. 222, 223).

iii. Of Arthfael King of Gwent by Bishop Gwgan (A.D. 982 according to *Llb. Landav.* 235) for fratricide (*Llb. Landav.* 233–235; *Wilkins*, I. 264).

iv. And of Edwin King of Gwent by Bishop Bledri (A.D. 983–1022, *Llb. Landav.* 241) because one of his train wounded the Bishop in a fray (*Llb. Landav.* 239, 240).

## [SUBJECTION OF SOUTH WELSH SEES TO CANTERBURY.]

See for the form of these documents, below under Bishop Herwald of Llandaff, A.D. 1056 x 1104.

Bishop Libiau died in 929 (*Lb. Landav.* 230). Marchlwyd, however, who must have succeeded him, was Bishop in 928 (if that is really the date of Howel Dda's laws), and died in 943 (*Brut y Tywysog., Gwent.*). Between him and Bishop Gwgan, who was consecrated 982 and died almost immediately (*Lb. Landav.* 235, 241), but whose consecration seems more pro-

bably dated in 972, comes Bishop Pater, who died 961 (*Brut y Tywysog., Gwent.*). And Bishop Gulfrid therefore must have immediately either preceded or (omitting Rhodri, for whom see above under A.D. 961) followed Pater; probably, from the names of the princes who were respectively their contemporaries, the former. But the dates of the *Lb. Landav.*, and (although in a less degree) those of the *Gwentian* and other Chronicles, cannot be trusted.

*End of 10th century and beginning of 11th. Bishops of Llandaff from A.D. 972 (?), and some Bishops of S. David's from A.D. 995, alleged to have been consecrated by the Archbishops of Canterbury.*

## I. LIB. LANDAV.

- i. Dcccc<sup>mo</sup>.LXXX<sup>o</sup>.II<sup>o</sup>.<sup>a</sup> incarnationis Domini anno, Gucaunus Episcopus Landaviæ consecratus a metropolitano Dunstano, Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo, data sibi virga pastorali in regali curia a summo Rege Anglorum Ætgaro, præsentibus suffraganeis suis Episcopis Angliæ, Birlhelmo Episcopo, Alfuuoldo Episcopo, Adheluuoldo Episcopo, Oswaldo Uicorniæ Episcopo, et præsentibus abbatibus, Alfrico Abbate, Æswuicg Abbate, et astantibus Ducibus, Alfere Duce, Alpha Duce, Æthestan Duce, cum multis aliis clericis et laicis. Post datam sibi apostolicam dignitatem, migravit ad Dominum. [pp. 235, 236.]
- ii. Dcccc<sup>o</sup>.LXXXIII<sup>o</sup>. anno<sup>b</sup>, electione facta regum Morcannuc, Ouein videlicet, et Idguallaun, Catell et Cinuin filiorum Morcant Hen, Rotri et Grifud filiorum Elised, et totius cleri et populi Morcannuc intra ostium Taratyr in Guy et ostium Tyui positi, et dato sibi baculo in regali curia, a summo Rege Anglorum Adelredo, et a metropolitano Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Albrico Archiepiscopo, Bledri Episcopus Landaviæ consecratus est; et millesimo vigesimo secundo anno incarnationis Domini, ordinationis suæ autem trigesimo nono anno, migravit ad Dominum. [p. 241.]
- iii. Millesimo vigesimo secundo<sup>c</sup> anno incarnationis Domini, consecratus est Joseph Episcopus Landaviæ, Cantuariæ, a metropolitano Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Ælnod, Archiepiscopo, in calendis Octobris, et in primo anno cicli decennovennalis; verbo Regis Anglorum Cnut; et dato sibi baculo in curia illius, electione populi et cleri Landaviæ,

[SUBJECTION OF SOUTH WELSH SEES TO CANTERBURY.]

et Regum Britannia, Regis videlicet Riderch regnantis per totam Gualliam tunc temporis, et Hiuel subreguli Regis Morcannuc intra ostium Taratir in Guy et ostium Tyui regnantis; et vigesimo quarto ordinationis suæ anno, in via Sancti Petri Apostoli, apud Agustan, migravit ad Dominum. [pp. 241, 242.]

II. ROT, CANTUAR. ECCLES. [ap. *Godwin ed. Richardson, in notis.*—These entries are in the above cases identical with the *Lib. Landav.*, with the one omission of Ælfric's name in the second.]

III. R. DE DICETO<sup>d</sup>, *Abbrev. Chron.*—A.D. 994. Siricio Doroberniæ Episcopo mortuo successit Alfricus: ..... hic Bledri Episcopum Landaviæ, et Tramerin Episcopum Sancti David, et Elvodum Episcopum Sancti Davide, Cantuariæ consecravit. [*Twysd.* 461.]

Id. *ib.*—A.D. 1020. Livingus Doroberniæ Archiepiscopus obiit; cui Ethelnothus<sup>f</sup> ..... successit. Hic Joseph Episcopum Landaviæ et Bleduc Episcopum Sancti David Cantuariæ consecravit. [*Twysd.* 467.]

<sup>a</sup> Possibly DCCCCLXXII. Eadgar died A.D. 975; Brihtelm Bishop of Wells, 973; and Ælfwold Bishop of Sherborne, 978.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly DCCC<sup>o</sup>XCIII<sup>o</sup>, and for Ælfric, read Siric. The former succeeded the latter as Archbishop of Canterbury in 995, and died 1005.

<sup>c</sup> A.D. 1022 was the 15th, not the first, year of a 19 years' cycle. And Æthelnoth was at Rome in the very week here specified, viz. on "the Nones of October," 1022 (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*). And Joseph died at Rome (*Ann. Camb.*, *Brut y Tywysog.*) in 1043, or perhaps 1046 (*ib.*). The computation in the text gives 1046.

<sup>d</sup> The same chronicler in his MS. Hist. of Bishops (*Arundel* 220), attributes to Siric (A.D. 990–994) the consecrations here (apparently) assigned to Ælfric (A.D. 995–1005).

<sup>e</sup> Elvod is mentioned by no one else: although the name occurs at a much earlier date in the lists of the Bishops of S. David's. Tramerin can hardly be identified with the Bishop of S. David's of that name who died A.D. 1055 (see below), and between whom and A.D. 1005 (the date of Ælfric's death) at least two Bishops

of the see had intervened according to the *Ann. Camb.* The existence of two Bishops so named within the years 995–1005, is however not excluded by the notices of Bishops of S. David's in the *Ann. Camb.* and *Brut y Tywysog.*; nor even by the lists in Giraldus or Godwin, otherwise than that these lists give different names.

<sup>f</sup> Archbishop A.D. 1020–1038. "Bledud Episcopus Menevensis" died A.D. 1071 (*Ann. Camb.*), and the last previous record of the death of a Bishop of S. David's (Joseph) is A.D. 1064 (*ib.*) or 1061 (*Brut y Tywysog.*). Morganwg and Erwyn appear as Bishops of S. David's during Æthelnoth's archiepiscopate.

<sup>g</sup> It will be seen that the dates in the above statements (which stand as above in the original MS. of the *Lib. Landav.* also) are in hopeless inconsistency, especially as regards S. David's: and both the Llandaff and the Canterbury notices are suspicious. There is a similar heap of contradictions both in previous (above, pp. 208, 209) and subsequent (below, pp. 292, 293) years.

#### A.D. 1022. Church Schools in Llandaff Diocese.

A.D. 1022. BRUT Y TYWYSOG., A.D. 1023<sup>a</sup> ..... died Bledri  
Gwent.—Oed Crist 1023<sup>a</sup>, bu Bishop of Teilaw, the first scho-

## [LLANDAFF CHARTERS.]

farw ..... Bledri Escob Teilaw  
ysgolhaig pennaf gwlad Gymru,  
achaws hynny y gelwid ef Bledri  
Ddoeth, a chystal y carai wybo-  
dau fal y dodes ar yr offeiriaid  
gynnal addysg llyfrau llên bob un  
yn ei eglwys, mal y gwygai bawb  
a ddylynt parth Duw a dynion.

[p. 46. in *Arch. Camb. 3rd Series*,  
X.]

lar in Wales, on which account  
he was called Bledri the Wise:  
and so much he loved knowledge,  
that he required every priest to  
support instruction from literary  
works in his church, that every  
one might know his duty to God  
and man. [*ib.* p. 47.]

\* If the *Lb. Landav.* is correct, this should be 1022.

A.D. 1022 x 1031. *Charter of Rhydderch son of Jestyn to Joseph  
Bishop of Llandaff*<sup>a</sup>.

LIB. LANDAV.—Riderch filius Iestin, Rex Morcannuc, imo totius  
Gualia, excepta tantum insula Euonia, quam Jacob filius Idguall per  
se tenebat;—Riderch dico, uirum pacificum et mansuetum, omnibus  
totius regni tam clericis quam laicis, uiduis et orphanis, jura sua et he-  
reditates Diuina lege et humana concedentem, et maxime Ecclesiae Dei  
et gubernatoribus ejus, Episcopis videlicet, et omnibus de inferioribus  
gradibus; in cujus tempore nulla desolatio, in montibus nec in plano,  
nisi tantum tribus villis per totam Gualiam in solitario;—Landauia  
quidem et Sanctis ejus Dubricio, Teliauo, et Oudoceo, et Joseph  
Episcopo ejusdem, concessit ecclesias suas et earum territoria per  
omnia in pace quieta tenenda, et cum sua dignitate et omni privi-  
legio consolidata, et libertate tota data incolis et habitaturis, et  
communione pervia in campo et in aquis, in [silva<sup>b</sup>] et in pascuis,  
et ob venerationem catholicæ fidei, jurejurando, et manum mittendo,  
presente Ioseph Episcopo, et confirmante super quatuor evangelia,  
antepositis sacris reliquiis; et ita, ut nunquam glebam unam sciens  
ablaturus est aliqua ui laicali, aut tirannico furore, aut malo ingenio,  
aut fraude subdola, de territoriis Landavia, et cum toto privilegio  
dato sibi a tempore Sanctorum Dubricii, Teliaui, Oudocei; hoc est,  
sine ullo censu, magno vel modico, ulli homini terreno, nisi tantum  
oratione cotidiana et ecclesiastico seruitio diurno, sine consule,  
sine proconsule, sine conventu intra patriam nec extra, sine uigilia  
intus nec extra, sine expeditione, et cum omni dignitate curiæ suæ  
plenaria et (ut sic dicam) in omnibus ut regia; et vovens Deo, et  
Sanctis Dubricio, Teliauo, et Oudoceo, et in manu Ioseph Episcopi,

## [LLANDAFF CHARTERS.]

consolidans et promittens omnibus successoribus suis in perpetuo, ut nunquam dominaretur in aliqua re ecclesiastica, eaut ejus possessionibus, nec etiam refugium violaturus, immo conservaturus in omnibus; et concessio eodem refugio territorii omnibus eiusdem, et confirmato ab eo tali, quale fuit Sancti Dubricii in priori tempore, uidelicet quamdiu uoluerit profugus Landauiz et deorum omnium ubique ecclesiarum sibi subditarum maneat tutus, sine protegente clipeo nisi Diuino, et sanctorum protectione in eius asylo, et sine termino, non tantum per diocesim suam, diuidente Tyguy occidentali plaga, Guy uero in hostio Taratyr in parte orientali sequetrante Angliam, uerum etiam infra Episcopatum Sancti David, per totam Demeticam regionem, et Cantref Maur, et Brecheniauc, et Eluail. Et de omnibus subscriptis uestita fuit Ecclesia Landauiz, simul et Episcopus Ioseph, pace quieta et tranquilla, tempore regnantis Riderch per totam Gualiam, et ammonitione Ælnoth Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, simul cum litteris commendatiis Cnut regnantis Angliam. [pp. 242, 243; see also *Wharton, A. S., II.* 669, 670.]

\* This and all following extracts from the *Llb. Landav.* are printed from the original MS., now in the possession of P. Davies Cooke, Esq., of Owston, near Doncaster.

If this privilege be genuine, or (supposing it genuine) if it ever took effect at all, it could only have been for the few years (1021-1031) of Rhydderch's forcible rule over South Wales. The list of churches at the end of the original document (printed in the *Llb. Landav.*, but here omitted) relates to churches claimed as belonging to the Bishops of Llandaff, but confessedly not in Llandaff diocese but in S. David's, and all of them indeed outside the most enlarged boundaries claimed for Llandaff; unless upon the bold substitution of the Teivi for the Tyvi (*Llb. Landav.* 126, 373), which would include all Caermarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire as well, in the original diocese of Teilo. It consists of—1. Thirty churches, mostly dedicated to S. Teilo, in Caermarthenshire west of the Tyvi,

and in Pembrokeshire, extending to the actual cantref (Pybidiog) in which S. David's itself is situated; 2. Five in Brecknock, but outside the boundary-line mentioned above, p. 285; and 3. Two in the deanery of Elfael in Radnorshire, on the north side of the Wye opposite the district of Ystradyw. By "Demetica regio" in the text is meant all west of the Tyvi and south of the Teivi: and Cantref Maur is either the cantref so called which adjoins Cantref Bychan and includes the north and west of Caermarthenshire, or that of the same name which forms the southern half of Brecknock.

The *Privilegium Sancti Teliaui*, which must have been drawn up by the Llandaff clergy either about this period or at the latest during the Episcopate of Herwald, is a little fuller in its terms (asserted to be confirmed "Apostolica auctoritate," and concluding at length with the ordinary curse and blessing upon violators and observers respectively)—as follows:—

Privilegium Sancti Teliaui est, et Ecclesie sue Landaviz, datum sibi, et omnibus successoribus suis in perpetuo, a Regibus istis, et Principibus Britanniz, confirmatum Apostolica auctoritate cum omnibus legibus suis in se plenariis sibi et terris suis libera ab omni regali seruitio; sine consule, sine proconsule, sine conventu intus nec extra, sine expeditione, sine uigilanda regione, et cum omni iustitia sua de fure et furto, de rapina, de homicidio, de arsiione, de rixa, de sanguine, de refugio uiolato ubique in terra Sancti, de assultu viarum, et extra vias; de faciendo iudicio et patiendo, de omni populo Sancti Teliaui in curia Landaviz; de communione aque et herbe, campi et silue, populo Ecclesie Sancti Teliaui, cum mercato et moneta in Landavia: cum applicatione navium ubique per terras Sancti Teliaui, libera pro regibus et omnibus, nisi Ecclesie Landaviz, et Episcopis eius; de opprobrio, et omni iniuria quod Rex Morcanhuc et sui homines fecerint Episcopo Sancti Teliaui, et suis hominibus, idem Rex Morcanhuc et sui homines rectum faciant Episcopo et suis hominibus, et iudicium patiantur in curia Landaviz. Omnis lex que fuerit Regali, omnis etiam et in curia plenarie Episcopali Landanensi. (*Llb. Landav.*, 111, 112.)

## [OF SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS.]

In the Welsh version of this *Privilegium* which follows (§§. 113, 114), "sine consule, sine proconsule," is rendered by "heb mair, heb cyghellaur" = "neither maer nor canghellor," for whom see above, pp. 224, 254: and "sine conventu intus nec extra" = "heb gyhoedd ddadl nac mewn gwlad na dyeithr" = "without attendance at courts of justice either in the district or out of it." The privilege of a market at Llandaff was afterwards confirmed by the Norman Kings (*Ex Archivis in Turri Londinensi Cart.* 7.

*Johannis*, m. 5. A.D. 1205.—*Episcopo Landavensi apud Landaviam, FERIA CONCESSA*,—"dat. per manum H. de Welles archid. Wellens. apud Bristol 9 die Septembris," *Rot. Chart.* ed. Hardy, p. 159, and *Br. Willis, Lland. App.* pp. 112, 113).

<sup>b</sup> Miswritten "aqua," in original MS.

<sup>c</sup> Miswritten "ut," in original MS.

<sup>d</sup> So in original MS.

<sup>e</sup> Miswritten "Cantuariensi," in original MS.

A.D. 1030. *Of Sundays and Holidays.*

A.D. 1030. BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwent*.—Oed Crist 1030 ..... y flwyddyn honno y peris Joseb Escob Teilaw na wnelid na gwaith na gorchwyl ar y Suliau a'r gwyliau, ag a wnaeth i'r offeiriad ddysgu darllain yr Ysgrhythyr lan heb dal heb ged, ac na wnelynt ac ymyrsonau. [p. 46. in *Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, X.*]

<sup>a</sup> Mr. A. Owen translates this "learn," but the context seems conclusive for the other rendering, above given.

A.D. 1030 ..... That year Joseph, Bishop of Teilaw, ordered that no work or occupation should take place on the Sundays and holydays, and obliged the priests to \*teach to read the Holy Scripture without payment or gift, and to abandon controversies. [*ib.* p. 47.]

A.D. 1022 x 1043 (or 1046). *Synodical Excommunications of Meurig, son of Hywel King of Glamorgan, (twice) by Joseph Bishop of Llandaff<sup>a</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> i. For murdering Edwyn son of Gwriad King of Gwent Isoed, after swearing amity with him on relics in the Bishop's presence (*Lib. Landav.* 245, 246).

ii. For violating sanctuary at Llandaff (*Lib. Landav.* 248, 249; *Wilkins, I.* 310).

For the form of these documents, and of the similar ones previously mentioned, which all *mutatis mutandis* nearly repeat one another, see below under Bishop Herwald, A.D. 1056 x 1087, pp. 295, 296.

A.D. 1023-1064. *Madoc [or Madawc] Min, Bishop of Bangor<sup>a</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwent*, in a. 1060 mentions a Bishop of Bangor of this name, as having betrayed Llewellyn ap Seisyllt (A.D. 1023 *Ann. Camb.*), and afterwards Gruffudd his son (A.D.

1064 *Flor. Wig.*, 1063 *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Ann. Camb.*), the latter to Harold and the Saxons.

A.D. 1043-1055. *Tremerin (Trabaiarn) Bishop of S. David's acts as Vicar to the Saxon Bishop (Æthelstan) of Hereford<sup>a</sup>.*

FLOR. WIG., *Chron.* a. 1055.—Eo tempore religiosus vir Tremerin Walonicus antistes decessit. Hic multo tempore vicarius Æthelstani Herefordensis præsulis extitit, postquam ipse ministerium Episcopale per se implere nequivit; erat enim per annos XIII. oculorum lumine privatus. [*M. H. B.* 608.]

## [OF SAINTS' DAYS.]

\* So also *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* a. 1055, and see *Sim. Dunelm. ap. Twysd.* 188. Trahaiarn appears in Giraldus' and Godwin's lists between Bishops

Erwyn (died 1040) and Joseph (died 1064). Æthelstan was Bishop of Hereford from 1012 to 1056.

A.D. 1046. *Of Saints' Days.*

A.D. 1046. BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwent*.—Oed Crist 1043<sup>a</sup> .....Yr un flwyddyn y bu farw Joseb Escob Teilaw, gwr tra doeth, a duwawl, a dysgedig, efe a wnaeth drefn dda ar wyliau mabsant, sef nas caid amgen na gweddiaw Duw, a dangos daioni, a gwneuthur elusenau arnynt, a chynnal cof dyledus am Dduw ai Saint, au gweithredoedd molediwi. [p. 52. in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X.]

The same year Joseph, Bishop of Teilaw, died; a very wise, learned, and godly man. He instituted good order on the saints' days; that prayer to God, shewing good works, almsgiving, proper remembrance of God, and His saints and their praiseworthy works, should alone take place. [*ib.* p. 53.]

<sup>a</sup> The *Brut* (in *M. H. B.*) plainly specifies 1043 as the date of Joseph's death, but the Gwentian form of it (above given), and the

*Ann. Camb.*, may possibly intend 1046 as the year, in agreement with the *Lib. Landav.*

A.D. 1056. *Herwald, Bishop of Llandaff, elected by the Welsh princes, and consecrated by the Bishop of S. David's (?) in A.D. 1056, but subsequently confirmed (?) by Kinsi Archbishop of York at a Council at London A.D. 1059<sup>a</sup>.*

I. LIB. LANDAV.—*De Consecratione Herwaldi Episcopi*.—Prestante totius creaturæ uisibilis et inuisibilis Auctore atque Gubernatore, Quem unum substantialiter trinumque personaliter in Se et per Se subsistere credimus et confitemur, universis orthodoxæ fidei cultoribus universalem uitæ presentis prosperitatem et æternalem immortalitatis felicitatem. Notum sit benevole prudentiæ legentium hoc dictamen, ac intelligentium quod celestis Pastor ouilis Christus Dominus, Cuius providentia atque dispensatione totum corpus Ecclesiæ terrestris regitur ac disponitur, humilem per manus impositionem Ioseph Episcopi Landauiz consecratum in sacerdotem Herwaldum, et inter Anglos non modico tempore commorantem, et tam coram ipsis quam coram suæ, id est, Britannicæ gentis potestatibus gratia et moribus prefulgentem, ad sacerdotalem dignitatem feliciter Landauensis Ecclesiæ eius largiflua miseratione clementer elegerit. Cuius unanimis electio ab inuicto Rege Grifido, monarcha Britonum prepol-

[SUBJECTION OF SOUTH WELSH CHURCH TO CANTERBURY.]

lente, et a Mourico filio Houel, consentientibus presulibus ac sacerdotibus atque doctoribus omnibus terræ primoribus ac magnatibus: et confirmata honorabiliter illius consecratio a summo Archiepiscopo Cynisi: et ab aliis Angliæ plurimis Episcopis canonicè consummata est: sub cuius manu atque norma ipse suorum more pre[de]cessorum Episcopus exstitit, presente Domino glorioso Angli-Saxonum basilio Eaduardo, cunctisque pontificibus et abbatibus, nec non archidiaconibus, cum omnibus Ecclesiæ ordinibus atque sapientibus, hoc ratum esse firmiter ac stabiliter adiudicantibus, pariterque benedicientibus, in illa famosa synodo, quæ Lundoniæ facta est in ebdomada Pentecostes anno M<sup>mo</sup>. L<sup>mo</sup>. IX<sup>no</sup>. ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi; in quo deinceps omnium sapientium consilio huiuscemodi decretum prolatum atque consolidatum est, ut siquis rex vel dux aut satrapa siue princeps, uel quicumque prepotens, huic pontifici uel eius successoribus, aut loco cui preesse et prodesse missus est, succurrendo ac benefaciendo hoc pactum benedictionum obseruauerit et adimpleuerit, corpore simul et spiritu conseruetur in pace et quiete sanctorum omnium in secula seculorum. Amen. [pp. 254, 255.]

IB.—Herwaldus Landauiz Episcopus, millesimo centesimo quarto Incarnationis Dominicæ anno, quadagesimo uero octavo consecrationis suæ anno, sub Rege Henrico, et Anselmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, pridie nonis Martii, migravit ad Dominum. [*ib.* 268.]

CAPIT. S. DAVID *Eugenio Papæ*, A.D. 1145.—Joseph Archiepiscopus noster Herewaldum Landavensem ad ministerium pontificale promovit. [ap. *Gir. Camb.*, *De Invect.* II. 6; *Opp.* III. 57.]

II. ROT. ECCLES. CANTUAR.—Ereualdus Landaviz Episcopus, dato sibi baculo in regali curia a summo Rege Anglorum Willelmo, et electione cleri et populi Landaviz, a metropolitano Cantuar. Eccles. Archiep. Lanfranco consecratus. A.D. vero 1104, XLVIII. vero consecrationis suæ anno sub Henrico Rege et Anselmo Cant. Archiep. pridie Nonas Martii migravit ad Dominum. [ap. *Godwin*, ed. *Richardson*, *in notis.*]

III. R. DE DICETO, *Abbrev. Chron.*—A.D. 1071 Lanfrancus Herewardum Landaviz Episcopum Cantuariæ consecrav. [*Tuysd.* 483.]

\* There is no other record of this council. Kinsi was Archbishop of York A.D. 1051-1060; but why Stigand of Canterbury is not mentioned does not appear. The dates in the Canterbury Rolls themselves contradict the statement there made, and repeated by Diceto, about Lanfranc. Possibly Herwald received investiture at William's

hands in 1071, after Lanfranc's appointment to Canterbury. Yet, if so, why should Anselm refuse to recognize him? The Llandaff and S. David's records may perhaps be forcibly harmonized, as above. But all four witnesses are alike untrustworthy.



A.D. 1056 x 1063 or 1064. *Privilegium, granted by Gryffydd King of Wales to Herwald Bishop of Llandaff*<sup>a</sup>.

LIB. LANDAV.—Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, tres in personis, unus in Deitate et essentia, creator et gubernator totius creaturæ uisibilis et inuisibilis, et super omnia formauit hominem ad imaginem et ad similitudinem Suam, diuidens singula prout uult, et Cui omnia seruiunt inpresentiarum, quibusdam tribuens regna et potestates, quibusdam modicas paupertates cum septiformi dono sapientiæ et intellectus, consilii et fortitudinis, scientiæ et pietatis et timoris, inspirauit cor lapideum, ingruente quadam infirmitate corporis, Grifudi Regis Britanniæ, et (ut sic dicam) totius Gualix de fine ad finem, et calefactum Sancti Spiritus feruore. Videns igitur Rex quod potestas eius sicut flos fœni, et caro ut cinis, conatus est pro transitoria substantia conquirere regnum floridum sine cassura, et celeste gaudium sine merore et tristitia, semota omni penuria, semetipsum tribuens sub iugo penitentix; et penitens fecisse quæ fecerat contra Diuina precepta, promisit se emendaturum ieiunio et oratione et elemosina, cum diuersis metallis pretiosis largitis ab illo Deo, egenis uiduis, et orphanis. Et non degenerans a predecessorum nobilitate, pietate, et largitate, immo imitans, et precel-lens rigore et fortitudine tum contra barbaros Anglos ex una parte, semper fugitiuos, uisa facie sua in acie belli, tum contra Hibernienses occidentales et semper fugaces, tum contra indigenas solito more bellicosas, tum contra Danaos marinos, tum contra insularum Orcadum habitatores; et semper uersis dorsis in fugam, et firmato fœdere ad libitum suum pacificatos;—clamauit territoria omnia Landauix Ecclesiæ Petri Apostoli, et sanctorum confessorum Dubricii, Teliaui, et Oudocei, de omni parrochia eiusdem ab hostio Taratir super ripam Gui usque ad ripam Tiugui, et insuper terras eiusdem, Lannteliau-maur uidelicet et Penualun, cum multis aliis ecclesiis, et telluribus suis omnibus, et cum illis in Brecheniauc pluribus, ut in cirografo demonstratur, quæ habentur extra diocesim in Episcopatu Sancti Deuui, et cum toto priuilegio, ut melius fuit tempore predecessorum suorum, quieta et tranquilla ab omni regali seruitio, nisi tantum oratione cotidiana pro animabus regum et principum Britannix; et firmata missis manibus super quattuor euangelia, et in manu Heruualdi Episcopi consolidata, et coram omni populo suo, in die Natiuitatis Domini apud Ystumguy; et oblata uilla Pennros in manu Episcopi, et omnibus presulibus Landauix in perpetuo. De clericis

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testes sunt Heruualdus Episcopus, Mormarch, Merchbui, Tutnerth, canonici Landauiz<sup>b</sup>, Benedictus lector, Iouanul, Nouis, Elinui, Cinnon, Iudhail, presbyteri, Tathiu, Abraham archidiaconus Guenti; de laicis, Rex Grifud, Margetud filius eius, Caratauc filius Riguallaun, Byrguith, Iudhail filius Teudus, Eidniuet Fuedlid, Berdicguent, Caratauc filius Gulbrit. Et cum data communione omnibus incolis terrarum Ecclesiæ per totum regnum suum, in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis. [pp. 257-259; and *Wharton, A.S. II.* 670, 671.]

<sup>a</sup> Gryffydd was slain in 1064 (*Flor. Wig.*) or 1063 (*Ann. Camb.*). Jurisdiction in the disputed districts, Ergyng, Ewias, Ystradyw, Gower, &c., is elaborately claimed in detail for Herwald in the reigns of Eadward the Confessor, Harold, and William (*Lib. Landav.* 263-268). Gwent however is claimed for Wessex in a 10th or 11th century Saxon Ordinance (*Thorpe, Anc. Laws, &c.*, I. 357). And Gwent and Morganwg were not subject to Gryffydd (*Brut y Tywysog., Gwent.*, 2. 1060, 1061).

<sup>b</sup> "Canonici Landaviz" first occur in a grant to Bishop Joseph, who died 1043 or 1046 (*Lib. Landav.* 253); in number 24 (see below, p. 309). "Decanus Landaviz" occurs once, viz. in a grant to Bishop Bledri, A.D. 993-1022 (*Lib. Landav.* 236). (There was no separate office of Dean at all at S. David's or at Llandaff until very recently. At Bangor, "Iago ap Beli Rex [6th century] Decanatu Ecclesiam ditavit" [ex *Archiv. Eccl. Bangor*, in *Br. Willie, Bangor* 184], which can hardly mean the addition to the see of the isolated Deanery of Arwysli, as Willis conjectures, but is certainly not historical evidence to a Deanery in the usual sense from that early date. The earliest historical testimony to a Dean at Bangor [*Br. Willie, Bangor*] is in 1162, when one Arthur de Bardsey is alleged to have held the office.)

"Lifris" (or Lifricus), "filius Episcopi, archidiaconus Gulat Morcant" (Glamorgan), "et magister Sancti Catoci de Lannarvan," occurs first in a grant to Herwald himself (*Lib. Landav.* 260), and a second time in a like grant (*Lib. Landav.* 262), with the addition of "Abraham Archidiaconus Guenti," who occurs also (as above) in a previous grant (*Lib. Landav.* 259). But Blegywryd was Archdeacon of Llandaff as early as A.D. 928 (*Howel Dda's Laws*, above, p. 218)—"Pencyfeistedd Llandaf" (*Brut y Tywysog., Gwent.*, p. 22; in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X.). A "lector" occurs repeatedly in the *Lib. Landav.* among the clerical witnesses (e.g. *Lib. Landav.* 153, where occurs also "Dewi filius Circan sacerdotis"); we have also "Mainc doctor, Guinbui magister" (*Lib. Landav.* 133), and "Joseph doctor Catoci" (*Lib. Landav.* 261, and see also 213), and "Samuel magister" (*Lib. Landav.* 166); and "Dissaith scriptor" (*Lib. Landav.* 215, 230: the same person is also called a "lector," *ib.* 213, 214, see also 235); and Dewi (above-mentioned) is called "summus sacerdos" (*Lib. Landav.* 154), possibly the same office as that of the "arch-officiat" (of Llanbadarn) in A.D. 1136 (*Brut y Tywysog.*: compare the "archpriest" of Hacombe &c. in Exeter diocese); possibly = Archipresbyter or Dean. "Princeps" also occurs occasionally for "Abbas" (*Lib. Landav.* 137, 141, 156).

A.D. 1056 x 1087<sup>a</sup>. *Synodical Excommunication of Cadwgan son of Meurig King of Glamorgan, by Herwald Bishop of Llandaff.*

LIB. LANDAV.—Familia Catgucauni Regis Morcannuc, filii Mourici, in die Natiuitatis Domini, uisitauit Landauiam bono affectu, et (ut dicitur de uirga Aaron uersa in draconem,) animus illius familiæ tardus ad sperandum bonum, uelox ad faciendum malum; et ditatus præ nimio gaudio tantæ festiuitatis, cepit baccare copia potationis, sequestrata discretione sobrietatis; in tantum quod imperfecti uiri, amissa ui scientiæ et pietatis, deuastauerunt unum familiarem et nepotem Hergualdi Episcopi, Berthutis nomine, uirum iustum, et medicum totius patriæ. Et facta tam execrabili inuasionem, et sub

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ala Sanctorum Dubricii, Teliaui, Oudocei, et asilo, misit Episcopus legatos suos per omnes ecclesias totius suæ dioce[se]os obtemperantes sibi intra hostium Taratir super ripam Gui et ripam Tyui, ut simul conuenirent clerici maioris dignitatis electi tam quam inferioris apud Landauiam<sup>b</sup>; et in plena sinodo, depositis crucibus cum sanctis reliquiis ad terram, et uersis cimbaliis, simul et clauso hostio ecclesiæ cum stipatis spinis, et ita carentis seruitio et pastore, remansit diebus et noctibus; facto anathemate familiæ Regis et sequestratæ a tota orthodoxe fidei sorte. Et audita tanta submotione et dilatata per patriam magno strepitu et murmure, cepit Rex lacrimari pro dampnatione familiæ suæ, desiderans potius pacem cum suo pastore, quam participationem perpetratæ iniuriæ. Aduocatis omnibus comitibus suis, requisiiuit ueniam apud Landauiam lacrimabili deuotione simul et familia segregata a Christianorum consortio; et audita eius prece, et data sibi uenia simul et familiæ iuncta cum penitentia canonice, dixit Rex, positis manibus suis super altare Petri Apostoli, et sanctorum confessorum, Dubricii, Teliaui, et Oudocei, et coram utroque populo, clericali et laicali, "Confirmo hanc elemosinam, tribuens Deo, cHenriugunua uidelicet, et Sanctis predictis et Episcopo Heruualdo, et omnibus pontificibus Landauia, in sempiterna consecratione, liberam ab omni seruitio seculari et regali, et cum data comunione incolis, in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis." De clericis testes sunt Hergualdus Episcopus, Moruarch et Merchuui canonici, Gulbrit et Tutnerth et Selif, Ioseph lector Catoci, Aidan presbyter Catoci, Catguaret presbyter Sancti Docunni; de laicis, Catgucaun Rex, et frater eius Ris Rotri filius Iaco, Caratauc filius Gulbrit, Cinnhor filius Richrit, Eithin filius Elfin, Guabeith filius Elcu, Teudus filius Laur. Facto anathemate separaturis hanc elemosinam ab Ecclesia Landauia, et a pastoribus eius; data autem benedictione seruaturis, et confirmaturis in quieta pace. Amen. [pp. 255-257; and in *Wilkins*, I. 314.]

\* Cadwgan died in the reign of William the Conqueror (*Lb. Landav.* 267).

<sup>b</sup> "Omnes clericos suos ab otio Taratyr yn Guy usque ad Tyui (or ostium Tyui, and once [248] ripam Tyui), cum tribus abbatibus suis ... abbate Carbani vallis, ... abbate Ilduti, ... abbate Docguinni," is the earlier form (e. g. *Lb. Landav.* 139). And once, "sacerdotes, diaconi, et omnes gradus ecclesiastici" (*ib.* 210). But no archdeacons. Other abbats occur as witnesses to grants (as of Mochros, Bolgros, Llanguorboc, Llandewi, Llandeugarth, Llangarthbenni, all apparently in Herefordshire or Monmouthshire, as the grants also are in which the names occur, *ib.* 155-157), but not in

synods. "Dimisit patriam sine baptismo et comunione Christiana," is added in two of the earliest cases (*ib.* 139, 168, and similarly 239) to the description of the interdict itself. And the place—"apud Landaviam"—is mentioned occasionally (*ib.* 205, 228, 234, 239, 245, and above in the text); but once under Bishop Gulfrid, Llan Oudocui (Llandogo [?]) near Monmouth, *ib.* 212, 400, 480); and once under Bishop Fater, "ecclesia Mainuon" (Trelech near Monmouth, *ib.* 208); the latter case relating to a King of Gwent.

\* Supposed by Rees to be near Caerleon (*Lb. Landav.* 529).

[THE LAST WELSH BISHOPS OF S. DAVID'S.]

A.D. 1071-1096 or 1098. *School at S. David's, in connection with Ireland, under the family of the last Welsh Bishops*<sup>a</sup>.—A.D. 1081<sup>b</sup>. *William the Conqueror visits S. David's*.

A.D. 1070 [1071 in all the other Chronicles]. BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwent*.—Yr un flwyddyn bu farw Bleuddyd Escob Dewi, ac ydd daeth Sulien yn Escob yn ei le ef, a hwnnw a elwid Sulien ddoeth, ac yr oedd ef yn wr duwiawl a golychwydawl. [p. 62. *Arch. Camb. 3rd Series, X.*]

[A.D. 1076 in all the other Chronicles.] IB.—Ynghylch yr un amser ydd ymwrthodes Sulien Escob Dewi ai Escobaeth, a dewiswyd yn ei le ef Abram, gwr doeth golychwydawl. [*ib.* p. 64.]

A.D. 1079 [1078 in all the other Chronicles]. IB.—Y diffeithwyd Mynyw gan Saeson lladronaidd; ac y bu farw Abram Escob Dewi, a gyrru yn Escobaeth yr ail waith ar Sulien ddoeth, canys nid oedd a wyddai gyngor i wlad a chenedl aflonydd gystal ag efe. [*ib.*]

[A.D. 1081, *Ann. de Winton.*; 1080, *Brut Gwent.*; 1079 in the other Welsh Chronicles.] IB.—Yr un flwyddyn y daeth William Fastardd i Gymru ym mhererindawd, ac a ddug roddion i'r eglwysi, a'r Escyb, offeiriaid, ac i'r monachlogydd a'r mynaich, a myned hyd ym Mynyw: a Sulien Archescawb Dewi a ymwrthodes eilwaith ai Escobawd (A.D. 1083 *Ann. Camb.* and *Brut* ed. Williams), a Gwilffrid ai cymmerth yn ei le. [*ib.* p. 66.]

The same year Bleuddyd, Bishop of S. David's, died; and Sulien, called Sulien the Wise, became Bishop in his place. He was a holy and pious man. [*ib.* p. 63.]

About the same time Sulien, Bishop of S. David's, abdicated his see; and Abraham, a wise and pious man, was chosen in his room. [*ib.* p. 65.]

Menevia was devastated by the thievish Saxons; and Abraham, Bishop of S. David's, died; and the Episcopate was a second time imposed upon Sulien the Wise, for no one knew so well how to counsel an unsettled country and nation. [*ib.*]

The same year William the Bastard came on a pilgrimage to Wales, and bestowed gifts upon the churches, the Bishops, priests, the monasteries and the monks, and went as far as Menevia: and Sulien Archbishop of S. David's resigned the Episcopate a second time, and Wilfrid took it in his place. [*ib.* p. 67.]

(According to the *Ann. Camb.*, "Sulgenius Episcopatum reliquit, cui *frater* successit." For "*frater*" read "*filius*.")

[THE LAST WELSH BISHOPS OF S. DAVID'S.]

A.D. 1088 [1089 *Ann. Camb.* and *Brut* ed. Williams]. IB.—Bu farw Sulien Escob Dewi, y doethaf a chlodforusaf o'r holl Escyb yng Nghymru, goreu ei gynghor, ai addysg, ai grefydd, ac amddiffynwr pob heddwch ac iawnder. [*ib.* p. 68.]

A.D. 1098 [1096 *Ann. Menev.*, 1097 *Brut* ed. Williams, 1099 *Ann. Camb.*]. IB.—Yn yr un flwyddyn bu farw Rhyddmarch Escob Dewi (mab oedd ef i Sulien ddoeth, Escob yr un Eglwys, a doethaf o genedl y Cymry) heb iddaw nac ail nac eilydd, namyn ei dad, am ddysg a doethineb a dwyfoldeb; a gwedi Rhyddmarch darfu addysg y ddisgyblon ym Mynyw. [*ib.* p. 84.]

Sulien, Bishop of S. David's, died, the wisest and most praiseworthy of all the Bishops in Wales, and the best for counsel, learning, religion, and defence of peace and justice. [*ib.* p. 69.]

The same year Rhyddmarch, Bishop of S. David's, died (he was the son of Sulien the Wise, Bishop of the same Church, and the wisest of the Welsh nation); one without an equal or second, excepting his father, for learning, wisdom, and piety. And after Rhyddmarch instruction for scholars ceased at Menevia. [*ib.* p. 85.]

\* The *Ann. de Winton.* supply the date of 1081 for William's visit. The *Ann. Menev.* (ap. Wharton, *A. S. II.* 649), with the other *Brut* (ed. Williams), and the *Ann. Camb.*, filled up from the Chronicle in the text, give the following dates for the succession of the Bishops: Sulien's first Episcopate 1070 or 1071–1076, Abraham's Episcopate 1076–1078 or 1079, Sulien's second Episcopate 1078 or 1079 to 1083, Wilfrid's Episcopate 1083 until he was displaced in some unnamed year by Rhyddmarch son of Sulien, Sulien dying 1088 or 1089, and Rhyddmarch 1096 (1098 according to the *Gwentian Brut*, 1097 according to the other *Brut*, 1099 according to *Ann. Camb.*, but Wilfrid is said to have been restored to the see by Anselm and Norman influence in 1095; see however below under A.D. 1095). The other *Brut* also adds to an account which is much the same with that in the text, that Sulien died at the age of 80 (the *Ann. Camb.* and the *Ann. Menev.* say 75), and Rhyddmarch at that of 43, and that the fame of the latter extended to "Saxons and French and other nations beyond the sea." The testimony of Jean or Sulgen, son of Sulgen or Sulien, in an account of his family and himself in Latin hexameters subjoined to a MS. work of S. Augustine (now in C. C. C. library, Cambridge, no. 199), partially

confirms and enlarges these statements, by telling us, that Sulien or Sulgen the father,

"Exemplo patrum commotus [a] more legendi,"

"Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros;"

returned home for five years, and then again "Scotorum visitat arva;" that he was twice made Bishop, and twice resigned, being "bis revocatus" to the see; and that he held it "duodenos annos," which number would fairly tally with the five or six years of his first Episcopate added to the six or five of his second (inasmuch as he resigned the second time in 1083), if we include both beginning and ending years in the number. Jean further tells us, that his father had four sons, Rhyddmarch (his successor in the see), Arthgen (for whose possible tomb and inscription, see below in Appendix B.), Daniel (elected to the see on Wilfrid's death in [probably] 1112, but rejected by the Norman King—see below under A.D. 1115,—he died as archdeacon of Powys, *Brut* a. 1124, pp. 152, 154, ed. Williams), and Jean, who describes himself as "Johannes" by name, a Briton by country, and "de gente Cere-tica." The statement about "instruction for scholars," in the last of the above quotations, prompted no doubt in part by regretful remembrance of the last Welsh Bishops before Norman influence set in, is confirmed by the existence,

## [THE LAST WELSH BISHOPS OF S. DAVID'S.]

1. of the *Psalter* mentioned above, p. 189, note <sup>b</sup>, written by the same Jean, with verses by Rhyddmarch prefixed; 2. of the MS. of *S. Aug., De Trinitate*, above mentioned, by the same scribe, with his hexameters at the end of it, portions of which verses have been printed by Bishop Burgess (Durham 1812) from a half-burnt 16th century copy of them in the Cotton MSS. (Vatell. D. 7);—they are printed in full in Appendix D. below, as being (except Gildas) one of the earliest extant compositions by a Welshman, bearing on Church matters, and of an ecclesiastical origin;—3. of Rhyddmarch's Life

of S. David, so often referred to already. See also below under A.D. 1136 and 1145, for the deaths of Jean himself and of his nephew Sulien son of Rhyddmarch, and their connection with Llanbadarn.

<sup>b</sup> William's visit was of course that of a conqueror, and in 1081, when he "subdued Wales" (*Ann. de Winton.*). The *Ann. Menev.* (ap. Wharton), the *Ann. Camb.*, and the *Brut y Tywyog.* (p. 50, ed. Williams) date it in 1079. The Gwentian *Brut* places it certainly between 1080 and 1084, and appears to indicate 1081, although 1080 is the last year actually given.

A.D. 1085. DOMESDAY BOOK, *Herefordshire*.—In *Arcenefelde* habet Rex tres ecclesias. Presbyteri harum ecclesiarum ferunt legationes Regis in Wales; et quisque eorum cantat pro Rege II. Missas una quaque ebdomada. Si quis eorum moritur, Rex habet de eo xx. solidos per consuetudinem. [Vol. I. p. 179. col. 2.]

A.D. 1086. ANN. MENEV.—Scrinium Sancti David de ecclesia sua furatur, et juxta civitatem ex toto spoliatur. [ap. Wharton, *A. S.*, II. 649. A.D. 1088 *Ann. Camb.* and *Brut* ed. Williams.]

A.D. 1092. *Herveus a Bréton consecrated to Bangor by the Archbishop of York (vacante sede Cantuar.), apparently not appointed by election of the King of Gwynedd.*

STUBBS, *Act. Pontif. Ebor.*—Thomas Archiepiscopus [Ebor.<sup>a</sup>] ordinavit Episcopos ..... Herveum Bangorensem. [*Twysd.* 1707.]

<sup>a</sup> Lanfranc of Canterbury died 1089, and Anselm was consecrated 1093. The Professions of two other Bishops consecrated by Thomas, in 1091, are on the Canterbury Rolls. That of Herveus is not. Herveus was a Bréton by nation

(*Ord. Vital.*, H. E. XIII.; vol. IV. p. 312. ed. Le Prevost 1852), was in favour with William Rufus, and became confessor to Henry I. (*R. de Diceto, De Procurs. Angl.*, MSS. Arundel 220). See below under A.D. 1109.

A.D. 1093 × 1104. *Herwald (the Welsh) Bishop of Llandaff placed under an interdict by Archbishop Anselm<sup>a</sup>.*

ANSELM, ARCH. CANT., to *Ralph Abbat of Séex*.—Dominis et fratribus carissimis, Reverendo Abbati Sagiensi Rodulfo, et aliis servis Dei sub illo commanentibus, Frater Anselmus vocatus Archiepiscopus; ad altiora virtutum et monachici propositi semper proficere, et nunquam deficere. De fratre illo quem dicitis esse ordinatum a quodam Episcopo, qui a nobis est interdictus, hoc respondeo; quia si ordinatus est ab Episcopo de Walis qui vocatur Herewardus, nec illis

[JURISDICTION CLAIMED BY CANTERBURY OVER WELSH SEES.]

ordinibus, quos ab illo accepit, nostra concessione aliquando utetur, nec ab ullo Episcopo reordinari debet. \* \* \* \*. [*S. Anselm. Epist. III. 23; Opp. p. 374 a. ed. Gerberon.*]

\* Ralph abbat of Sées in Normandy 1089 (*Gerberon*, ad loc. *Anselm.*) to 1109, Bishop of Rochester 1109, Archbishop of Canterbury 1114, was in England at Shrewsbury in 1102 (*Eadmer*). Herwald was Bishop of Llandaff

1056-1104 (*Lib. Landav.* 268; *Brut y Tywy-sog.*, *Gwent.*, p. 88: he died at the age of one hundred, *Ann. de Margan*); and Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury 1093-1109.

A.D. 1095. *Wilfrid*<sup>a</sup> (or *Gryffydd*) Bishop of S. David's restored (after suspension) by *Anselm*.

EADMER, *Hist. Nov. II.*—[A.D. 1095, in quadam ecclesiola<sup>b</sup>, Anselmus Archiepiscopus Cantuar.] Vilfrido Episcopo S. David de Gualis, qui vulgo Dewi vocatur, ipsa hora reddidit Episcopale officium; a quo, exigente culpa ejus, jam antea ipsemet illum suspenderat. [ed. *Selden*, p. 34.]

*Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury to the Earl of Shrewsbury and others.*

ANSELMUS Roberto Comiti, et fratri ejus Ernulfo Comiti, et Radulfo de Mortuo Mari, et Philippo de Brajosa, et Bernardo de Novo Mercato, et aliis<sup>c</sup> [probably A.D. 1095].—Anselmus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, Roberto Comiti, et fratri ejus Ernulfo Comiti, et Radulfo de Mortuo Mari, et Philippo de Brajosa, et Bernardo de Novo Mercato, et aliis qui terras habent in Episcopatu degentibus Vailfridi Episcopi, amicis et filiis in Deo carissimis; salutem et benedictionem Dei.—Quamvis vos ipsi solliciti esse debeatis de salute vestra, ad me tamen pertinet ut vos ad hoc quod vos decet coram Deo et animabus vestris expedit, excitem amica exhortatione, et invitem paterna admonitione. Precor itaque vos ut amicos, et consulendo moneo ut filios dilectos, quatenus dilecto Wilfrido Episcopo de Sancto David, propter honorem vestrum et propter religionem Christianam, omnem reverentiam et obedientiam quæ Episcopo in suo Episcopatu debetur cum amore exhibeatis, et quæcumque Episcopali dispositione fieri debent, ejus consilio faciatis. Sic enim vos ipsos ante Deum exaltabitis, si vos religiosa humilitate Episcopo vestro, sicut Deus ordinavit, subjeceritis. Sed si in aliquo vestro consilio opus habuerit, promptos vos ut Christianos bonos inveniat, quatenus Deus vobis in omnibus necessitatibus vestris subveniendo retribuatur. Hoc quoque maxime moneo et consulo, quia vobis valde necessarium est si Deum non vultis offendere, ut si terras aut decimas aut ecclesias, aut aliquid quod ad Ecclesiam ejus ecclesiastica

[JURISDICTION CLAIMED BY CANTERBURY OVER WELSH SEES.]

rectitudine pertinet, tenetis;—ut reddere propter timorem Dei studiose curetis. Nam certum est quoniam qui Deum exhæredat vel Ecclesias Ejus in hac vita, si sine pœnitentia et emendatione moritur, a regno Dei exhæredatur in futura vita. Omnipotens Deus sic vos det hæc et alia bona in hoc sæculo operari, ut vos faciat de beata retributione in æternum gloriari. [*S. Anselm. Epist. IV. 23; Opp. p. 433 a.*]

\* Wilfrid or Geoffrey or Griffri (probably Gryffydd, as he was certainly a Welshman, *Sim. Dwn. ap. Twysd.* 236) succeeded Sulien as Bishop 1083, but was displaced by Rhyddmarch (see above, p. 298), and remained in that position until Rhyddmarch's death, 1096 or 1098, probably the former date. It looks as if he had been consecrated independently of Canterbury, for which reason probably Anselm refused at first to recognise him. According to Giraldus (*De Insect. II. 1, Opp. III. 49*), "consecrabat alios Episcopos Wallie, et consecratus fuit ab ipsis; convocabat synodos Episcoporum, appellabatur ad ipsum, et crucem sibi præferebat:" all which probably means no more than that he acted as Bishops of S. David's commonly had acted up to his time (viz. without any reference to Canterbury), at any rate during his first temporary Episcopate, until Rhyddmarch's party ejected him, the "suspension" by Anselm being merely a Norman gloss put upon the very different facts. Anselm's acceptance of him as Bishop in A.D.

1095 is consistent with his actual reestablishment at S. David's itself (plainly by Norman power) either in 1096 or in 1098, to whichever year we assign Rhyddmarch's death. Wilfrid himself died 1112 according to both *Bruts* (1115 or 1116 according to the Latin chronicles), and was succeeded by a Norman Bishop outright. See below under A.D. 1115.

<sup>b</sup> On Anselm's way from Windsor to Canterbury, between May 20 and June 10.

<sup>c</sup> The persons addressed were the recent Norman conquerors and lords of a large part of Dyfed, Ceredigion, and Brecheiniog, viz. Rob. de Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury, Arnulf of Montgomery, Ralph Mortimer, Philip Braiose, Bernard of Neufmarché, &c.: see *Brut y Tywysog., Gwent.*, in an. 1088. One of them, Arnulf, paid small regard to Anselm's request: his men, it appears, seized Wilfrid and kept him prisoner forty days (*Capit. S. David. Eugenio Papa, A.D. 1145; ap. Gir. Camb., De Insect. II. 6, Opp. III. 37*).



## PERIOD THE THIRD.

FROM THE CLAIM OF JURISDICTION BY THE SEE OF CANTERBURY TO THE VISITATIONS OF ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN AS LEGATE, A.D. 1100-1188.

- [A.D. 1105 (*Brut*), 1106 and again 1113 (*Brut Gwent.*), 1107 (*Ann. Camb.*), Flemings established in Rhos in Pembrokeshire.
- A.D. 1107. See of Llandaff filled by a Norman nominee.
- A.D. 1109. The Bishop of Bangor driven from his see.
- A.D. 1111. Lands in Flint, Denbigh, and Anglesey (*Tegeingl, Rhyvoniog, and Mona*) confirmed to Hugh Earl of Chester by the Prince of Gwynedd (*Brut Gwent.*).
- A.D. 1114. Henry I. "subegit sibi Reges Walensium" (*Ann. de Winton.*).
- A.D. 1115. First Norman Bishop in Wales, viz. at S. David's.
- A.D. 1119-1133. Appeal to the Pope to determine the boundaries of the sees of Llandaff, S. David's, and Hereford.
- A.D. 1120 and 1140. Further attempts by the Archbishop of Canterbury to force a Bishop upon the see of Bangor (vacant 1109-1120).
- A.D. 1135. The Bishop of S. David's first claims to be an Archbishop and Metropolitan.
- A.D. 1143. First Norman Bishop imposed upon the see of S. Asaph.
- A.D. 1157. Henry II. "subjugavit sibi Gualenses" (*Ann. de Winton.*). Homage done (for the first time) by the Prince of Gwynedd (Owen) to the King of England (*Will. Neubrig. I. 97*; and see *M. Paris. 96 Wats*—"Apud Snaudnum multorum [Wallensium] cepit homagia, sc. nobiliorum").
- A.D. 1163 (July 1, Woodstock). Homage done both by Owen, and by Rhys of South Wales, to Henry II. (*R. de Diceto, 536*; *M. Paris. 100*).
- A.D. 1164-1169. North Welsh in successful revolt under Owen Gwynedd.
- A.D. 1165-1177. Unsuccessful attempts (by Archbishop Becket and his successor) to intrude a Norman Bishop upon Bangor (vacant 1161-1177) and to retain one at S. Asaph (deserted 1164-1175).
- A.D. 1177. Both South and North Welsh Princes, Rhys and David, do homage to Henry II., respectively at Gloucester and Oxford (*Bened. Abbas, I. 162*; *Hoveden*); and Rhys again in 1184 (*Bened. Abbas, I. 314*).—Norman Bishops again at both S. Asaph (1175) and Bangor (1177).
- A.D. 1187. Archbishop Baldwin visits part of Wales as Papal legate.
- A.D. 1188. And preaches the Crusade, also as legate, throughout the whole of Wales.]

A.D. 1107<sup>a</sup> (Aug. 11). *Urban (probably a Welshman, but not elected like his predecessor by the Welsh princes), consecrated at Canterbury to the see of Llandaff, professes canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury.*

LIB. LANDAV.—Cessavit Episcopatus [of Llandaff, after Herwald's death] quatuor annis cum quinque mensibus et VII. diebus. Et millesimo centesimo VII. Incarnationis Dominicæ anno, sub eisdem

[BISHOP OF LLANDAFF APPOINTED BY THE NORMAN KING.]

principibus [sc. Henry I.], ab eodem metropolitano [sc. Anselm], et trigesimo secundo ætatis suæ anno, tertio idus mensis Augusti, Urbanus Landauensis Ecclesiæ archidiaconus consecratus est in Episcopum, Cantuariæ; presentibus Episcopis Angliæ, Girardo Eboraci metropolitano, Mauritio Lunduniensi, Windulfo Rofensi, Radulfo Cices-trensi, Roberto Linconiensi, Roberto Cestrensi, Herberto Norui-censi, Radulfo Dunolmensi, Johanni Bathoniensi. [p. 268<sup>b</sup>.]

P. R. C. A.D. 1107. *Professio Urbani Clamorgatensis*. Ego Urbanus electus et a te consecrandus Clamorgatensis Ecclesiæ antistes, quæ in Walis sita est, canonicam obedientiam tibi promitto, et omnibus successoribus tuis tibi canonice succedentibus, o Anselme, Sanctæ Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo, et totius Britanniæ Primas. [*Reg. Prior. et Conuent. Cant. No. 1*; and *MSS. Cotton. Cleop. E. 1.*]

<sup>a</sup> In A.D. 1102, S. Magnus, son of Erlend Earl of the Orkneys, having been pressed by Magnus Barefoot first into an expedition against the Isles as far as Anglesey, and then into one against Ireland, escaped from the fleet, on the voyage, into Scotland to the King (*Heimskringla, Saga of Magnus Barefoot*, c. xxv. III. 226 Hafn. 1783, and *V. S. Magni*, c. viii. ap. *Pinkerton*, VV. 88. Scot. pp. 398, 399) Melkolfus (*V. S. Magni*), and remained in hiding, partly in Scotland, partly "apud Episcopum quemdam in Britannia" (ib.), until he became Earl of the Orkneys in 1103. Melkolfus must be meant for Malcolm Canmore, but Edgar was really King of Scotland in that year: see *Grub, Eccl. Hist. of Scotland*, I. 249. And "Britannia"

may mean Cumbria or Strathclyd.

<sup>b</sup> So also, but omitting Maurice of London and Gundulf of Rochester, *Eadm. H. N. IV.* Robert Chester = Robert Lichfield. And similarly *Contin. Flor. Wig.*, *Sim. Dun.* 230, *Gervas.* 1660, *Stubbs* 1711, *Hoveden* 1107. See also *Brut y Tywysog.* (a. 1104, p. 80 ed. Williams—"Worgan," i. e. Morgan), and *Brut Guent.* (a. 1104, p. 88 in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X.—"Gwrgan"). If "Bishop Gwrgan," whose son Nicolas was made Bishop of Llandaff in 1150 (*Brut y Tywysog.* in an. 1147, p. 176 ed. Williams), is identical with Urban, then Urban was married as well as his predecessor and successor. He was apparently a Welshman, but not elected to the see by the Welsh princes.

A.D. 1107 × 1112. *Dispute raised by Urban of Llandaff against Wilfrid of S. David's respecting the boundaries of their dioceses<sup>a</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> Mentioned in a Bull of Honorius II. of April 27, 1129 (*Lib. Landav.* 51, 52), which see

below in its place. The controversy was settled by a Welsh jury against Urban.

A.D. 1109. *Herveus the (non-Welsh) Bishop of Bangor driven from his see.*

I. RICARDUS MONACHUS, *Hist. Eliens.*—Mittitur a Rege [Henrico] ad Elyense cœnobium Hervæus Pangornensis Episcopus a suo Episcopatu per violentiam ejectus, ut ibi de rebus Ecclesiæ ad tempus sustentaretur donec Rex plenius deliberasset quid de eo esset factururus. Est autem Pangor monasterium in Walliis etc. ... Hic cum Episcopatu fungeretur Herveus, gentem efferam nimia austeritate tractabat; videns tantam in moribus eorum perversitatem, quam nemo facile

[NON-WELSH BISHOP DRIVEN FROM BANGOR.]

posset tolerare. Unde, quod Episcopali timori nullam servabant reverentiam, gladium bis acutum ad eos domandos exercuit, nunc crebro anathemate nunc propinquorum et aliorum hominum eos coercens multitudine. Nec minor fuit eorum contra eum rebellio. Tanto periculo ei insistebant, ut fratrem ejus perimerent, simili modo eum punituri si possent in eum manus injicere. Expavit Episcopus ingruens infortunium, plurimisque suorum interfectis aut graviter vulneratis, videns quod anima sua quæreretur, ut congruos haberet defensores, ad Regis Angliæ confugit patrocinium<sup>a</sup>, utile sibi consecutus exilium. [ap. *Wharton, A. S.*, I. 679. And see also *Sim. Dun. G. R.* 232, *R. de Diceto* 501, *Eadmer. Hist. Nov. IV.* with Selden's note, *Gul. Malm. G. P. A.*, IV. in fin., and *Wharton, A. S.*, I. 678.]

<sup>a</sup> Hervé "deseruerat Bancornensem locum, ubi intronizatus fuerat, pro penuria victualium," according to *Will. Malm., G. B. A.*, V. § 445; and "spe majorum divitiarum, causatus quod sibi et Walensibus non conveniret" (*Id.*, *G. P.*, IV. in fin.). He had sought, but failed, to be

translated to various sees, but especially to Lisieux A.D. 1107. As Bishop of Bangor he was at the Council of London Sept. 29, 1102, besides other places and times down to the consecration of Thomas Archbishop of York, June 27, 1109.

## II. Paschal II. to Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury.

Leaves Anselm to determine as he thinks fit about Hervé's translation.

A.D. 1102, Dec. 12, *Beneventum*.—PASCHAL. II. *ad Anselmum Arch. Cant.*—\* \* \* Gualensis Episcopi causam sacris omnino canonibus obviare non nescis. Cæterum quia inter barbaros barbarice et stolidè promotus est, in tuæ Fraternalitatis arbitrio ponimus; sic tamen ut de cætero in ea regione hujusmodi non præsumatur animadversio. \* \* \* Datæ Beneventi II. Id. Decembris. [ap. *Eadm. Hist. Nov. III.*, ed. *Gerberton.* p. 63, *Wilkins I.* 380, *Mansi XX.* 1060.]

## III. Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury to Henry I. King of England.

Refuses to assent to the proposed translation of Hervé to Lisieux.

A.D. 1106, Sept. 28 × 1107, Aug. 11<sup>a</sup>.—ANSELM. ARCH. CANT. *ad Henricum Anglorum Regem*.—Suo carissimo domino Henrico, Dei gratia Anglorum Regi et Duci Northmannorum, Anselmus Archiepiscopus fidele servitium cum orationibus. Mandavit mihi Dignatio vestra per electum Wintoniensem, ut sibi scriberem utrum dominus Hervæus Episcopus Bancorensis possit constitui Episcopus in Ecclesia<sup>b</sup> Luxoviensi. Hoc utique facile fieri non intelligo. Sicut enim nullus Episcopus sacrari debet alicui Ecclesiæ sine assensu et consilio Archiepiscopi et aliorum Episcoporum totius provinciæ, ita qui sacratus est Episcopus non potest constitui in alia provincia Episcopus canonice sine consilio et assensu Archiepiscopi et Episcoporum ejusdem provinciæ cum

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auctoritate Apostolica, nec sine absolutione Archiepiscopi et Episcoporum provinciæ in qua sacratus est. Quæ absolutio fieri nequit sine magna et communi consideratione et consilio eorum, sine quibus consecrari (ut dixi) non potuit: et quamvis Episcopatus ejus ita videatur destructus, ut in eo manere non possit. Omnipotens Deus dirigat vos in hac et in aliis actionibus vestris. Amen. [*S. Anselm. Epist. III. 126; Opp. p. 412.*]

<sup>a</sup> This letter must have been written after Sept. 28, 1106, the date of the battle of Tenchebrai, and before Aug. 11, 1107, the day of the consecration of the "elect" of Winchester (William de

Giffard), who brought the message to Anselm, to which the latter replies.

<sup>b</sup> For *Luzovienai* read *Lexovienai* (sc. Lisieux): v. Picard ad loc.

#### IV. *Paschal II. to Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Translate Hervé  
on the first opportunity.

A.D. 1108, Nov. 21 (*Beneventum*).—PASCHALIS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *Venerabili Patri Anselmo Cantuariensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Novit Fraternitas tua quod sicut ex Apostolica sententia omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus pro hominibus in his quæ ad Deum sunt constituitur. Frater vester iste Herveius, quem vita et scientia commendant, ob barbarorum immanitates quas in fratres ejus et alios Christianos exercuerunt, in Ecclesia, in qua constitutus est, Episcopale officium adimplere non potuit. Ne igitur officium sibi injunctum infructuosum remaneat, Dilectioni tuæ mandamus, rogantes ut ei attentius provideas, et si quæ vacans Ecclesia eum vocaverit, ex Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate in ea eum constituas, quatenus ibi Deo servire et Episcopale officium Domino largiente adimplere valeat: ne infructuosum silentio diu torpeat, qui vitæ cœlestis documenta in scientia et moribus portat. Interim autem in omnibus eum commendatum habeas, satis enim strenue et fideliter se apud nos in causis vestris studiosum exhibuit. Fraternitatem tuam incolumem per multa tempora virtus Divina custodiat. Dat. XI. cal. Decembris. [From *Hist. Eliens., lib. III. c. 4*; in *Browne Willis, Bangor, Append. pp. 184, 185.*]

#### V. *Paschal II. to Henry I. King of England.*

Translate Hervé  
to any vacant  
see.

A.D. 1108, Nov. 21, *Beneventum*.—PASCHAL. II. *ad Henricum Anglorum Regem*.—Paschalis Episcopus servus servorum Dei etc. \* \* \*. Novit præterea Gloria vestra

domnum Hervæum Episcopum, quem vita et scientia commendat non modica, nimia barbarorum ferocia et persecutione de sede sua expulsum, et multa fidelium fratrumque suorum cæde fuisse fugatum.

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Cujus ut scientia fructum qui non periit afferre, et vita bonum valeat Dei populo exemplum præbere; volumus et rogamus, si qua eum apud vos vacans Ecclesia vocaverit, ibi auctoritate Apostolica constituatur, ne infructuoso diu silentio torpeat qui vitæ cœlestis documenta in scientia et moribus portat . . . . Dat. XI. kal. Decembris<sup>a</sup>. [In *Selden ad Eadm. H. N. IV.* p. 210, from *Hist. Eliens.*]

<sup>a</sup> Dated 1108 by Jaffé; and certainly of same date with the preceding letter. See also *Wharton, A.S., I.* 679. Herveus was translated to the new see of Ely after June 27, 1109 (*Eadm. Hist. Nov. IV.*), Anselm having died

April 21 of that year; but the latter had consented to the new see although hardly to the new Bishop (*Eadm. Hist. Nov. IV.* pp. 95, 96, 104; *Anselm. Epist. III.* 182).

A.D. 1111. Ewenny Abbey founded by William de Londres (*Brut, Gwent.*; and *Dugd. Mon. IV.* 523); before 1112, Kidwelly by Roger Bishop of Salisbury (*Dugd. ib. IV.* 65, No. 1); and 1113, Goldclive by Robert de Candos (*Id. ib. VI.* 1021); preceded apparently by a few years by the (also Norman) foundations of Pembroke (or Monkton), S. Dogmael's, and Brecon, respectively by Arnulf of Montgomery, Martin of Tours, and Bernard of Neuf-Marché (*Id. ib. III.* 259, *IV.* 128, 320).

A.D. 1115, Sept. 19. Bernard<sup>a</sup> Bishop of S. David's (the first Norman prelate in Wales), appointed by Henry I. and consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, professes canonical obedience to that see.

I. EADM., *Hist. Nov. V.*—Clerici Meneuwensis Ecclesiæ, quæ sub patrocínio beati Andreæ et Sancti David in Walis fundata consistit, Episcopum sibi defuncto Episcopo suo Wilfrido a Rege Henrico postulavere: et electus est in hoc opus Bernardus quidam, capellanus reginæ, vir probus et multorum iudicio sacerdotio dignus. Electus est autem Sabbato jejunii septimi mensis [apparently Sept. 18], et eodem die ad presbyteratum a Wentano Episcopo Willhelmo apud Suthwercham consecratus. De promotione vero pontificatus, quam mox in crastino fieri et Rex et alii plures optabant, cum ubi aptius fieri posset disquireretur, intulit Robertus Comes de Mellento super-vacue de loco dubitari, dum constaret Episcopum tali eventu electum ex consuetudine in capella Regis debere sacrari, et hoc se probaturum si opus esset pronuntiat. Quod non æquum hominis dictum pater Radulfus parato animo ferre non valens, dixit eum hujusmodi allegatione leviter posse efficere, ut nec ibi nec alibi, nisi

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Cantuariæ, pro quavis causa pontifex idem sacraretur. Sciret tamen Comes ipse, quia, postquam de capella tantum Regis dixit, nulla ratione se illum inibi consecraturum. Ad quæ Rex, ad Comitem versus, Nihil est, inquit, quod intendis. Nec enim ego aut quilibet alter potest Episcopum Cantuariensem aliquo modo constringere ut Episcopos Britannię alibi consecret quam velit ipse. Quapropter viderit: suum est: consecret Episcopum suum ubi voluerit. Proposuit itaque illum in ecclesia hospitii sui apud Lambetam consecrare; verum quia ipsi officio regina interesse volebat, postulatus ab ea sacravit ipsum in ecclesia beati Petri Westmonasterii XIII. Kal. Octobris [Sept. 19], accepta ab eo solita professione de subjectione et obedientia Ecclesię Cantuariensi et Episcopis ejus exhibenda. Huic consecrationi interfuerunt et cooperatores extiterunt suffraganei Ecclesię Cantuariensis, Episcopi videlicet hii, Willielmus Wintoniensis, Robertus Lincolniensis, Rogerius Serberiensis [Salisbury], Johannes Bathoniensis, Vrbanus Glamorgacensis, Gilebertus Lumniensis [Limerick] de Hibernia. [pp. 116, 117. So also *Flor. Wig.* a. 1115, and *Gervas.* 1660.]

II. P. R. C. A.D. 1115.—*Professio Bernardi Walensis Episcopi.* Ego Bernardus Ecclesię Sancti Andreę et Sancti David, quę in Guualis est, electus, et a te, Reverende Pater Radulfe, sancte Cantuariensis Ecclesie Archiepiscopo et totius Britannię primas, antistes consecrandus, tibi et omnibus successoribus tuis tibi canonicè succedentibus debitam et canonicam obedientiam et subjectionem me exhibiturum fore profiteor. [*Reg. Prior. et Convent. Cant.* 1; and *MSS. Cotton. Cleop. E.* 1.]

III. BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwent.*, A.D. 1112.—Yr un flwyddyn y bu farw Griffri Escob Dewi; ac y gwnaeth y Brenin wr a elwid Berned Norman yn Escob yn ei le heb na chennad na chyfarch ysgolheigion y Cymry; ac yna colles Escob Dewi ei fraint ac ai dug Escob Caint. [p. 96. in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X.—See also the *Brut*, ed. Williams, in a. 1112, p. 118.]

The same year Grifri, Bishop of S. David's, died, and the King made a person called Bernard, a Norman, Bishop in his room, without the leave of or asking the Welsh scholars; by which the Bishop of S. David's lost his privilege, which was taken by the Bishop of Canterbury. [*ib.* p. 97.]

[CHAPTER ORGANIZED AT S. DAVID'S.]

\* "Primus Francorum," according to *Gir. Camb. (Itin. Camb. II. 1, p. 856)*, and "primus ad hanc sedem Regia potestate translatus" (*Id. De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl. Dist. II. Opp. III. 152*), and "reclamantibus clero Ecclesie et populo nec non et ipso quoad licuit electo" (*Id. De Invest. II. 1, Opp. III. 49*). "Usque ad illum (Wilfridum) Episcopi extiterunt Brittonici" (*Sin. Dun., Teyed. 236*; and *Flor. Wig. in an. 1115*). See also the *Annal. Menev. ap. Wharton, A.S. II. 649*. The "Welsh scholars"

are said (*Jones and Freeman, St. David's*) to have elected Daniel brother of Bishop Rhyddmarch, and son of Bishop Salien, to succeed Wilfrid (who died apparently in 1112, *Brut y Tywysog. in an.*), the same who appears in the *Brut y Tywysog. A.D. 1124 (1130 Brut Gwen.)* as "arbitrator between Gwynedd and Powys," and as "Archdiacon Powys" = "Archdeacon of Powys" (pp. 152, 154, ed. Williams), and who died that year; but according to the *Ann. Menev. ap. Wharton*, and the *Ann. Camb., A.D. 1127*.

A.D. 1114 × 1123<sup>4</sup>. *Wales and Ireland claimed as within the Province of Canterbury.*

GUL. MALM., *G. R. A., III.*—Eboracensis Archiepiscopus habebat omnes trans Humbram Episcopus suæ ditioni subjectos, . . . et omnes Episcopus Scotiæ et Orcadum; sicut Cantuariensis habet Episcopus Hiberniæ et Walarum. [Also in *App. ad Flor. Wig. Chron.*]

\* The date conjecturally assigned to this work of Will. Malm.: see Hardy's Preface to his Works. But the assertion was hardly more true of Wales than of Scotland. Urban of Llandaff 1107, and Bernard of S. David's 1115, appear continually as suffragans of Canterbury both at consecrations and at councils (see e. g. *Eadmer passim*), being the first Bishops of Welsh sees who

did so, and the first also whose Professions appear on the Profession Rolls of Canterbury. But the attempt to impose Bishop Hervey upon Bangor had failed; the see of S. Asaph was vacant, and had never been occupied by a Norman nominee; and Bernard himself after some years strove to throw off subjection.

A.D. 1115 × 1148. *Bishop Bernard establishes a body of Canons (but without a Dean) at S. David's<sup>5</sup>.*

GIR. CAMB., *De Jure et Statu Eccl. Menev., Dist. II.*—Menevensem enim Ecclesiam rudem hic (Bernardus) prorsus et inordinatam invenit. Clerici namque loci illius, qui *Glaswyr* [= *Eglwyswyr*], id est, Viri Ecclesiastici, vocabantur, barbaris ritibus absque ordine et regula Ecclesiæ bonis enormiter incumbabant. Canonicos hic igitur primus instituit, et canonicas quanquam miseras nimis et minutas, utpote plus <sup>b</sup>militaris in multis quam clericalis existens, ordinavit. [*Opp. III. 153, 154.*]

\* See above, p. 295, note <sup>b</sup>.—"Mox Papa quesivit, utrum Decanum haberet Menevensis Ecclesia. Et cum responderet Giraldus quod personas non habebat Ecclesia illa præter Archidiaconos quatuor" etc. (*Gir. Camb., De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl., Dist. II. Opp. III. 184*,

writing of A.D. 1200.)

<sup>b</sup> The same Bishop, while "militaribus officiis," instituted by him, "X. terre carucatas, XX. vel XXX., largiretur," endowed his canonicus with one, two, or three, except one (given to his nephew) to which he gave XX. (*Gir. Camb., ib.*)

A.D. 1119. October. *First Appeal of Urban of Llandaff to the Pope against the Bishops of S. David's and Hereford* <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See above, pp. 284, 303.

I. A.D. 1119. Oct. *Requisitio Urbani Landauensis Ecclesiæ Episcopi versus Calixtum Papam apud Remis.*

Appeals to the Pope to help the impoverished see of Llandaff against the Bishops of Hereford and S. David's. *Venerabili Calixto Apostolico, et totius Christianitatis summo patrone, URBANUS LANDAUVENSIS ECCLESIAE EPISCOPUS, fidele seruitium et orationes debitas. Ecclesia Dei, nostraque sub Deo et uobis, uestræ misericordiæ et pietati hanc dirigit epistolam; et suppliciter rogat, ut pro summo Rege Christo eam precipiatis diligenter uobis recitari et a uobis misericorditer exaudiri. A tempore antiquorum patrum, dilectissime pater et domine, sicut cyrografum sancti patroni nostri Teliaui testatur, hæc Ecclesia predicta, prius fundata in honore Sancti Petri Apostoli, aliarum omnium Ecclesiarum Gualix semper magistra extitit in dignitate et in omni priuilegio, donec tandem per seditiones et tot bellorum flagitia, et inueterato antecessore meo Herwoldo, et inde debilitato, Ecclesia cepit debilitari, et fere uiduata pastore, et annihilata indigenarum crudelitate, et inuasionem superuenientis gentis Normannicæ. Semper tamen religiosi uiri ad seruiendum in ea heserunt, tum propter Anglorum uiciniam (a quibus in ecclesiastico quidem ministerio nichil discrepabant, quia apud eosdem fuerant tam nutriti quam eruditi;) tum etiam quod ab antiquis temporibus, id est, a tempore Eleutherii Papæ sedis Romanæ, Episcopus illius loci, et post aduentum Augustini in Britanniam insulam Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Metropolitanæ, eiusdem Archiepiscopo, simul et Regi Anglorum, semper fuerat subditus et per omnia obediens. Nouissime autem, Willelmo Rufo Rege regnante, maxima cleri parte iam deleta, XXIII. tamen canonicis Ecclesia fuerat munita, quorum in presenti nulli præter duos in ea remanent; et in dominio Ecclesiæ quattuor carrucæ, et quattuor libræ. Nec tantum in territoriis ablatis nunc Ecclesia desolata et dispoliata, uerum etiam in decimis ablatis sibi, et omnibus clericis totius Episcopatus, tam laicali potestate quam monachorum inuasionem, quam etiam fratrum nostrorum Episcoporum, Herfordiæ uidelicet et Sancti Deui, territorii simul et parrochiæ grandi inuasionem. Nunc precor uos ut patrem, uelut inermis armatum, et debilis fortem, quatinus Ecclesiæ nostræ uobis commissæ*



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succurratis; ut Qui uos fecit, Ipse uos manuteneat, et post laboris terminum perducatur uos ad perhenne solacium. Amen. [*Lib. Llandav.* 83-85.]

\* Miswritten "uicinia," in original MS.

II. A.D. 1119. Oct. 16. *Soissons. Privilegium of Calixtus II. to Bishop Urban.*

Decrees secure possession of his diocese, and in particular of certain churches in it, to the Bishop of Llandaff.

CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Urbano, Llandauensis Ecclesie Episcopo*, eiusque successoribus canonice substituendis in perpetuo. Piae postulatio uoluntatis effectum debet prosequente compleri, quatenus et deuotionis sinceritas laudabiliter enitescat, et utilitas postulata uires indubitanter assumat. Quia igitur Dilectio tua, ad sedis Apostolicæ portum confugiens, eius tuitionem deuotione debita requisit; nos supplicationi tuæ clementer annuimus, et beati Petri, sanctorumque confessorum Dubricii, Teliaui, Oudocei, Llandauensem Ecclesiam, cui (Deo auctore) presides, in Apostolicæ sedis tutelam excipimus. Per presentis igitur priuilegii paginam Apostolica auctoritate statuimus, ut Ecclesia uestra cum sua dignitate ab omni secularis seruitiū grauamine libera maneat et quæta. Quæcunque uero concessione pontificum, liberalitate principum, oblatione fidelium, uel aliis iustis modis, ad eandem noscuntur Ecclesiam pertinere, ei firma in posterum et integra conseruentur. In quibus hæc propriis duximus nominibus annotanda\*: Llandauiam scilicet, cum territorio suo, ecclesiam Elidon, ecclesiam Sancti Ylarii, Sancti Nisien, Sancti Teliaui de Merthir myuor, Sancti Teliaui de Lannmergualt, Lann Ildut, Lann Petyr, Cula-Lann, Lann Cyngualan, Lann Teiliau Portulon, Lanteiliau Talypont, Lann Gemei, Lann Dodei, Cilcyuhinn, Cruchguernen, villam Lann Catgualatyr cum ecclesia Sancti Cyuiu, villam Sancti Tyuau cum ecclesia, villam Henriu cum ecclesia, villam Merthir Teudiric cum ecclesiis, villam Sancti Oudocei cum ecclesia, villam Sancti Nuuien cum ecclesia, villam Tynysan cum ecclesia, villam Lann Cum cum ecclesiis, villam Lann Guern Cynuc cum ecclesia, villam Merthir Dincat cum ecclesia, Lanngarth, Sancti Teliaui de Porth Halauc, Sancti Teliaui de Cressinic, ecclesiam Sancti Cletauci, ecclesiam Sancti Sulbui, villam Penuei cum ecclesia, Lan Helicon, Lann Mihacgel maur, villam Cairduicil cum ecclesia, ecclesiam Sancti Catoci, Lann Coit, Talpont-Escop, Lannguonhoill, Ruibreinn, Caircastell, Penniprisc, Tref-Meibion-Ourdeuein, TrefmaIn, Tref-Meibion-Guichtrit, Tref Rita, Lanndinuul cum

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ecclesia, et cum decimis, oblationibus, sepulturis, territoriiis, refugiis, et libera communione earum. Quæcunque præterea in futurum (largiente Deo) iuste atque canonice poterit adipisci, quietæ ei semper et illibata permaneant. Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum liceat predictam Ecclesiam temere perturbare, aut eius possessiones auferre, vel ablatas retinere, minuere, uel temerariis uexationibus fatigare; sed omnia ei, cum parrochiæ finibus, integra conseruentur tam tuis quam clericorum et pauperum usibus profutura. Siqua igitur infuturum ecclesiastica secularisve persona, hanc nostræ constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temere uenire temptauerit, secundo tertioque commonita, si non satisfactione congrua emendauerit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se Diuino iudicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, et a sacratissimo Corpore ac Sanguine Dei et Domini Redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districtæ ultioni subiaceat. Cunctis autem eidem Ecclesiæ justa seruantibus sit pax Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quatenus et hic fructum bonæ actionis percipiant, et apud dictum Iudicem premia æternæ pacis inueniant. Amen.

Ego Calixtus Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus<sup>b</sup>. Datum Suessionis per manum Grisogoni, sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Diaconi Cardinalis ac Bibliothecarij, XVII. cal. Nouembris, indictione XIII., Incarnationis Dominicæ anno millesimo centesimo XVIII<sup>o</sup>, pontificatus autem domini Calixti Secundi Papæ anno <sup>e</sup>primo. [*Lib. Landav.* 85-88.]

<sup>a</sup> The churches named extend from Llanillo (S. Sulbi = apparently S. Tysilio) and Clodock (S. Clitawg's) in Ewias, to Llanferwallt and other places in Gower. But no reason appears why they and none others are named, unless it be that they constituted the possessions of the see. There are separate records at various dates of the grant of most of them. They do not either cover the entire diocese, or mark its boundaries.

The list will be found further on twice repeated with both variations and additions.

<sup>b</sup> In the MS. both this signature, and the seal (here omitted), are in facsimile.

<sup>c</sup> Miswritten "prioris," in original MS.—It looks as if Urban had anticipated Bernard by going to the Pope at Soissons Oct. 16, both himself and Bernard being summoned to the Council at Rheims Oct. 20.

### III. A.D. 1119. Oct. 16. *Soissons. Calixtus II. to Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Charges him to protect the Bishop of Llandaff against the other two Bishops. CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS, SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *uenerabili fratri Radulfo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo*, salutem et Apostolicam ben[e]uolentiam]. Sicut fratrum, quinam plenius id nouerunt, suggestione cognouimus, Landauensis Ecclesia ita bonis suis et per Episcopos et per laicos expoliata est, ut redacta pene in nichilum videatur. Rogamus itaque sollicitudinem

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tuam, et precipimus, ut ei super iis qui bona eius detinent iustitiam facias, et precipue super Episcopo Sancti Deui, et super Episcopo Herfordiæ, qui injuste terras et parochias eiusdem dicuntur Ecclesiæ obtinere. Dat. Suessionis, XVII. kal. Nov. [*Lib. Landav.* 88.]

IV. A.D. 1119. Oct. 16. *Soissons. Calixtus II. to Clergy and Nobles of Llandaff diocese.*

CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS, SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis, monachis, capellanis, canonicis, Waltero Filio-Ricardi, Brian* Charges them to restore its lands, &c. to the see of Llandaff. *Filio-Comitis, Willemo Filio-Badrin, Roberto de Candor,*

*Gefrido de Broi, Pagano Filio-Johannis, Bernardo de Novo Mercato, Guinbaldo de Badalon, Rogerio de Berkele, Guillelmo vice-comiti de Cairti, Guillelmo filio Rogerii de Renni, Roberto Filio-Rogerii, Roberto cum tortis manibus, et ceteris per Landauensem Episcopatum nobilibus,* salutem et Apostolicam beniuolentiam. Matris uestre Landauensis Ecclesiæ ad nos querela pervenit, pro eo quod per vos bonis suis expoliata et fere in nichilum redacta sit. Unde nos, affectione debita condolentes, presentes ad uos litteras destinamus; monentes ac precipientes, ut terras, decimas, oblationes, sepulturas, et bona cetera, quæ aut eidem Ecclesiæ aut aliis de ipsius parochia ecclesiis nequiter abstulistis et detinetis, seposita dilatione, reddatis. Iniquum est enim ut filii matrem lacerent et illius bona diripiant, quam omnino tueri et de suis debuerant facultatibus adiuuare. Sane si nostris monitis obedire et predictam matrem uestram curaveritis adiuuare, omnipotentis Dei et beati Petri et nostram poteritis gratiam optinere. Alioquin nos (prestante Deo) in uos, tanquam in contemptores et sacrilegii reos, sententiam quam uenerabilis frater noster Vrbanus, Episcopus uester, canonica æquitate protulerit, confirmamus. Dat. Suessionis, XVII. kal. Nouëb. [*Lib. Landav.* 89.]

\* Some of these names of Norman lords in Glamorgan can be identified: e.g. Walter Fitz-Richard, Brian Fitz-Count, William Fitz-Baderon, Robert de Chandos, Payne Fitz-John, Bernard of Neuf-Marché, Wynebald de Baalun. Badalon is

misprinted "Ludalon" in Rees, and Roger de Berkely (Berkrolles) is "Roger Berklos" in the *Gwentian Brut*. One "Will. de Reigui" witnesses a deed of A.D. 1220 (*François, Charters of Neath*).

V. A.D. 1119. Oct. 16. *Soissons. Calixtus II. to Clergy and Laity of Llandaff diocese.*

CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS, SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis, clericis, monachis, et laicis, in Landauensis Ecclesia* Charges them to assist the see of Llandaff. *parochia constitutis,* salutem et Apostolicam beniuolentiam. Venientem ad nos uenerabilem fratrem nostrum Vrbanum,

[APPEAL OF BISHOP OF LLANDAFF TO THE POPE.]

Episcopum uestrum, benigne suscepimus; et oppressionem uestræ Ecclesiæ audientes, debita ei affectione compassi sumus; siquidem insinuauit nobis matrem uestram Landauensem Ecclesiam usque adeo monachorum quorundam, clericorum, necnon et laicorum inuasionibus et rapinis attritam, ut in ea Episcopus manere vix possit. Quod profecto et nobis graue est, et ad uestrarum spectat periculum animarum. Vestram itaque uniuersitatem litteris presentibus uisitantes, monemus atque precipimus, ut eundem fratrem nostrum affectione debita diligatis, et debitam ei (tanquam patri et pastori uestro) reuerentiam et obedientiam impendatis. Porro commissam sibi Ecclesiam, matrem uestram, sicut boni filii adiuuare, et ablatas ei possessiones et bona recuperare, secundum datam uobis a Domino facultatem uiriliter studeatis; aliis quoque ecclesiis Landauensis parochiæ debita persoluentes, reuelationis et restorationis eis manum apponere procuretis. Per hoc enim, et omnipotentis Dei benedictionem et gratiam, et remissionem uestrorum consequimini peccatorum. Dat. Suessionis, XVII. kal. Nov. [*Lib. Landav.* 89, 90.]

VI. A.D. 1119. Oct. 20-30. *Urban present at the Council of Rheims*.\*

16th Council of Rheims, about  
investitures, &c. Millesimo centesimo nono decimo anno Incarnationis Domini, Concilium Remense a Calixto Papa, et presente Lodguino Franciæ Rege, cum presentibus centum baculis quinquies, tam Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum quam etiam Abbatum, cum innumerabili copia clericorum et laicorum, inceptum est XIII. cal. mensis Nouembris; finitum uero IIII. cal. eiusdem Nouembris; cui interfuit Urbanus, Landauensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus, et renouato priuilegio Ecclesiæ ipsius cum omni dignitate sua, datum sibi fuit priuilegium illud sigillatum, cum litteris aliis saluatoriis Archiepiscopo, Regi, et populo. [*Lib. Landav.* 85.]

\* "Directi sunt ab Henrico Rege Anglorum ad ipsum concilium (Remense) . . . Episcopi Angliæ qui tunc temporis in Northmannia cum illo degebant, Willhelmus uidelicet Exoniensis,

Ranulfus Dunelmensis, Bernardus Menevensis, et Urbanus Glamorganensis" (*Eadmer, Hist. Nov. V.*).

VII. A.D. 1119. Oct. 22. *Rheims. Calixtus II. to Henry King of England.*

Requests his protection for the Bishop and see of Llandaff. CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS, SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, karissimo in Christo filio Henrico illustri et glorioso Anglorum Regi, salutem et Apostolicam beniuolentiam. Venientem ad nos uenerabilem fratrem nostrum Vrbanum,

[WELSH BISHOP OF BANGOR CONSECRATED AT CANTERBURY.]

Landauensem Episcopum, uirum (uti accepimus) honestum ac religiosum, benigne suscepimus, et Landauensis Ecclesiæ tribulationibus affectione debita compassi sumus; eum itaque ad te cum litteris presentibus dirigentes, nobilitatem tuam rogamus, et obsecramus in Domino, ut eum pro beati Petri reuerentia, et honore et amore nostro, sicut regiam maiestatem concedet honorare, et ei commissam Ecclesiam (secundum datam sibi a Domino facultatem) defendere studeas adiuuare; quatenus a Deo et a beato Petro retributionem, et de peccatis tuis remissionem et indulgentiam consequaris. Datum Remis, XI. kal. Nouembris. [*Lib. Landav.* 88.]

A.D. 1120. April 4. *David, a Welshman from the Scotch Abbey of Wurzburg, elected by the Prince of Gwynedd, but consecrated at Westminster to the see of Bangor, professes canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury.*

CONTIN. FLOR. WIG. a. 1120.—Radulfus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, II. nonas Januarii [Jan. 4], feria prima, Angliam revertitur; et II. nonas Aprilis, Dominica die, apud Westmonasterium consecrauit in pontificatum Bangornensis Ecclesiæ quendam clericum venerandum, David nomine, electum a principe Griffino, clero et populo Waliæ; cujus consecrationi interfuere Ricardus Episcopus Lundeniensis, Rotbertus Lincolnensis, Rogerus Særesbyriensis, Urbanus Glamorgatensis. [II. 74.]

ANN. ECCL. WIGORN. a. 1120.—Radulfus Cant. Archiepiscopus clericum quendam David nomine Walensem natione apud Westmonasterium consecrauit ad Episcopatum Bangorensis Ecclesiæ. [ap. *Wharton, A. S.*, I. 475.]

P. R. C. A.D. 1120.—*Professio David Pangorensis Episcopi.* Ego David, electus Dei gratia Pangornensis Episcopus, promitto canonicam subiectionem et obedientiam sanctæ Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ et tibi, Pater Radulfe, et omnibus successoribus canonicè introductis. [Reg. Prior. et Convent. Cant. 1; and MSS. Cotton. Cleop. E. 1.]

\* "Iter illud ad Romam" (the Emperor Henry V.'s expedition into Italy 1110, when Paschal II. compromised the question of investitures with him) . . . "David Scottus"—["Irensis quidam scholasticus," according to *Orderic. Vi-*

*tal.* X. 1, vol. IV. p. 7.]—"Bangornensis Episcopus exposuit, magis in Regis gratiam quam historicum decreti aedinis" (*Gul. Malm. G. R. A.*, V.).

A.D. 1120. Before April 14<sup>a</sup>. *Restoration of Llandaff Cathedral commenced by Bishop Urban.*

(*Indulgence granted by Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

Indulgence to those who contribute to the restoration of Llandaff Cathedral. RADULPHUS, DEI GRATIA CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS, *omnibus Ecclesiæ filiis, Francis et Anglis atque Gualensibus, et cuiuscunque sint nationis hominibus*, salutem et benedictionem Dei et suam. Rogamus karitatem uestram, ut oculis misericordiæ respicere velitis indigentiam Landauensis Ecclesiæ; confisi etenim de ueststrarum elemosinarum auxilio eandem ecclesiam edificare disposuimus, ut ibidem populus Dei conuenire possit ad audiendum verbum Domini. Quicumque igitur ad edificationem predictæ ecclesiæ aliquid de suo impertiri pro karitate Dei uoluerit, sciat se nostrarum orationum atque beneficiorum esse participem; sed et de onere penitentiæ suæ, quod sibi a suis confessoribus impositum est, quartam partem ei, de misericordia Dei et potestate nostri ministerii confisi, relaxamus. [*Lib. Landav.* 83.]

\* The letter had been received and the work was begun on that day. And the relics of Dubricius and of Elgar (*Lib. Landav.* 7) were removed from Bardsey, "verbo et assensu Radulfi .... et

assensu David Banoorensis Ecclesiæ pontificis, et in presentia simul et Grifidi Regis Guenedociæ et totius cleri et populi;" &c., May 7, and deposited at Llandaff May 23 (*Lib. Landav.* 81).

A.D. 1123. May 25. *Rome. Privilegium granted by Pope Calixtus II. to Bernard Bishop of S. David's on behalf of his See\*.*

Decreases secure possession of his diocese and its property to Bishop Bernard of S. David's and his successors. CALIXTUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI <sup>b</sup>*venerando Bernardo Episcopo de Sancti David* suisque successoribus substituendis in perpetuum. Justis votis assensum præbere justisque petitionibus aures accommodare nos conuenit, qui licet indigni iustitiæ custodes atque præcones in excelsa Apostolorum Principum Petri et Pauli spicula positi Domino disponente conspiciamur. Tuis igitur, frater in Christo reverendissime Barnarde, justis petitionibus annuentes, Sancti Andreæ Apostoli et Sancti David Ecclesiam cui auctore Deo præsides sedis Apostolicæ auctoritate munimus. Statuimus enim universa, quæ regni nostri Henrici gloriosi Regis donatione sive aliorum fidelium largitione aut alia conquisitione ad eandem Ecclesiam juste pertinent, libera semper et illibata seruentur; si qua vero ipsius Ecclesiæ bona vel ipsorum incuria vel quacumque violentia hostilitate

[PROPOSED TRANSFER OF TWO WELSH SEES TO YORK.]

ac vastitate ubilibet amissa noscuntur, omnino restituenda sancimus; ad hæc adjicientes decernimus, ut quæcunque imposterum liberalitate regum vel principum vel oblatione fidelium vestræ Ecclesiæ juste atque canonice poterit adipisci, firma tibi tuisque successoribus et illibata permaneant; rectores sane vel ministri ejusdem Ecclesiæ personas terras et omnimodas possessiones et quælibet jura sua inconcussa libertate possideant, sicut unquam melius quorumlibet regum tempore possederunt, et sicut in sigillatis scriptis regiis continetur. Si quis autem decreto hujus nostri tenore cognito temere contraire temptaverit, nisi secundo tertiove commonitus Deo et ejusdem Ecclesiæ vestræ Episcopo satisfecerit, sciat se omnipotentis Dei et beati Petri Apostolorum principis indignatione plectendum et mucrone Sancti Spiritus feriendum.

Ego Calixtus Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus. Dat. Laterani per manum Aimerici sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Diaconi Cardinalis et Cancellarii, 8 kalend. Jun., indictione prima, Incarnationis Dominicæ 2<sup>o</sup>. M<sup>mo</sup>. C<sup>mo</sup>. XX<sup>mo</sup>. III<sup>tio</sup>., pontificatus autem domini Calixti Secundi Papæ anno quinto. [*MSS. Harl.* 1249, pp. 128, 129.]

\* Godwin is the earliest traceable authority for the formal canonization of S. David, probably at this same time; and if by Calixtus II. (as Godwin says), then certainly 1119 × 1124. But it is strange, if he was really canonized in form, that no Bull, and not even an allusion to the subject, should occur in the S. David's Statutes, whence the document in the text is taken. Com-

pare the Llandaff contemporary proceeding respecting Dubricius. The Normanized Bishops, of both sees, added a new dedication, severally of S. Andrew and of S. Peter, to the native Saints S. David and S. Teilo, at this very period. So also S. Mary and S. Daniel at Bangor.

b 'Venerabili' in margin.

A.D. 1125. *Proposed transfer of S. Asaph and Bangor, with Chester, to the Province of York from that of Canterbury.*

SRUBBS, *Act. Pontif. Ebor.*—[It was proposed among other things by the King and others, in the first year of Pope Honorius, that in order to end the strife between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York,] Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus de provincia sua magna Eboracensi Archiepiscopo tres Episcopatus concederet, Cestrensem, Bangorensem, et tertium inter hos duos medium sed pro vastitate et barbarie Episcopo vacantem<sup>a</sup>. [*Twysd.* 1718.]

\* There had been a Bishop of Llanelwy in 928 (*Howel Dda's Laws*), and another, called "Melanus," said to have been consecrated by a Bishop of S. David's who died A.D. 1071 (see above, p. 144). William of Brabant, murdered in Cardigan by Owen son of Cadwgan in 1107 (*Brut*, p. 102, ed. Williams), and called a "Bishop" by one MS. of that Chronicle, was of none

of the other Welsh sees, but being a Fleming from Rhos, could hardly have been of S. Asaph. Hen. Hunt., writing about A.D. 1135, omits the see in his list of Welsh Bishoprics; of which indeed he says, in general, that the Bishops of S. David's, Bangor, and Glamorgan, which he names, are "nullarum urbium Episcopi propter desolationem Walliæ" (*M. H. B.* 693).

A.D. 1125 x 1130. *Chapter of S. David's said to have claimed Metropolitan Authority for that See<sup>a</sup>.*

HONORIO PAPÆ CAPITULUM SANCTI DAVID.—Suo summo Dei gratia pastori et universali Papæ Honorio, Conventus Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ Sanctique David, et ejusdem Ecclesiæ tota Synodus, cum debita veneratione fidelissimam in Christo obedientiam. Auctoritatis vestræ excellentiæ...[Ut in præfatis jam epistolis factum, narratur historia Archiepiscopatus Menevensis, quando et a quibus institutus; quomodo a Sampsonе Archiepiscopo Dolensiam fuerit ablata, nec ex tunc reddita dignitas metropolitana: unde flagitant canonici ejusdem Ecclesiæ ut ea pristinæ dignitati suæ restitueretur. —[*Gir. Camb., De Invect. II. 10; Opp. III. 59, 60.*]

\* Bishop Bernard himself held his peace it seems until the death of his patron Henry I. in 1135 (*Gir. Camb.*, lib. i. p. 49). And the above letter of his Chapter was only routed out of the S. David's archives, "fere deperditas et oblivioni datæ" (*Id. De J. et S. Men. Ecol. Dist. III., Opp. III. 187, 188*), by Giraldus himself about A.D. 1200. If genuine, it relieves Giraldus' memory from the imputation of having invented the fictions about Archbishop Samson and Dol, &c., which he drove so hard some seventy years later. Giraldus likewise asserts, that Bishop Wilfrid (who died 1112) not only "consecrabat alios Episcopos Walliæ, et consecratus fuit ab ipsis;" but also "convocabat synodos

Episcoporum, appellabatur ad ipsum, et crucem sibi præferebat" (*De Invect. II. 1, Opp. III. 49*); but in his *Retractions* (*Opp. I. 426*) he also expressly admits that all his statements about anything prior to the death of Wilfrid and accession of Bernard depend upon "fama publicam et opinionem magis quam historiæ cujuscumque certitudinem." And the national feeling against Canterbury is confounded throughout by Giraldus with the supremacy of S. David's over Wales itself. The Latin additions to Howel Dda's Laws on the subject of S. David's metropolitanship (above, p. 282), belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

A.D. 1125. *Urban of Llandaff summoned to a Council at London<sup>a</sup>.*

Welsh Bishop summoned to a synod of the English Church, to be held by the Papal Legate with consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

LIB. LANDAV.—*Summonitio Willelmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi.* — Willelmus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus Urbano Landauensi Episcopo salutem. Litteris istis tibi notum facere volumus, quod Johannes, Ecclesiæ Romanæ Presbyter Cardinalis atque Legatus, legis ordinatione<sup>b</sup> nostraque conuiuentia concilium celebrare disposuit Londoniæ in Natiuitate beatæ semper Uirginis Mariæ [Sept. 8]. Propterea precipimus, ut in prefato termino in eodem loco nobis occurras cum archidiaconibus et abbatibus et prioribus tuæ dyocesis, ad definiendum super negotiis ecclesiasticis, et ad informandum seu corrigendum quæ informanda vel docenda seu corrigenda docuerit sententia conuocationis nostræ. [p. 47; and in *Wilkins, I. 408.*]



[ADJUSTMENT OF RIGHTS BETWEEN THE BISHOP, AND THE LORD, OF GLAMORGAN.]

\* John of Crema was appointed Papal Legate to England April 13, 1125 (*Bull. Honor. II. ap. Sim. Dun. in Twysd. 252, Wilkins I. 406*), having been previously detained in Normandy "a long while" waiting for the King's permission to enter England (*Sim. Dun.*); he was in England by April 12 (*Contin. Flor. Wig. II. 79*), went to hold a Scottish Council at Roxburgh first

(*Sim. Dun.*, and see *Wilkins I. 409*), and held the London Council to which the above summons refers, upon Sept. 9, 1125 (see *Contin. Flor. Wig. II. 80*, which corrects the confusion of dates in *Sim. Dun.*).

<sup>b</sup> "sua" is (wrongly) inserted here by *Rees*.  
*Wilkins* (also wrongly) omits "legis."

A.D. 1125. *Brief of John of Crema, Cardinal of S. Chrysogonus, on behalf of the restoration of Llandaff Cathedral.*

LIB. LANDAV.—*Exhortatio Iohannis Presbiteri Cardinalis et Legati Romanæ Ecclesiæ, simul et Perdonatio ab eo data omnibus auxiliator[ib]us Landauensem Ecclesiam.*—Frater Johannes sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbiter Cardinalis et Legatus, fidelibus omnibus per Angliam et Walian constitutis, salutem et benedictionem. Ad Landauensem Ecclesiam ex debito nostræ legationis accedentes, et paupertate oppressam et bonis suis ac possessionibus expoliatam inuenimus. Veruntamen uenerabilis frater noster Urbanus, eiusdem loci Episcopus, ecclesiam ipsam reedificare a fundamentis incepit: quod sine elemosinarum uestrarum auxiliis non poterit consummare. Rogamus itaque uniuersitatem uestram, et remissionem uobis iniungimus peccatorum, ut locum ipsum beneficiis uestris et elemosinis iuuare et sustentare uelit. Nos quoque in beneficium uos, et orationes matris nostræ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, suscipimus; indulgentiam, [quam] Cantuarienses Archiepiscopi fecerunt, Apostolica auctoritate firmantes. Preterea de habundantiâ sedis Apostolicæ XIV<sup>cim</sup>. uobis dies de uestra remittimus penitentia. Obedientes uos monitis nostris, gratia Diuina custodiat. [pp. 46, 47.]

A.D. 1126. *At Woodstock. Agreement between Robert Earl of Gloucester and Urban Bishop of Llandaff respecting the lands and privileges of the See of Llandaff* \*.

LIB. LANDAV.—Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup>VI<sup>o</sup> fuit hæc Concordia facta inter Urbanum Episcopum Landauensem, et Robertum Consulem Gloucestrie, de omnibus calumniis quas idem Episcopus habebat aduersus predictum Consulem et suos homines in Walis, et de illis terris quas ab Episcopo se non cognoscebant tenere. Idem Consul concessit Episcopo unum molen-

Agreement touching rights of property and jurisdiction between the Lord of Glamorgan and the Bishop of Llandaff.

[ADJUSTMENT OF RIGHTS BETWEEN THE BISHOP, AND THE LORD, OF GLAMORGAN.]

dinum quod Willelmus de Kardi fecit, et terram eidem molendino pertinentem; et unam piscariam in Eley per transuersum ipsius fluminis; et C. acras terre in maresco de inter Taf et Eley ad arandum, ultra ad pratum, et ita quod caput earundem C. acrarum incipiat iuxta dominicam terram ipsius Episcopi, et continuatim in longum extendantur; et communem pasturam cum hominibus Consulis; et in nemoribus Consulis, excepto <sup>b</sup>Kybor, materiem ad opus ecclesiæ de Landauo, et ipsius Episcopi, et clericorum suorum, et omnium hominum de feudo Ecclesiæ, et passionem, et pasturam, Walenses Episcopi cum Walensibus Consulis, et Normanni et Anglici Episcopi cum Normannis et Anglicis Consulis, extra <sup>b</sup>Kybor; et capellam de <sup>b</sup>Stuntaf, et decimam ipsius uillæ, et terram quam Comes eidem capellæ donat, unde sacerdos cum decima possit vivere; ita quod parochiani ad Natale Christi et Pasca et Pentecosten uisitent matrem ecclesiam de Landauo, et de eadem uilla corpora defunctorum ferentur humanda ad eandem matrem ecclesiam. Et propter hæc predicta quæ Consul Episcopo donat et concedit, remittit ipse Episcopus et quietas clamat Consuli omnes calumpnias quas habebat aduersus eum, et aduersus homines suos, de omnibus terris illis quas ad feudum Consulis aduocabant. Et si aliquis hominum Consulis sua sponte, sanus vel infirmus, uoluerit recognoscere se terram Ecclesiæ tenere et se uelle eam reddere Ecclesiæ et Episcopo, et hoc coram Consule, vel coram suo uicecomite vel Preposito de Kardi, recognouerit, concedit Consul quod ipsam terram Ecclesiæ et Episcopo reddat. Et Episcopus sic sui molendini de subtus ponte Episcopi exclusam admensurabit, quod iter semper peruium sit, ni incremento aquæ uel fluctu maris impediatur; et Comes faciet destrui exclusam molendini sui de Eley. Et homines Comitum, et quilibet alii, uendant et emant cibum et potum apud Landauum, et ibi illos edant et bibant, et nil inde portent tempore werræ; et omnes homines de feudo Episcopi habeant quælibet commercia apud Landauum, ad uendendum, et emendum, omnibus temporibus pacis. Et iudicia ferri portabuntur apud Landauum; et fossa iudicialis aquæ fiet in terra Episcopi propinquiore castello de Kardi. Et si aliquis hominum Episcopi calumpniabitur hominem Consulis vel hominem baronum suorum de aliqua re unde duellum fieri debeat, ipsorum curiis dabuntur uadimonia et tractabuntur iudicia; et in castello de Kardi duellum fiat. Et si quisquam homo calumpniabitur hominem Episcopi de re unde duellum fieri debeat, uadimonia in curia Episcopi dabuntur

[ADJUSTMENT OF RIGHTS BETWEEN THE BISHOP, AND THE LORD, OF GLAMORGAN.]

et iudicia fient, et ipsum duellum in castello de Kairdi fiet: et ibi habeat Episcopus eandem rectitudinem de illo duello, quam haberet si fieret apud Landauum. Et si duellum agitur inter solos homines Episcopi, in eius curia de Landauo tractetur, et fiat. Et ipse Episcopus habeat suos prepositos Walenses in suo breui scriptos per uisionem et testimonium Vicecomitis Consulis, et extramittantur; et ipse Vicecomes Consulis habeat suum contrascriptum de ipsis Walensibus, et Episcopus habeat contrascriptum de Walensibus Consulis similiter. Et Consul clamat quietos Episcopo et hominibus de feudo suo denarios, et omnes consuetudines quas aduersus eos calumpniabatur. Hec Concordia facta fuit in presentia Regis Henrici, hiis testibus,—Willelmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, et Gaufrido Rotomagensi Archiepiscopo, et Willelmo Wintoniensi Episcopo, et Rogero Saresberiensis Episcopo, et Rann. Dunelmensi Episcopo, et Johanne<sup>d</sup> Luxoniensi Episcopo, et Oino Ebroicensi Episcopo, et Gaufr. Cancellario, et Dauid Rege Scotie, et Rotrocho Comite de Pertico, et Rogero Comite de Warewic, et Briento Filio-Comitis, et Rob. Doilli, et Milone de Glocestr., et Edwardo de Salesberiis, et Waltero Filio-Ricardi, et Pag. Filio-Johannis, et Richardo de Aquila, et Roberto de Sigillo, et Uchtrede Archidiacono de Landauo, et Ysaac capellano Episcopi, et Rad. Vicecomite de Kardi, et Pag. de Turbertiuilla, et Rodb. Filio-Rogeri, et Ric. de Sancto Quintino, et Maur. de Lund, et Odone Soro, et Gaufr. de Maisi, apud Wodest. Et R. Comes huius cartæ contrascriptum habet; testibus eisdem. [pp. 27-30.]

\* This entry is in Saxon letters, and so far differs from the rest of the MSS.; but it is apparently (as transcribed) part of the original. Robert Consul (said to have been used as his surname, but like the parallel case of William "Marshal" Earl of Pembroke, it must have really arisen from his office) was a bastard son of Henry I. by Nest daughter of Rhys King of Deheubarth, was made Earl of Gloucester in 1109, and married Mabel daughter of Robert Fitzhamon, thereby becoming Lord of Glamorgan, and died 1147. He was the well-known Earl, who was the great supporter of the Empress Maud, his sister.

A Norman-French entry, among additions to the original MS. of the *Lb. Landaw.*, copied also in Dr. James's *MSS. Collected* in the Bodleian Library, no. 24, pp. 127, 128, states, that "en le tens de ces XL. Eueakes auant nomes, en tens de Bretons, en tens de Engleys, en tens de Normans, ount les seignurages de Glomorgan eu la garde de la temporaute de Landaf uacant le see: sanz nule interrupcion pus ke la Eglise de

Landaf fust primes funde," [i.e., continues the memorandum, from the time of Lucius, and again of Meurig; proceeding to add, but in Norman French, the entry of Bishop Herwald's death as given in the *Lb. Landaw.*, and then continuing,] "Et le Conte Robert de Gloucestre ki adonkes fust seigneur de Glomorgan de part sa femme ke fust la fille Robert le Fitzheem, auoit la garde de la temporaute de Landaf en tout cele vacacion, com appartenant a la seignure de Glomorgan, et dura la vacacion IIII. ans V. meys et VII. jours," &c. Robert Fitzhamon died in 1107 (*Ann. Theobald., Flor. Wig.*); but Robert of Gloucester did not marry his daughter until 1109, and was therefore not Lord of Glamorgan until the latter year.

See also below under A.D. 1241.

<sup>b</sup> Kybor or Cibwyr is the hundred of Glamorgan in which Llandaff is situated. "Whit-church," in marg. of one MS. for "Stuntaf," is close to Llandaff.

<sup>c</sup> Miswritten "fient," in original MS.

<sup>d</sup> So in original MS. = John Bishop of Lisieux

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(Lexoviensis). In Rees' edition it stands as Johannes "Riconiensis," not much amended by the "Oxonienis" of another MS. The names which follow those of the Archdeacon and Chaplain, and some of the well-known names also which precede them, are those of Norman pos-

sessors of lands in Glamorganshire (see above, p. 312, and the list in *Brut y Tywysog., Gwent.*, in an. 1088): viz. Payne de Turberville, Robert Fitz-Roger, Richard de S. Quintin, Maurice de Londres, Odo Le Soore.

A.D. 1127. May 13-16. *Welsh Suit pleaded at a Council of Westminster under William Archbishop of Canterbury*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Urban of Llandaff, present at this Council, as were also his two opponents (*Contin. Flor. Wig.* in an. 1127, II. 86), renewed there his suit against the Bishops of S. David's and Here-

ford, but without success (*Lib. Landav.* 50).

See, for the council itself, below under the English Church in its proper place.

A.D. 1128. Feb.-April. *Second Appeal of Urban of Llandaff against the Bishops of S. David's and Hereford; viz. from the Council of Westminster A.D. 1127 to Honorius II.*

I. CONTIN. FLOR. WIG. in an. 1128.—Urbanus Glamorgatensis seu Landavensis Episcopus, quia de quarundam rerum querelis, quas anno præterito in generali concilio super Bernardum Episcopum de Sancto David promoverat, non juste erga se agi persenserat, emensa festivitate Purificationis Sanctæ Mariæ, mare transiit, Romam ivit, Apostolico Papæ causam itineris certa attestazione suorum intimavit; cujus idem Apostolicus votis ac dictis favit, et Regi Anglorum Henrico et Willelmo Archiepiscopo et omnibus Angliæ Episcopis litteras direxit, omnibus Apostolica mandans auctoritate ut justæ exactioni illius nemo obstaret in aliquo. [II. 90; and in *Wilkins*, I. 411.]

II. LIB. LANDAV.—*De primo Itinere Landauensis Episcopi Urbani post factam appellationem.* Millesimo centesimo uigesimo octavo Incarnationis Dominicæ anno, Vrbanus Landauensis Episcopus Romam requisivit cum clericis suis, inuitatis Episcopis Bernardo Minvensi Episcopo et Ricardo Herfortensi, cum facta ab eo appellatione in pleno concilio, facta Lundoniæ, presente Willelmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo. Et audita sua querimonia a beato Honorio Papa, et a Romano conuentu, rediit saisitus de parrochia Guhir, Cetgueli, Cantrebican, et Ercycg<sup>a</sup>; et ita inuestitus per manum Apostolicam, et data<sup>b</sup> sibi in monumento inuestituræ baculo suo, et cum datis litteris Archiepiscopo W[illelmo], Regi Henrico, et parrochianis, simul et priuilegio. [p. 50.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, pp. 284, 285.

<sup>b</sup> So in original MS.

III. *Honorius II. to Clergy and People of Llandaff.*

Commends Ur-  
ban to their kind  
offices and due  
obedience.

A.D. 1128. *April 18. Rome.* — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis clero et populo Llandauensi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Venientem ad Apostolicæ sedis clementiam uenerabilem fratrem nostrum Vrbānum Episcopum uestrum debita caritate recipimus. Ipsum itaque cum gratia nostra et litterarum nostrarum prosecutione ad uos remittentes, uniuersitati uestræ mandamus, quatenus eundem fratrem nostrum Vr[banum] Episcopum benigne recipiatis, et ei tanquam proprio pastori, et animarum uestrarum custodi, obedientiam et reuerentiam humiliter deferatis, et uelut Christi uicario pareatis. Ad recuperandas igitur possessiones et bona Llandauensis Ecclesiæ quæ distracta sunt, unanimiter, uti boni filii, præbeatis consilium et auxilium. Datum Laterani, XIII. kal. Maii. [*Lib. Llandav. 37, 38.*]

IV. *Honorius II. to Urban Bishop of Llandaff. Privilegium for his See.*

Decrees possession of certain lands and parishes to the see of Llandaff.

A.D. 1128. *April 19. Rome.* — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *uenerabili fratri Vrbano Llandauensis Ecclesiæ Episcopo*, eiusque successoribus canonicè promouendis in perpetuum. In eminenti Apostolicæ sedis specula (disponente Domino) constituti, ex iniuncto nobis officio fratres nostros Episcopos debemus diligere, et Ecclesiis sibi a Deo commissis suam iustitiam conseruare. Proinde, karissime in Domino frater Vrbane Episcopo, tuis rationabilibus postulationibus annuentes, beati Petri, sanctorumque confessorum Dubricii, Teliaui, Oudocei, Landauensem Ecclesiam, cui (Deo auctore) presides, in Apostolicæ sedis tutela[m] excipimus. Per presentis igitur priuilegii paginam Apostolica auctoritate statuimus, ut Ecclesia uestra cum sua dignitate ab omni secularis seruitii grauamine libera maneat et quieta. Quecunque uero concessione pontificum, liberalitate principum, oblatione fidelium, uel aliis modis, ad eandem Ecclesiam iuste et canonicè pertinere noscuntur, ei firma in posterum et integra conseruentur. In quibus hæc propriis nominibus duximus exprimenda:—  
\*Landauiam, scilicet, cum territorio suo, ecclesiam Elidon, ecclesiam Sancti Hilarii, Sancti Nisien, Sancti Teliaui de Merthir mimor, Sancti Teliaui de Lanngeruall, Sancti Petri, Sancti Ilduti, uillam Lann-

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gatgualatir cum ecclesia Sancti Ciniu, uillam Sancti Tauauc cum ecclesia, uillam Henriu cum ecclesia, uillam Mertyr Teudiric cum ecclesiis, uillam Sancti Oudocei cum ecclesia, uillam Sancti Nuuien cum ecclesia, uillam Tanasan cum ecclesia, uillam Lann-cum cum ecclesiis, uillam Lannguerncinuc cum ecclesia, uillam Merthir-Dincat cum ecclesia, Lanngarth, Sancti Teliaui de Porth Halauc, Sancti Teliaui de Crisinic, ecclesiam Sancti Cletaui, ecclesiam Sancti Sulbui, uillam Penniuei cum ecclesia, uillam Sancti Teliaui de Talipont, Lannhelicon, Lannmihaggel maur, uillam Cair-Duicil cum ecclesia, ecclesiam Sancti Catoci, Lanncoit, Talpon-Escop, Lanngunhoill, Riu-brein, Cair-castell, Penniprisc, Tref-Meibion-Ourdeuein, Trefmain, Tref-Meibion-Guichtrit, Tref-rita, Lanndineul cum ecclesia, Istrat Elei, Tref-ginhill, Tre-laur, Tref-crintorth, Tref-miluc, Carn-elfin, Merthir-Onbrit, Inis Marchan cum molendino et maritimis infra Taf et Elei, Inis-Bratguen, Tref-Gillic, Inis Peithan, Landilull, Pennonn, Lannsanfreit, Tref-Meibion-Ambrus, ecclesiam Pentirch, Merthir-Cuuliuer, Merthir-Buceil, duodecim acras quas Willelmus de <sup>b</sup>Cantolo per uim possederat et tandem uestre reddidit Ecclesie, Lanngemei, Lancingualan, Cilciuhin, Porth-tulon, Penniuei, Landotei, Culalan, Crucguernen, Guocof, Nant-baraen, Gulich, Luinelidon, Trefbledgur Mab-aches, Tref-bledgint, Henriu-gunma, Merthir-Ilan, Lannmeir Pennros, Lanndipallai, Porthisceuin, Lannmihagel Liclit, Trefiridiouen, Tnoumur, uillam Lann-cinmarch cum prato et coretibz suis super Guai, et terram infra Castell-Guent, Penncelliguenuc, Cestill-Dinan cum silua et prato et maritimis; et <sup>c</sup>Guorund, Penichen, Guonluuuc, Dui Guent, Euias, Istratour; cum decimis, oblationibus, sepulturis, territoriis, refugiis, et libera communione earum. Quæcunque preterea in futurum (largiente Deo) iustis modis poterit adipisci, quæta ei semper et illibata permaneant. Decernimus ergo, ut nulli omnino hominum liceat prædictam Ecclesiam temere perturbare, aut eius possessiones auferre, uel ablatas retinere, minuere, uel temerariis uexationibus fatigare, sed omnia ei cum parrochiæ finibus integra conseruentur, tam tuis quam clericorum et pauperum usibus profutura. Siqua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica secularisue persona, hanc nostre constitutionis paginam sciens, contra ea temere uenire temptauerit, secundo tertioque commonita, si non satisfactione congrua emendauerit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se Diuino iudicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, et a sacratissimo Corpore ac Sanguine Dei et Domini Redemptoris nostri Iesu

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Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districtæ ultioni subiaceat. Curctis autem eidem Ecclesiæ iusta seruantibus sit pax Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quatenus et hic fructum bonæ actionis percipiant, et apud districtum Iudicem præmia æternæ pacis inueniant. Amen. Ego Honorius Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus<sup>d</sup>. [Dat.] XIII. kal. Maii, indict. VI., Incarnationis Dominicæ anno M<sup>c</sup>XXVIII<sup>o</sup>, pontificatus autem domini Honorii Secundi Papæ anno quarto. [*Lib. Landav.* 31-33.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 310.<sup>b</sup> William de Cantelupe of Candleston near Merthyr Mawr.<sup>c</sup> viz. Gorwenydd, Penychen, Gwentwg, DwyGwent, Ewyas, Ystrad-Dwr (the valley of the Dwr in Ewyas). See above, p. 285, note <sup>c</sup>.<sup>d</sup> This signature, and the seal (here omitted), are in facsimile in the MS.

V. *Honorius II. to William Archbishop of Canterbury and the English Bishops.*

Has given judgment, in the absence of the other Bishops, in favour of Urban, but appoints next Lent to hear both parties if they appear.

A.D. 1128. April 19. Rome. — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *uenerabilibus fratribus Will-elmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Apostolicæ sedis legato, et Episcopis per Angliam constitutis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Frater noster Vrbanus Landauensis Episcopus, ad sedis Apostolicæ clementiam ueniens, se in conuentu et ante uestram præsentiam super Episcopis Bernardo Sancti Devi et <sup>a</sup>Ricardo Herfortensi de parrochia Episcopatus sui ab eis detenta querelam deposuisse asseruit. Ceterum fratres ipsi, nullum ei de querimonia sua responsum redentes, ordine transposito, eundem super aliis ceperunt impetere. Quod tam sacrorum statvtis canonum quam legalibus sanctionibus obuium esse non extat ambiguum. In iudicio namque, et unius disceptatione negotii, reus (nisi per exceptionem) actor effici nequaquam potest. Ipse uero ordinem iudicii postulans, ut prius de his quæ obiecerat sibi rationabiliter responsum daretur, a tua discretione, frater Archiepiscopo, qui pro iudice residebas, expetiit. Quia uero quod optabat optinere non potuit, magnum sibi grauamen sentiens irrogari, Romanam audientiam, quæ oppressis commune suffragium est, appellauit; et prænotatos Episcopos B. R., ut in nostra præsentia, mediante quadragesima, suis responderent quærimoniis, inuitauit. Verum ipse nobiscum aliquandiu moratus est; inuitati uero, præfixo termino nec uenerunt nec responsales miserunt. Nos igitur, ex communi fratrum nostrorum Episcoporum et Cardinalium delibera-

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tione, audita super hoc duorum testium assertione, eum de parrochia unde conquestio fuerat, uidelicet, Ergin, Istratiu, Guhir, Cetgueli, Cantref-Bichan, salua iustitia ecclesiarum Herfortensis et Sancti Deuvi, inuestiuimus. Terminum uero tam Vrbano Landauensi Episcopo, quam B. R. Episcopis, mediantem quadragesimam statuimus; et tunc utraque pars, expositis suis in nostra præsentia rationibus, quod iustitiæ ratio dictauerit, optinebit. Interim autem præcipimus, ut frater V. parrochiam illam, de qua disceptatio fuerat, integre, quiete, et absque alicuius contradictione optineat. Tu ergo, frater Archiepiscopo, supradictos Episcopos B. et R. parrochiam ipsam occupare, aut peruadere, uel per se uel officiales suos, nullo modo permittas. Dat. Laterani, XIII. cal. Maii. [*Lib. Landav.* 34, 35.]

\* Richard Bishop of Hereford died Aug. 15, 1127 (*Contm. Flor. Wig.* II. 88): so that Urban, leaving England after Feb. 2, 1128, must

have been aware of his death. The see was vacant until 1131.

VI. *Honorius II. to Henry I. King of England.*

Same with previous letter.

A.D. 1128. *April 19. Rome.* — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *karissimo in Christo filio Henrico, illustri Anglorum Regi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Frater noster Vrbanus, Landauensis Episcopus, ad Apostolicæ sedis clementiam se in conspectu Willelmi Kantuariensis Archiepiscopi grauatum fuisse asseruit. Cum enim de parrochia sua ab Episcopis, uidelicet Bernardo Sancti Deuui et Ricardo Herfortensi, detenta iustitiam quereret, optinere non potuit. Ideoque Romanam audientiam, quæ oppressis commune suffragium est, appellauit; et terminum eis præteritam mediantem quadragesimam, ut in nostra præsentia de prædicta parrochia quod ratio dictaret sibi facerent, indixit. Ipsi uero uenire contempnentes, nec etiam responsales miserunt. Nos uero, habito fratrum nostrorum consilio, denotatum Vrbani Episcopum de parrochia, unde causatio fuerat, salua iustitia Ecclesiarum Sancti Deuui et Herfortensis, inuestiuimus; futuram mediantem quadragesimam utrisque statuentes, ut tunc utraque pars, nostro conspectui præsentata, quod iustum fuerit ualeat optinere. Tua igitur Nobilitas ipsum fratrem V. Episcopum habeat commendatum; nec de parrochia, de qua eum inuestiuimus, nec de aliis, sibi iniuriam permittas, sed eum pro reuerentia beati Petri et nostra manuteneas. Dat. Laterani, XIII. kal. Maii. [*Lib. Landav.* 35, 36.]



VII. *Honorius II. to Clergy and Laity of the districts claimed by Llandaff.*

Same with two previous letters. A.D. 1128. April 19. Rome. — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *clericis et laicis per parrochias Ergie, Istrativ, Gubir, Cetgueli, Cantrebichan, constitutis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Frater noster Vrbanus Landauensis Episcopus Bernardum Sancti Devvi et Ricardum Herfortensem Episcopos, ut præterita mediante quadragesima super parrochiis prænotatis ad nostram responsuri uenirent præsentiam, inuitauit. Ipsi uero nec uenerunt, nec responsales suos miserunt. Nos ergo, ex deliberato fratrum nostrorum Episcoporum et Cardinalium consilio, supradictum VR. Landauensem Episcopum de prefatis parrochiis inuestiuimus; terminum uero tam B. et R. quam V. Episcopis proximam mediantem quadragesimam prefiximus, ut tunc utraque pars nostro conspectui præsentata, quod iustitiæ ratio dictauerit, ualeat optinere. Ideoque uobis mandando præcipimus, quatenus fratri nostro V. Landauensi obedientiam et reuerentiam deferatis. Dat. Laterani, XIII. kal. Maii. [*Lib. Landav. 36.*]

\* Miswritten "pernotatis," in orig.

VIII. *Honorius II. to the Norman Nobles in Llandaff diocese.*

Exhorts them to pay all dues to the see of Llandaff, and to abstain from wrong and violence. A.D. 1128. April 19. Rome. — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis, monachis, capellanis, canonicis, Waltero Filio-Ric., Briano Filio-Comitis, Pagano Filio-Johannis, Miloni de Gloescestria, Batrum filio Will., Winbaldo de Badlon, Rotberto de Candos, Ricardo filio Puntii, Roberto Filio-Martini, Roberto Filio-Rogieri, Mauricio filio Willelmi de Lundriis, et ceteris per Landauensem Episcopatum nobilibus*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Fama referente comperimus, quod matrem uestram Landauensem Ecclesiam, contra honorem et salutem animarum uestrarum, ausu temerario expoliare et eam adnichilare præsumitis. Vnde paterno affectu compatiētes, uniuersitati uestræ per præsentia scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, ut quicquid in terris, decimis, oblationibus, sepulturis, et ceteris bonis, eidem Ecclesiæ aut aliis de ipsius parrochia ecclesiis iniuste tulistis et detinetis, absque mora restituatis. Si enim reprehendendi sunt filii, qui matrem carnalem inhonorant et ei iniuriam inferunt; multo

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magis qui spirituales molestant, et bona eius uolenter deripiunt; et quod flagitiosum est et Christiano nomini inimicum, uenientes ad sanctorum limina et ecclesiarum dedicationes deprædare, affligere, et die etiam mercationis uenientium et redeuntium bona auferre, et quosdam interficere, ferali more non erubescitis. Ea propter vobis præcipimus, quatenus a tantis flagitiis omnimodis desistatis, et præceptis uenerabilis fratris nostri Urbani Episcopi humiliter pareatis. Quod si contemptores extiteritis, canonicam quam ipse in uos promulgabit sententiam (auctore Deo) confirmabimus. Dat. Lat., XIII. cal. Maii. [*Lib. Landav.* 36, 37.]

\* See for most of these names above, pp. 312, 320. Milo of Gloucester had the lordship of Brecknock in right of his wife Sybil daughter of Bernard of Neufmarché. Richard de Pwys was lord of Cantref Bychan and Llandoverly (*Dugd.*

*Baron.*, I. 335). And Robert Fitz-Martin, founder of S. Dogmael's, was son of Martin of Tours, Lord of Cemaes (*Id. ibid.*, I. 729, and Tanner, *Not. Mon.*).

<sup>b</sup> So in orig.

IX. *Honorius II. to Urban Bishop of Llandaff.*

A counter-complaint just made by an Archdeacon of S. David's against Urban.

A.D. 1128. April 28. Rome.—HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri V[rbano] Laudauensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Veniens ad nostram præsentiam Vuillelmus Archidiaconus Sancti Daudi aduersum in nostro conspectu querelam deposuit, quia ecclesiam quandam, quam ei concesseras, et scripti tui pagina (prout asserit) confirmaueras, iniuste abstuleris. Vnde Fraternitati tuæ per præsentia scripta mandamus, quatenus ecclesiam ipsi restituas, aut inde sibi iustitiam facias. Dat. Laterani, IV<sup>to</sup>. cal. Maii. [*Lib. Landav.* 30.]

[April 18 and 19 were the Wednesday and Thursday before Easter Day in A.D. 1128. Midlent Sunday in 1128 was April 1, in 1129 March 24.]

A.D. 1128. Oct. 7. *Letters of Honorius II. on behalf of Urban of Llandaff.*I. *Honorius II. to William Archbishop of Canterbury.*

LIB. LANDAV.—Oct. 7. Rome.—HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri W[illelmo] Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Apostolicæ sedis legato*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ex iniuncta nobis

Assist Urban in his journey to Rome to prosecute his appeal.

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a Domino Ecclesiæ Dei cura et prouidentia, singulis suam debemus iustitiam conseruare. Ut controversia, quæ inter fratrem nostrum Vrbanum Landauensem Episcopum et Ecclesiam Sancti Devvi et Herfortensem agitata est, iuxta rationis et iustitiæ tramitem terminetur, proximam mediantem quadragesimam terminum indiximus. Ne ergo prædictus frater noster V. Episcopus aliquid in ueniendo ad nos aut in aliis rebus incommodum uel detrimentum sustineat, Fraternitatis tuæ sollicitudo prouideat. Dat. Laterani, non. Octob. [p. 38.]

II. *Honorius II. to Henry I. King of England.*

LIB. LANDAV. — Oct. 7. Rome. — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *dilecto filio Henrico, illustri Anglorum Regi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Permit Urban to come to Rome to prosecute his appeal.

Vt liberius et sine querela serui Dei ualeant Diuinis uacare obsequiis, controuersiæ inter fratrem nostrum Vrbanum, Landauensem Episcopum, et Ecclesias Devvi et Herfortensem, agitate, terminum proximam mediantem quadragesimam indiximus. Quocirca Nobilitati tuæ mandamus, quatenus eidem V. Episcopo nullum in ueniendo ad nos aut rebus suis impedimentum aut incommodum facias, neque ab aliis inferri permittas. Dat. Lat., non. Octob. [pp. 38, 39.]

A.D. 1129. Neath Abbey founded by Rich. de Granavilla (*Francis, Charters of Neath; Brut, Gwent*, in an. 1111).

A.D. 1129. April. *Further appeal of Urban of Llandaff to Honorius II. against the Bishops of S. David's and Hereford.*

I. LIB. LANDAV.—*De secundo Itinere Landau. Episcopi V[rban]*.—In sequenti anno [1129] predictæ memoriæ Vrbanus Landauensis Episcopus, summonitus a beato Honorio Apostolicæ sedis Apostolico, cum priuilegiis suis et antiquissimis kartis, cum clericis et laicis affirmantibus iustam inuestituram de prædictis contra Ecclesias Herfordiæ et Minuensis, iuit Romam contra statutum terminum, mediam quadragesimam uidelicet; et quia Episcopi illarum Ecclesiarum nec uenerunt nec responsales suos miserunt, iudicio Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, et Cardinalium Romanæ Ecclesiæ, prædictæ quinque

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plebes adiudicatæ sunt Vrbano Episcopo Landauensi, et omnibus successoribus suis, habendæ in perpetuo; et cum datis sibi litteris Archiepiscopo, Regi, et parrochianis infra positis, simulque karta disceptionis, et priuilegio, cum gratia, et per misericordiam Apostolicæ dignitatis, prædictus uir reuersus est incolumis cum suis, his munitus, ad Ecclesiam suam cum gaudio. [pp. 50, 51.]

## II. *Honorius II. to Urban Bishop of Llandaff.*

Decreases the disputed parishes to the see of Llandaff in the absence of the other Bishops.

A.D. 1129. *April 4. Rome.* — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *Venerabili fratri Vrbano Landauensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ad hoc in sancta matre catholica et uniuersali Romana

Ecclesia, quæ iustitiæ sedes est, ab auctore omnium bonorum Deo cognoscimus constitutos, ut suam Ecclesiis omnibus iustitiam conseruamus; et siquid perperam gestum esse nouerimus, rationis consilio ad rectitudinis tramitem reducamus: quatenus et quæ corrigenda sunt, ordine iudiciario corrigantur; et quæ recte statuta noscuntur, in sui uigoris robore perseuerent. Proinde uenerabilis frater Vrbane, Landauensis Episcopo, anno præterito ad Apostolicæ sedis clementiam ueniens, te aduersus Episcopos Bernardum Sancti Dewi et Ricardum Herfortensem in præsentia fratrum nostrorum Willelmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, Apostolicæ sedis legati, et Episcoporum Angliæ, de parrochia Episcopatus tui ab eis detenta querelam deposuisse asseruisti. Ceterum quia tibi grauamen sentiebas inferri, eos proxima tunc mediante quadragesima ut ad nostram uenirent præsentiam tuis responsuri querimoniis inuitasti. Ipsi uero præfixo termino nec uenerunt nec responsales miserunt. Vnde communicato fratrum nostrorum consilio, duorum testium assertionem suscepta, te de parrochia unde conquestio fuerat inuestiuimus; salua tamen iustitia Ecclesiarum Herfortensis et Sancti Dewi. Terminum uero dedimus, et illis proximam tunc futuram mediantem quadragesimam statuimus, ut plenius cognita ueritate atque discussa, suam unicuique iustitiam seruaremus. Porro ipsi nec etiam illo termino uenerunt, nec personas quæ causam suam agerent ad nostram præsentiam direxerunt. Tu autem, frater Vrbane, statuto termino, paratus cum testibus nostro te conspectui præsentasti. Et nos, inuitatos aliquamdiu expectantes, sex testium iuramenta suscepimus: quorum duo, uidelicet quidam presbiter

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Sapiens et Maius laicus, iurauerunt parrochiam illam de qua controversia agitabatur, scilicet Guher, Cedgueli, Cantrebachan, Estratiu, Ergin, intra Landauensis Episcopatus terminos contineri (scilicet inter fluuios Tŷui et Gui); et se uidisse Erualdum Episcopum, antecessorem tuum, per quadraginta annos eandem parrochiam quiete et absque interruptione canonica tenuisse. Alii uero quattuor, uidelicet Rober-tus et Johannes presbiteri, Gulfredus et Adam diaconi, iurauerunt patres suos, qui propter senium ad sedem Apostolicam uenire non poterant, hoc idem iurasse, et ut in nostra iurarent præsentia præcepisse. Nos igitur, ex communi fratrum nostrorum Episcoporum et Cardinalium deliberatione, prænominatam parrochiam, absque inquietatione Ecclesiarum Herfortensis et Sancti Dewi uel alicuius alterius, tibi et successoribus tuis perpetuo iure habendam possidendamque censuimus.

Ego Honorius Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus. Dat. Laterani, II. non. Aprilis, indict. VII., anno Incarnationis Dominicæ MCXXVIII<sup>o</sup>., pontificatus autem domini Honorii PP. Secundi anno V<sup>o</sup>. [*Lib. Landav.* 39, 40.]

### III. Honorius II. to William Archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. 1129. April 4. Rome. — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS  
Charges him to enforce the above decree. SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *Venerabili fratri W[illelmo] Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Apostolica sedis legato*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Fratribus nostris, Bernardo Sancti Dewi et Ricardo Herfortensi Episcopis, mediantem quadragesimam terminum statuimus, ut ad nostram uenirent præsentiam, et siquid aduersus Vrbanum Landauensem Episcopum de parrochia, unde controversia inter eos agitata fuerat, se habere confiderent, quod dictaret iustitia optinerent. Ipsi uero nec uenerunt, nec qui pro eis agerent personas miserunt. Nos ergo, communicato fratrum nostrorum Episcoporum et [Cardinalium] consilio, testium, quos frater noster Urbanus produxerat, iuramenta suscepimus: qui, tactis sacro-sanctis Euangelis, firmauerunt illas quinque plebes, uidelicet Guher, Chedueli, Cantrebachan, Estrateu, Erchin, infra Landauensis Episcopatus terminos contineri, scilicet inter fluuios Gui et Tŷui; et se uidisse Herwaldum Episcopum, antecessorem Urbani, per XL. annos easdem plebes quiete absque ulla interruptione canonica tenuisse. Ideoque, ex canonica censura, nos ei et successoribus suis prænominatam

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parrochiam perpetuo habendam adiudicauimus. Vnde Fraternitati tuæ rogando mandamus, quatenus quod iudicatum est a sancta Romana Ecclesia facias obseruari, et de prædictis quinque plebibus nullam ei patiaris iniuriam irrogari. Dat. Laterani, II. non. Aprilis. [*Lib. Landav.* 44, 45.]

IV. *Honorius II. to Henry I. King of England.*

Same with previous letter. A.D. 1129. *April 4. Rome.* — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *Venerabili Henrico, Anglorum Regi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Fratribus nostris, Bernardo Sancti Dewi et Ricardo Herfortensi Episcopia, mediantem quadragesimam terminum statuimus, ut ad nostram uenirent præsentiam, et siquid aduersus Vrbano Landauensem Episcopum de parrochia, unde controuersia inter eos agitata fuerat, se habere confiderent, quod dictaret iustitia optinerent. Ipsi uero nec uenerunt, nec qui pro eis agerent, miserunt. Nos ergo, communicato fratrum nostrorum Episcoporum et Cardinalium consilio, testium quos frater noster Vrbano produxerat iuramenta suscepimus: qui, tactis sacrosanctis Euangelis, firmauerunt illas quinque plebes, uidelicet Guher, Cetgueli, Cantrebachan, Estrateu, Ergic, infra Landauensis Episcopatus terminos contineri, scilicet fluuios Guý et Týui; et se uidisse Hergualdum Episcopum, antecessorem V[rhani], per XL. annos easdem plebes quiete et absque ulla interruptione canonica tenuisse. Idcirco, ex canonica censura, nos ei et successoribus suis prænominatam parrochiam perpetuo habendam adiudicauimus. Vnde Fraternitati tuæ rogando mandamus, quatenus quod iudicatum est a sancta Romana Ecclesia facias obseruari, et de prædictis quinque plebibus nullam ei patiaris iniuriam irrogari. Dat. Laterani, II. non. Aprilis. [*Lib. Landav.* 45, 46.]

V. *Honorius II. to Clergy and Laity of the districts claimed by Llandaff.*

Charges them to obey the above decree. A.D. 1129. *April 4. Rome.* — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis, clero, populo, per parrochias Gabir, Cetgueli, Cantrebichan, Ystrateu, Ergic, constituto*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Nos, ex canonica censura, uenerabili fratri nostro Vrbano Landauensi Episcopo, et successoribus eius, prædictas quinque plebes, de quibus inter

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ipsum et Bernardum Sancti Dewi et Ricardum Herfortensem Episcopos contentio fieret, perpetuo habendas adiudicauimus. Ideoque universitati uestre mandando precipimus, quatenus ei, tanquam proprio pastori, et animarum uestrarum custodi, obedientiam et reuerentiam humiliter deferatis. Dat. Laterani, II. non. Aprilis. [*Lib. Llandav.* 46.]

VI. *Honorius II. to Urban Bishop of Llandaff. Privilegium for his See.*

Privilegium to A.D. 1129. April' 5. Rome. — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS see of Llandaff. SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *Venerabili fratri Urbano Llandauensi Episcopo*, eiusque successoribus canonice substituendis in perpetuum. In eminenti Apostolicæ sedis specula (disponente Domino) constituti, ex iniuncto nobis officio fratres nostros Episcopos debemus diligere, et Ecclesiis a Deo commissis suam iustitiam conseruare. Proinde, karissime in Domino frater Urbane Episcopo, tuis rationabilibus postulationibus annuentes, beati Petri, sanctorumque confessorum Dubricii, Teliawi, Oudocei, Landauensem Ecclesiam, cui (Deo auctore) præsidet, in Apostolicæ sedis tutelam excepimus. Per præsentis igitur priuilegii paginam Apostolica auctoritate statuimus, ut Ecclesia uestra cum sua dignitate ab omni secularis seruitii grauamine libera maneat et quæta. Quæcunque uero concessione pontificum, liberalitate principum, oblatione fidelium, uel aliis modis, ad eandem Ecclesiam iuste et canonice pertinere noscuntur, ei firma in posterum et integra conseruentur. In quibus hæc propriis nominibus duximus exprimenda; \*Landauiam scilicet, cum territorio suo et parrochia, uidelicet, Cantrebachan, Chedueli, Guoher, Estrateu, Ercincg, Guorund, Penechenn, Gunluuuc, Diuent, Euias, Estrateur. Fines vero Landauensis Episcopatus hi esse dicuntur: ab hostio Tyui, in mare, sursum usque *iblain*, deinde ad Pen-douluinhdllic, ad *blain* Huisc, ad *Mynid Du*, ad *blain* Turc, usque *c'Tau*i sursum usque Cingleis; deinde Halunguernen ad *blain* Peurdin, deorsum usque Ned, sursum usque Meldon, ad Gauannauc, ad Deri Emreis, ad Cechenclisti, ad *blain* <sup>d</sup>Frutiguidon, usque Taf Maur, usque *c'ychimer*, sursum *c'Rit*i-cambren, ad Haldu, *edi nant Crafnant, ar bit* usque Husc, *trui Huisc di Chilitris, dir Alt Luit, di lech Bichlit, i Pinnmarch, di Guornoid, di Rit-nant, di hawner Dinmarchtan, di Oligabr, di Bronn Cateir-Neuein, di licat Guerinon, di Guarthaf Buch-dir-Mincul, dir Pridell, di Halruua, di Main-y-Bard, Nant-i-Bard, in bit* usque Dour, *in bit* usque Guormiu, *in bit*

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usque *biblain*; deinde ad Cair-rein ad *blain* Taratŷr, per longitudinem usque Guŷ, et per longitudinem fluminis Gui ad mare Hafren, deinde ad hostium fluminis Tŷwi, ubi Landauensis Episcopatus parrochia incipit. Confirmamus etiam uobis *hecclesiam* Elidon, *ecclesiam* Sancti Hilarii, Sancti Tussien, Sancti Teliawi de Merthyr Mŷmor, Sancti Teliauui de Languergualt, Sancti Petri, Sancti Ilduti, uillam Lann-catgualatir cum ecclesia Sancti Cŷuiu, uillam Sancti Tauauc cum ecclesia, uillam Henriu cum ecclesia, uillam Merthir Theoderici cum ecclesiis, uillam Sancti Oudocei cum ecclesia, uillam Sancti Nuuien cum ecclesia, uillam Tanasan cum ecclesia, uillam Lann-gum cum ecclesiis, villam Lannguerncŷnuc cum ecclesia, uillam Merthir Dincat cum ecclesia, Lanngarth, Sancti Teliawi de Porthalau, Sancti Teliawi Crissinic, *ecclesiam* Sancti Clitauci cum pertinentiis suis, *ecclesiam* Sancti Sulbui cum pertinentiis suis, uillam Penniuei cum ecclesia sua, uillam Sancti Teliauui de Talipont, Lann-helicon, Lannmihaggel Maur, villam Cairduicil cum ecclesia, *ecclesiam* Sancti Catoci, Lanncoit, Talpon-Escop, Languonhoill, Riubrein, Caircastell, Penniprisc, Tref-Mebion Ourdeuein, Trefmain, Tref-Meibion Uchrit, Tref-rita, Tref-dinneul cum ecclesia, Estrat Elei, Tref-gŷnhil, Tref-laur, Tref-cŷrintord, Tremiluc, Carn-elfin, Merthir-onbrit, Ynys Marchan cum molendino et maritimis infra Taf et Elei, Ynys Bratguen, Trem-gŷllig, Ynis Peithan, Lantŷlull, Pennonn, Lann-Sanbregit, Tre-meibion Ambrus, *ecclesiam* Penntyrch, Merthir Cibliver, Merthir Buceil, duodecim acras quas Willelmus de Cantelou Landauensi Ecclesiæ reddidit, Lann-gemei, Lann-cingualan, Cilciuhinn, Porth-tulon, Penniuei, Landotei, Culalann, Cruc-Guernen, Guocob, Nantbaraen, Gulich, Luinelidon, Tref-bledgur-mab-aches, Tref-bledgint, Henriugunua, Merthir-Ilan, Lannmeirpennros, Lann-dipallai, Porthisceuin, Lannmihagel Liclit, Trefridiouen, Tnoumur, villam Lancinmarc cum prato super Gui et coretibus suis, et terra infra Castell Guent, Penncelliguenhuc, Cestell-Dinan cum silua et prato et maritimis, cum decimis, oblationibus, sepulturis, territoriis, refugiis, et libera communione earum. Quæcunque præterea in futuro prefata Ecclesia (largiente Deo) iustis modis poterit adipisci, quæta ei semper et illibata permaneant. Decernimus ergo, ut nulli omnino hominum liceat eandem Ecclesiam temere perturbare, aut eius possessiones auferre, uel ablatas retinere, minuere, uel temerariis vexationibus fatigare, sed omnia ei cum parrochiæ finibus integra conseruentur, tam tuis quam clericorum et pauperum usibus profutura. Siqua igitur inposterum



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ecclesiastica secularisque [persona], hanc nostræ constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temere uenire temptauerit, secundo tertioque commonita, si non satisfactione congrua emendauerit, potestatis honorisue sui dignitate careat, reamque se Diuino iudicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, et a sacratissimo Corpore et Sanguine Dei et Domini Redemptoris nostri Iesu Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districtæ ultioni subiaceat. Cunctis uero eidem loco iusta seruantibus, fiat pax Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quatenus et hic fructum bonæ actionis percipiant, et apud districtum Iudicem præmia æternæ pacis inueniant. Amen. Amen. Amen.

Ego Honorius Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus<sup>i</sup>. Dat. Laterani per manum Aimerici Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Diaconi Card. et Cancell., non. Apr., Indict. VII., anno Incarnationis Dominicæ MCXXVIII<sup>o</sup>, pontificatus autem domni Honorii Papæ Secundi anno V. [*Lib. Llandav.* 41-44.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, pp. 310, 322. The districts here enumerated are, in order, Cantref Bychan, Kidwelly, Gower, Ystradyw, Ergyng, Gorneydd, Penychen, Gwentwg, Dwy Gwent (the two Gwents), Ewyras, Ystrad-Dwr (the valley of the Dwr, part of Ewyras).

<sup>b</sup> = "to its source." And so below, "blaen Twrch" = "the source of the Twrch," "blaen Taratyr" = "the source of the Taratyr," &c.

<sup>c</sup> Miswritten "Tywi" in Rees.

<sup>d</sup> *Soll.* "Ffwrdd y Gwyddon." And above, Ned = the Neath, Meldon = the Melte.

<sup>e</sup> = Cymwr.

<sup>f</sup> = Rhyd-y-Cambren.

<sup>g</sup> *Soll.* according to Rees's translation,—"to the brook Crafant, along it to the Usk, through

Usk to Cili, over the Allt Lwyd, above Bychlit, to Penmardd, to Gocronoid, to Rhydnant, to the middle of Dinmarchlan, to Ol-y-Gabr, to Bron-y-Gadair, upwards to the spring of the Guerinou, to the top of Bwlch-y-Fingul, to the Brydell, to Halrma, to Nant-y-Bardd, along Nant-y-Bardd to the Dwr, along it to the Gwornaw, along it to its source." These boundaries are repeated here from a rather fuller account of them in the *Lib. Llandav.* 126, 127; and are those summarized above on p. 285, note <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> See above, pp. 310, 322.

<sup>i</sup> This signature, with the seal (here omitted), occurs in the original in facsimile.

## VII. Honorius II. to Urban Bishop of Llandaff.

A.D. 1129. April 27. Rome. — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS Bishop Bernard has appeared : SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *Venerabili fratri Urbano Llandauensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. the cause will be heard Oct. 18 of next year (1130). Post tuum a nobis discessum, uenerabilis frater noster

Bernardus, Episcopus Sancti Dauid, ad nostram præsentiam ueniens, litteras a fratribus nostris G. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, et aliis Angliæ Episcopis, a Rege, et quibusdam Baronibus, in quibus continebatur controuersia[m], quæ inter te et Wilfridum prædecessorem eius de terminis parrochialibus olim agitata est, per quadraginta VIII. testes (XXIV<sup>or</sup>. uidelicet de tua parrochia et uiginti

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quatuor de sua) fuisse decisam, præsentavit. Duo uero de illis XXIV<sup>æ</sup>, qui se hoc iurasse asserebant, et alios qui se hoc uidisse et audisse dicebant, ante nostrum et fratrum nostrorum conspectum produxit. Vnde ualde mirati sumus. Uerum ne mutare aliquid leuiter uideamus, quod ab eis dictum est diligenter attendimus; et ut ueritatem plenius nosceremus, fratrum nostrorum Episcoporum et Cardinalium consilio, festiuitatem beati Luce proximi futuri anni terminum tibi et præfato B. Episcopo præfiximus. Eapropter tibi mandando præcipimus, quatenus, occasione remota, prædicto termino cum instrumentis quæ a nobis habuisti, et rationibus quas habes, ad nostram presentiam sibi uenias responsurus; ut, ueritate plene comperta, sua cuique iustitia conseruetur, et pacem utraque Ecclesia præstante Domino consequatur. Ad hoc de pago Ewias, et terra Talabont, de quibus inter uos olim agitabatur contentio, nichilominus uenias respondere paratus. Dat. Laterani, v. cal. Maii<sup>a</sup>. [*Lib. Landav.* 51, 52.]

\* This, and both copies of the letter No. VIII., are written in subsequently but in a similar hand, and on blank spaces. The see of Hereford was still vacant. April 4 and 5,

1129, were the Thursday and Friday before Palm Sunday. Midlent Sunday of that year was March 24, and April 27 was the Saturday after Low Sunday.

VIII. *Honorius II. to Urban Bishop of Llandaff.*

A.D. 1129. *June 16. Rome.* — HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *Venerabili fratri Vrb. Llandauensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Winebaldus de Baeluna terram de Carlione monachis de Monte Acuto pro animæ sue remedio dare disposuit. Ideoque Fraternitati tuæ mandamus, quatenus ipsam terram præfatis monachis, saluo tuæ Ecclesiæ iure, concedas. Dat. Laterani, XVI. cal. Julii. [*Lib. Landav.* 30, 51<sup>a</sup>.]

\* Repeated in the MS. Dated "cal. Julii" by mistake on p. 30. For Winibald de Baalun, see above, p. 311. And for the monastery of

Caerleon itself, *Dugd. Mon.* V. 727; founded A.D. 1179, *Brut*, ed. Williams, p. 230.

A.D. 1131. ANN. MENEV.—Dedicatio Ecclesiæ Sancti David. [ap. *Wharton, A. S.*, II. 649. So *Ann. Camb.*, in an. 1131.]—Basingwerk Abbey founded by Ralph Earl of Chester [*Chron. S. Werb.*, ap. *Dugd. Mon.*, V. 261.]

[FINAL APPEAL OF BISHOP OF LLANDAFF TO THE POPE.]

A.D. 1130-1133. *Further and Final Appeal of Urban of Llandaff against the Bishops of S. David's and Hereford.*

I. *Innocent II. to Clergy and Laity of the disputed districts.*

A.D. 1130. Feb. 25. Rome. — INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS  
Renews Hono-  
rius' injunction  
to obey the Bi-  
shop of Llan-  
daff. SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis clero et populo per  
parochias Gober, Cbedueli, Cantrebachan, Estraten, Eir-  
gin, constitutis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Quemadmodum prædecessor noster felicitis memoriæ, PP. Hon., uobis per scripta sua mandauit, ut uenerabili fratri nostro Vrbano Landauensi Episcopo obediretis, ita et nos quoque uobis mandamus, ut ei tanquam patri et Episcopo uestro obedientiam et reuerentiam humiliter deferatis. Dat. apud Palladium<sup>a</sup>, V. cal. Martii. [*Lib. Landav.* 53, 54.]

<sup>a</sup> i. e. Palatium.

II. *Innocent II. to Bernard Bishop of S. David's.*

A.D. 1130. Midlent<sup>a</sup>. Rome (?). — INNOCENTIUS EPI-  
Urban has three  
years' grace for  
personally ap-  
pearing at  
Rome. SCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *Venerabili fratri Bernardo  
de Sancto David*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Venerabilis frater noster Vrbanus Landauiensis Episcopus, pro obtinenda iusticia Ecclesiæ suæ, bis cum multa fatigatione ad sedem Apostolicam peruenit. Postmodum uero a prædecessore nostro felicitis memoriæ Papa Honorio, ut proxima festiuitate Sancti Luce ad sedem Apostolicam de parrochialibus terminis tibi responsurus ueniat, euocatus est. Verum, sicut ipse per litteras et nuntios significauit, egritudine, senectute, et inopia ualde grauatus est, ideoque præfato termino se non posse uenire asseruit. Nos igitur ei compassi, inducias ei Romam ueniendi, ab hac media quadragesima usque ad tres annos, habito fratrum nostrorum consilio, indulsimus. Eo igitur termino, de <sup>b</sup>Lannteliau Maur cum pertinentiis suis, et de Lannteliau Pimpseint Caircaiau, et de Lannteliau Mainaur cum pertinentiis suis, et de Lann-toulidauc *ig Cairmirdin*, et de Lannteliau Penntuin, et de Lannteliau Pennlitgart, et de Lanteliaui Cil Retin in Emblin, et de Lannisann cum pertinentiis suis, et de Brodlann, et de Lanngurfrit, quæ omnia iuris Landauensis Ecclesiæ (sicut ipse asserit Episcopus) esse uidentur, ante nostram præsentiam uenias respondere paratus. [*Lib. Landav.* 54, 59, 60.]

<sup>a</sup> March 9, 1130. Innocent fled from Rome in May or June 1130.

<sup>b</sup> All these places are in Caermarthenshire or

Pembrokeshire, on the S. David's side of the Tyvi. For Llandelydog "in Caermarthen,"—now in Pembrokeshire,—see above, p. 280.

III. *Cardinal John of Crema to Urban Bishop of Llandaff.*

Stay at home at A.D. 1130. *June or July, between Rome and Genoa(?)*.  
present. —*V[rbano] Venerabili Llandauensi Episcopo*, FRATER JO-

HANNES<sup>a</sup> SANCTÆ ROMANÆ ECCLESİÆ PRESBITER CARDINALIS, salutem et orationem. Quod pro causa uestra dominus Papa Regi Anglorum nichil scripsit, hoc est, quia fauorem eius ad plenum nondum obtinuit. Neque nuntius Episcopi Sancti David domino Papæ locutus est, nec de sua causa mentionem aliquatenus fecit. Utile consilium nostrum est, ut in parrochia uestra remanentes, ad nos hiis diebus non accedatis, donec certius aliquid de domino Papa et Rege audieritis. [*Lib. Landav. 56.*]

<sup>a</sup> John of Crema, Cardinal of S. Chrysogono. Innocent fled from Rome shortly after his election, but before June 20, 1130, on which day he was at Pisa. And John of Crema, who was one of his adherents, probably left Rome at the same time, and certainly was

at Genoa Aug. 12 with Innocent (*Innoc. Epist. XII.*), and thenceforth in his French progress. This letter and the next seem to have been written after the flight from Rome. Henry I. accepted Innocent only Jan. 13, 1131 (see below).

IV. *Gregory, Cardinal SS. Sergii et Bacchi, to Urban Bishop of Llandaff.*

Promises and re- A.D. 1130. *Probably like date and place with the*  
quests help. *preceding letter.*—GREGORIUS<sup>a</sup> SANCTÆ ROMANÆ ECCLESİÆ

DIACONUS CARDINALIS, *V[rbano] Llandauensi venerabili Dei gratia Episcopo*, salutem et bene ualere. Scire uestram uolumus amicitiam, quam non minimum pro uobis iam laborauimus; et uestram sicut boni amici causam sicut manu tenuimus, modis omnibus quibus possumus manutinemus, et inantea faciemus<sup>b</sup>. Vos itaque mihi uti uestro karissimo amico plurimum indigenti subuenite, ut quando ad uestras deuenierimus partes, uel per uos uel per uestrum legatum sic nobis seruiatis, quatenus nostrum semper retinere seruitium possitis. Vale. [*Lib. Landav. 56.*]

<sup>a</sup> Gregorius Cardinal SS. Sergii et Bacchi, one of Innocent's supporters, was also with him at Genoa. Innocent himself, elected Pope Feb.

14, 1130, had been Cardinal Gregorius S. Angeli.

<sup>b</sup> So in orig.

V. *Innocent II. to Henry I. King of England.*

Protect Urban. A.D. 1130. *Aug. 12. Genoa.*—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *karissimo in Christo filio Henrico illustri Anglorum Regi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Honor Dei

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est et salus populi, si principes, quibus sunt iura regni a Deo commissæ, Ecclesias diligant, et ab iniuriis ecclesiasticas personas defendant. Nobilitatem igitur tuam rogamus et exhortamur in Domino, quatenus venerabilem fratrem nostrum V[rb]anum Landauensem Episcopum manuteneas, nec ipsi nec Ecclesiæ sibi commissæ iniuriam aut grauamen inferri permittas. Dat. Januæ, II. idus Augusti. [*Lib. Landav.* 55, 57, 58.]

VI. *Innocent II. to William Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Do not con-  
secrate Robert de  
Bethune, Prior  
of Llanton, to  
the see of Here-  
ford without Ur-  
ban's consent.

A.D. 1130. *Aug. 12. Genoa.*—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *uenerabili fratri Willelmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Equitati et iusticiæ conuenire cognoscitur, ut qd̃ a prælatis suis honorari et benigne tractari desiderat, subiectis suis nullum grauamen, nullam iniuriam contra rationem irrogari contendat. Frater siquidem noster V. Landauensis Episcopus aduersus te conqueritur, quod quibusdam parrochianis suis de Urceneulde, in quos ipse anathematis sententiam promulgauerat, ab Herefordensi Ecclesia communicari permittis. Propterea quendam Priorem suum, sibi familiarius adherentem, qui ad Episcopatum Herefordensem (prout idem Episcopus asserit) impudenter anhelat, in eadem Ecclesia quæ suis excommunicatis communicat, Episcopum ordinare conaris. Ideoque Fraternitati tuæ per præsentia scripta mandamus, ut nullam ei iniuriam uel molestiam inferas, nec parrochianis suis ab ipso excommunicatis communices, uel absolvas, nec clericum suum, eo inuito, promoueas. Dat. Januæ, II. idus Augusti. [*Lib. Landav.* 55.]

\* *Leg. Præterea.*VII. *Innocent II. to Urban Bishop of Llandaff.*

Do not hinder  
R. de Bethune  
in the matter of  
the see of Here-  
ford.

A.D. 1131. *January 17. Chartres.*—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *uenerabili fratri Urbano Landauensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Herfortensis Ecclesia, proprio uiduata pastore, Rot[bertum] Priorem de Lantoene, religiosum et litteratum (prout fertur) uirum, unanimi uoto et communi assensu, uti accepimus, sic in Episcopum et pastorem elegit. Sed quum ad tam sacrum opus et animarum saluti necessarium idoneæ personæ exquirendæ sunt diligentius

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et trahendæ, per Apostolica scripta Fraternitati tuæ mandando præcipimus, quatenus præfatum R. Herfortensi Ecclesiæ libere ad regimen ipsius concedas; et ut idem electoribus suis præbeat assensum, sibi iniungas. Ad hæc quum, sicut ad aures nostras perlatum est, R. Herfortensis Episcopus, aduersus quem de parrochialibus terminis conquerebaris, antequam Romam uenires, rebus humanis exceptus est; præcipimus tibi, ut præfatæ Herfortensi Ecclesiæ, quemadmodum uiuente Ricardo Episcopo tenuerat, parrochiam suam restituas, et usque dum Episcopus ibidem consecratur, absque inquietatione tenere permittas. Postmodum uero controuersia, quæ inter uos est, ordine iudiciario decidatur. Non est enim consentaneum rationi, ut si Episcopus ad iudicium uocatus morte præuentus est, eius occasione Ecclesia aliquid sustineat detrimentum<sup>b</sup>. Dat. Carnoti, XVI. cal. Februarii. [*Lib. Landav.* 61.]

<sup>a</sup> Henry I. "apud Carnotum ultro manus dedit" to Innocent as against the antipope (*W. Malms., H. N., I.*) January 13 (*Orderic. Vital. VIII.*).

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 325; and also *W. de Wycombe*,

*Vit. R. Botm., c. XI.* (in *Wharton, A. S., II.* 305). Robert was consecrated to Hereford June 28, 1131. Llantonny it would seem was then claimed for Llandaff diocese.

### VIII. Innocent II. to William Archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. 1131. *March 14. S. Quentin.* — INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *uenerabilibus fratribus* *W[illelmo] Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo eiusque suffraganeis Episcopis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Venerabilis frater noster Vrbanus Landauensis Episcopus, qui modo ad nostram deuote venit præsentiam, studiosi de more pastoris pro utilitate Ecclesiæ sibi commissæ, quamvis ætas et egritudo resisterent, plurimum cognoscitur laborasse; veruntamen, inspecto eo quod ei de parrochialibus terminis a prædecessore nostro sanctæ recordationis Papa Honorio iudicatum est, quia utriusque Ecclesiæ iustitiam plenius cognoscere desideramus, adhibito fratrum nostrorum consilio, nichil innouauimus. Per præsentia igitur scripta Fraternitati uestræ rogando mandamus, quatenus ipsum utpote religiosum uirum honoretis ac diligatis; et ne interim de parrochia illa, super quam B. de Sancto Dauid aduersus eum conqueritur, aliquam immunitatem sustineat, sed in pace possideat et quiete, prudentia uestre discretionis efficiat. Ad hæc nichilominus Dilectionem tuam, frater Archiepiscope, deprecamur, quatenus, pro caritate beati Petri et nostra, clericis suis Vchtredo Archidiacono, et Isaac, bonam uoluntatem tuam et gratiam

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reddas. Dat. apud Sanctum Quintinum, II. idus Martii. [*Lib. Landav.* 58, 62.]

IX. *Innocent II. to Bernard Bishop of S. David's.*

Suit to be determined before the Pope Oct. 18, 1131. Do not molest Urban meanwhile.

A.D. 1131. April 7. Compiègne. — INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *uenerabili fratri B[ernardo] Episcopo Sancti Dewi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ut pax Ecclesiis tribuatur et sua cuique iusticia conseruetur, proximam beati Luce festiuitatem tibi et uenerabili fratri nostro Vrbano Landauensi Episcopo terminum constituimus, quo, utrisque conspectui nostro præsentatis, controuersia, quæ de parrochialibus terminis inter uos agitur, finiretur. Uerum postea ipse litteris suis et nuntiis nobis significauit, archidiaconos tuos eum de possessione parrochiarum, de quibus aduersus eum questus es, uiolenter eiecisse. Ne igitur ei litis extendendæ occasio præbeatur, per præsentia scripta tibi mandamus, quatenus in possessione parrochiarum absque molestatione reducas; ut possessor constitutus, præfixo termino ualeat tibi iudiciario iure respondere. Dat. Compendii, VII. idus Aprilis. [*Lib. Landav.* 58, 59.]

X. *Innocent II. to Urban Bishop of Llandaff.*

Same as beginning of previous letter.

A.D. 1131. May 11. Periers<sup>a</sup>. — INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *uenerabili fratri Vrbano Landauensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Desiderium nostrum est Ecclesiis Dei pacem tribuere, et si qua inter eas controuersia est, ordine iudiciario terminare. Quia igitur inter te et fratrem nostrum B. Episcopum Sancti Dauid de iure parrochiarum Goher, Chedueli, Cantrebachan, Istrateu, et Heuias, controuersia agitur, Fraternitati tuæ mandando præcipimus, quatenus proxima beati Luce festiuitate nostro te conspectui representes; eidem fratri nostro B. Episcopo, tam de præfatis parrochiis quam de uilla <sup>b</sup>Talebont, omni occasione seposita, respondere paratus. Dat. Pirerii<sup>c</sup>, V. idus Maii. [*Lib. Landav.* 56, 57, 60, 61.]

<sup>a</sup> Periers on the Andely, which enters the Seine a little above Rouen, lies between Rouen, where Innocent was May 9 and 10 (see Jaffé), and Beauvais, where he was May 19, 1131 (*Innoc. Epist.* XLV., XLVI.) Pitres, which is near the junction of the Andely and the Seine, lay out of Innocent's road. And

Perrai on the river Sarthe (= *Pirerium* in Le Prevost's Index to his edition of Ordericus Vitalis) is far away and out of the question.

<sup>b</sup> Llandeilo Talybont, in Gower.

<sup>c</sup> This letter is twice entered in the MSS. In the second copy it is dated "Pireri."

XI. *Innocent II. to William Archbishop of Canterbury (?)*.

Protect Urban A.D. 1131. May 26. *Compiègne*.—INNOCENTIUS EPI-  
 against Rabel SCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Vrbano*  
 de Tankerville. *Landauensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedic-

tionem. Quemadmodum tua nouit Dilectio, fratribus nostris Vrbano Land. et Bernardo Sancti Dauid Episcopis, pro controuersia quæ inter eos agitur, proximam beati Luce festiuitatem terminum constituimus. Ceterum idem frater noster Vrbano Episcopus, directis ad nos nuntiis, aduersus Rabel Camerarium de Tancarville questus est, quod eum de possessione uillæ <sup>b</sup>Sancti Teliawi de Lannerwalt uiolenter eiecit. Quocirca sollicitudini uestre mandamus, quatenus, inuenta oportunitate, super hoc karissimum filium nostrum H. Regem adeas, ut Landauensi Ecclesie non patiat in iuriam irrogari sed sua ei faciat iura restitui. Dat. Compendii, VII. cal. Junii. [*Lib. Landav. 57.*]

\* An evident mistake (in the orig. MS.) for (probably) William Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>b</sup> The place meant is Llandeilo Ferwallt in Gower.

XII. *Innocent II. to Urban Bishop of Llandaff.*

The suit to A.D. 1131. August 12. *Auxerre*.—INNOCENTIUS EPI-  
 be decided at SCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Vrbano*  
 the Council of *Landauensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedic-  
 Rheims, Oct. 18, 1131. nem.

Religiosorum animus quietem postulat; quoniam, dum in diuersa rapitur, ad contemplationis requiem pertingere non ualebit. Expedit igitur, frater karissime, ut cuius iuris sint parochiales termini, super quibus inter te et Bernardum Episcopum Sancti Dauid controuersia est, plene cognoscas. Ad concilium itaque, quod Remis proxima festiuitate beati Luce (præstante Domino) celebraturi sumus, omni occasione seposita uenias, præfato Episcopo de parochialibus terminis responsurus; ut quid iuris Ecclesie tue sit, sapientium et religiosorum uirorum consilio et iudicio decidatur; et demum, ueritate comperta, pax et tranquillitas Landauensi Ecclesie (Diuina suffragante gratia) tribuatur. Satius enim est eandem litem sine multa fatigatione in Remensi Concilio dirimi, quam Romæ multis expensis et laboribus terminari. Dat. Altisiodori, II. idus Augusti. [*Lib. Landav. 63.*]



XIII. *Innocent II. to Urban Bishop of Llandaff.*

Suit referred to three Archbishops in England, Urban not having been present at the Council of Rheims.

A.D. 1131. November 21. Troyes. — INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Urbano Landauensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ut lis et controuersia, quæ inter te et fratrem nostrum B. Episcopum Sancti David de parochialibus terminis agitur, finem acciperet, et utraque Ecclesia de cætero conquiesceret, festiuitatem beati Luce, qua ad nostram uenires præsentiam eidem Episcopo de sua querimonia responsurus, tibi terminum constituimus. Prædictus autem frater noster Bernardus Episcopus, clericorum et laicorum caterua stipatus, eodem termino nostro se conspectui optulit, agere præparatus; veruntamen corporali egritudine detentum non posse [te] venire, tres sacramentales, qui a tua parte fuerant delegati, tactis sacro-sanctis euuangeliiis firmauerunt. Nos igitur, utriusque Ecclesiæ inopiæ et laboribus prouidentes, negotium hoc uenerabilibus fratribus nostris W. Cantuariensi, T. Eboracensi, et Hug. Rotomagensi, Archiepiscopis, in regno Angliæ pertractandum commisimus. Placet autem nobis, ut, si fieri potest, inter te et præfatum Bernardum Episcopum per eorum consilium et deliberationem pax et concordia reformetur. Præcipiendo ergo tibi mandamus, ut, omni occasione seposita et absque apellatione, proxima Dominica qua legitur, "Ego sum pastor bonus," cum litteris et priuilegio prædecessoris nostri (felicis memoriæ) PP. Honorii, et aliis instrumentis, ac superstitibus testibus, quos ante ipsius præsentiam produxisti, eisdem te fratribus repræsentantes; quatenus ipsi et tuas et prædicti fratris nostri Bernardi Episcopi rationes audire, et plenius intelligere, et quod perceperint nobis ualeant intimare. Quod si subterfugeris, et te præsentare et agere contempseris, cauendum est ne dampnum de absentia tua sustineas, illumque possessorem et te petitozem constituamus. Dat. Trecis, XI. cal. Decembris. [*Lib. Landav.* 63, 64.]

XIV. *Innocent II. to Urban Bishop of Llandaff.*

Appear before the three Archbishops on the second Sunday after Easter.

A.D. 1132. February 13. Beaujeu<sup>a</sup>. — INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Urbano Landauensi Episcopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quemadmodum per alia tibi scripta man-

[FINAL APPEAL OF BISHOP OF LLANDAFF TO THE POPE.]

dauimus, ita Fraternitati tuæ iterato mandamus, quatinus in Dominica qua legitur, "Ego sum pastor bonus," ad præsentiam uenerabilium fratrum, W. Cantuariensis, T. Eboracensis, H. Rotomagensis, Archiepiscoporum accedas, et allegationes tuas eis absque trepidatione aliqua diligenter exponas. Nos siquidem causam tuam illis discutiendam commissimus, et nobis reseruauimus terminandam. Non igitur super hoc Discretio tua moueatur, quin te in Ecclesiæ tuæ iustitia paternæ prouisionis intuitu (auctore Domino) manutenere curabimus; et iure suo eam priuari nullatenus permittemus. Dat. Beliochi<sup>b</sup>, idibus Februarii. [*Lib. Landav.* 60, 65.]

<sup>a</sup> Innocent was at Cluny Feb. 2—Feb. 12, south of Cluny Feb. 22 in that year (*Mansi*, 1132 (*Innoc. Epistol. LXXXIX.—LXXXVI.*), and XXI. 409).  
at Beaulieu (Bel-ioci) near Macon and a little <sup>b</sup> In orig. MS., "heliodi."

## XV. Innocent II. to William Archbishop of Canterbury.

Give Urban's A.D. 1132. March 7. Valence. — INNOCENTIUS EPI-  
clerks free ac- SCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI, *uenerabili fratri W[illel-*  
cess to him until me] *Cantuariensi Episcopo Apostolica sedis legato*, salu-  
the time appoint- tem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Fratrem nostrum  
ed. Vrbanum Landauensem Episcopum in causa sua, quæ in tua et aliorum  
præsentia debet tractari, tam suorum clericorum quam et aliorum  
amicorum egere consilio et auxilio, non <sup>a</sup> extat ambiguum. Proinde  
Dilectioni tuæ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus clericos  
eius, donec causa fine debito terminetur, in pace dimittas, et ire ad  
iudicium non compellas. Dat. Valentiniæ, non. Martii. [*Lib. Landav.*  
62, 63.]

<sup>a</sup> "excitat," in orig. MS.

Council at Lon- XVI. ANN. WAVERLEY. a. 1132.—Anno 32 Hen. Regis  
don on the se- post Pascha fuit magnum placitum apud Londoniam, ubi  
cond Sunday after de pluribus et maxime de discordia Episcopi Sancti Davi-  
Easter, April 24, dis et Episcopi de Llandaff de finibus parochiarum sua-  
1132. rum tractatum. [223 Luard, from *Hen. Hunt. VII.*, 385 Savile: and  
in *Wilkins*, I. 412.]

Council at Lon- XVII. A.D. 1133. HEN. HUNT. VII.—Ad Caput  
don on Feb. 8, Jejuni fuit conventus apud Londoniam super Episcopos  
1133. Sancti Davidis et Clamorgensis; et, etc. [385 Savile.]

[S. DAVID'S FIRST CLAIMS OF METROPOLITANSHIP.]

XVIII. HEN. HUNT., VII. a. 1134<sup>a</sup>.—Obiit ..... Lauendensis Episcopus in via Romæ pro causa sua tam diu agitata. [385 Savile.]—GUL. MALM., *Hist. Nov.*, I. 7.—Anno tricesimo primo<sup>b</sup> regni Henrici ..... contentio inter Bernardum Episcopum Menevensem et Urbanum Landavensem de jure parochiarum, quas idem Urbanus illicite usurpaverat<sup>c</sup>, æterno fine sopita est: tot enim ad curiam Romanam appellationibus, tot itinerum expensis, tot causidicorum conflictibus, multis annis ventilata, tandem aliquando morte Urbani apud Romam soluta vel potius decisa est: nam et Apostolicus, æquitate rei perpensa, religioni et justitiæ Menevensis Episcopi qua decebat sententia satisfacit. [699 Hardy.]

<sup>a</sup> Matt. Paris also (73 Wats) dates Urban's death, "in itinere Romano," in 1134.

<sup>b</sup> Read "secundo." The reference is to the council of April 24, 1132, and Henry's

32nd year was from Aug. 5, 1131, to Aug. 4, 1132.

<sup>c</sup> *Ann. de Morgan*, a Glamorganshire abbey, use the same words (13 Luard).

A.D. 1135<sup>a</sup>. *Bernard of S. David's applies to Innocent II. for a Pall.*

*Innocentio Papa* BERNARDUS EPISCOPUS. Innocentio Dei gratia sanctæ Romanæ et universalis Ecclesiæ summo Pontifici, Bernardus Sancti Andreæ Sanctique David vicarius indignus, humilis subjectionis obsequium cum orationibus assiduus. ... [Apud clementem judicem pallium expetit a Papa pro Ecclesia sua Menevensi.]—[ap. *Gir. Camb., De Invect.* II. 7; *Opp.* III. 58.]

<sup>a</sup> Bernard waited twenty years after his consecration, viz. until Henry I.'s death, before personally applying for metropolitan authority (*Gir. Camb.*, *ib.* 1; *Opp.* III. 49). Hen. Hunt. (*H. A.*, I., *M. H. B.* 693) so far leaps to a

conclusion, writing in or about this very year 1135, as to say that "tempore nostro recepit Episcopus S. David pallium a Papa," &c.; adding, however, "sed statim tamen amisit."

A.D. 1136. BRUT Y TYWYSOG<sup>a</sup>.—Yny vlywydyn honno y bu uarw Ieuan arch-offeirad Llan Badarn. [p. 160, ed. Williams.]

In that year died Ieuan arch-priest of Llanbadarn.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 298, note <sup>a</sup>; and below under A.D. 1145 and 1175. The Glamorganshire Welsh monasteries disappear with the 11th century (see below under A.D. 1150); and

for Whitland, see A.D. 1143. Llanbadarn appears to have retained its Welsh character longer. See also below in Append. D. for Ieuan.

[WELSH BISHOP OF BANGOR CONSECRATED BY ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.]

A.D. 1140. *Meurig, elected by the Welsh, but consecrated to Bangor by the Archbishop of Canterbury, against the will of Owen Gwynedd and his brother Kadwallader, then princes of Gwynedd, objects to swear allegiance to the King of England.*

I. CONT. FLOR. WIG. a. 1139.—Quoniam vero instabant solennes dies Dominici Adventus [3 Dec.], ..... Rex [Stephanus] Wigornam rediit; ubi quidam clericus, vir eximie religionis, Mauricius nomine, electus a clero et a populo Bangornensis Ecclesie, comitantibus illum presulibus Rotberto Herefordensi et Sigefrido Cicestrensi, in castello Regi presentatur, attestantibus illum canonice electum presulatu fore dignum. Quod et Rex concessit. Persuasus a pontificibus ut Regi fidelitatem faceret, respondit, hoc se nullatenus posse facere. ‘Vir,’ inquit, ‘magne religionis apud nos est, quem pro spirituali patre teneo, et predecessoris mei David archidiaconus extitit, qui hoc iuramentum mihi facere inhibuit.’ Ad hæc illi, ‘Quod nos egimus, causa rationis exigit ut agas.’ At ille, ‘Si vos magnæ auctoritatis viri hoc egistis, nulla mora sit mihi id idem faciendi.’ Jurat et ille fidelitatem Regi. [II. 121, 122.]

## II. Owen and Kadwallader Princes of North Wales to Bishop Bernard.

Meet us at Aberdyvi, Nov. 1, to oppose the Canterbury claimant of the see of Bangor.

A.D. 1140. *Bernardo Episcopo* OENEUS ET KADWALLADERUS PRINCIPES NORWALLIÆ. Bernardo Dei gratia Menevensi Episcopo Oeneus Rex Walliæ et Kawalader salutem et omne bonum. Notum sit vestræ potestati... [Conqueritur quendam hominem, Mauricium Episcopum nomine, S. Danielis Ecclesiam non per ostium sed ut fur aliunde intrasse; Bernardumque invitat, ut cum Anarawd<sup>a</sup> filio Grifini in festo Omnium Sanctorum ad ostium Devi se conferat ut deliberationem de istis cum eo agat.] —[ap. *Gir. Camb.*, *De Invect.* II. 9; *Opp.* III. 59.]

<sup>a</sup> Anarawd, son of Gryffyth ap Rhys, prince of South-Wales, was son-in-law to Kadwallader.

III. P. R. C.—*Professio Mauricii Bangornensis.* \*Ego Mauricius ad regimen Ecclesie Bangornensis electus, et a te, reverende pater Theobalde, sancte Cantuariensis Ecclesie Archiepiscopo et totius Britannię primas, per gratiam Dei, antistes consecrandus, tibi et omnibus successoribus tuis tibi canonice succedentibus debitam subjectionem et

[WELSH BISHOP OF BANGOR CONSECRATED BY ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.]

canonicam obedientiam per omnia me exhibiturum fore promitto.  
[*Reg. Prior. et Conv. Cant. I.*; and *MSS. Cott. Cleop. E. 1.*]

\* Maurice and Uchtryd of Llandaff were consecrated 1140 (*Contm. Flor. Wig. II. 124*, and *Gervas. 1665*). The Professions of both are

verbatim the same. The latter was a married man with a family (*Brut y Tywysog. in a. 1171*, p. 212, ed. Williams).

A.D. 1143<sup>a</sup>. *Jurisdiction exercised by\* Archbishop Theobald over Uchtryd Bishop of Llandaff.*

I. GILB. FOLIOT ABBAS GLOCEST. *ad Theobaldum Cant.*

The Bishop of Llandaff too ill to appear. May his cause with the Priory of Goldclive be put off?

*Archiepiscopum.*—Patri suo et domino Cantuariensi Dei gratia Archiepiscopo et totius Angliæ primati T[heobaldo], frater G[ilbertus] Glocestriæ dictus abbas, pie velle quæ Dei sunt et actu semper implere. Sublimitati vestræ, domine, pro amicis supplicare compellimur, qui nec pro nobis audiri digni satis invenimur. Plus tamen eligimus apud patrem de pietate corripì, quam apud fratres de sprete charitate damnari. Ad vestram vocatus audientiam dominus Landaviensis multiplicibus se causis excusat, hinc difficultatem itineris, inde suspectas adversantium insidias, et præ cæteris sui corporis infirma prætendens. Inde vero nuper redeuntes fratres nostri, de quorum fide et veritate non ambigimus, de ipsius infirmitate contestantur. De lecto itaque ægritudinis suæ tum etiam per nos supplicando postulat, ut causæ præsentis actio usque ad vestrum reditum differatur; sic tamen ut res ipsa, quæ in controversia est, a fratribus de Goldclive interim inconcusse possideatur. Qua in re, si nec majestatem vestram minui nec fratrum vestrorum justitiam impediri videritis, petitioni huic annuendo, nos sicut in cæteris omnibus sic et in hoc ipso per omnia gratiæ debitores efficeretis. Glorificetur in vobis Deus, vestrique corona meriti semper augeatur in Domino Jesu Christo, dilecte pater. [*Epist. XLVI.*]

The Archbishop consents.

II. ID. *ad Uctredum Landaviensem Episcopum.*—Patri suo

et domino venerabili Landaviensi Dei gratia Episcopo, frater G[ilbertus] Glocestriæ dictus abbas, salutem et dilectionem. De vestra erga nos benignitate certo rerum argumento non dubium, si gratiam mentis non æquamus, tamen in quo possumus, vobis obsequi parati sumus. Litteras itaque domini Archiepiscopi vobis mittimus, ut attendatis ex his, quid vobis factu opus sit; et quod agendum videritis,

## [JURISDICTION OF CANTERBURY OVER LLANDAFF.]

prudenti cura adimpleatis. Oportet enim, sicut scripsistis, ut possessionem, de qua contenditis, monachis de Goldclive usque ad reditum domini Archiepiscopi inconcusse demittatis, eisque pacem interim de cætero observetis. Sicque faciendo, et iudicem poteritis habere propitium, et cum ad causam accingi oportuerit, melius poterit reformari negotium. Valete. [*Ib.* XLVII.]

III. *Id. ad Priorem et Fratres de Goldclive.*—Frater G[il-

Desist from your suit until the Archbishop returns.

bertus] Glocestriæ dictus abbas, dilectis in Christo fratribus domino Priori de Goldclive cæterisque fratribus, salutem et dilectionem. Paci vestræ et quieti sollicitè

providens, dominus Archiepiscopus vobis istud per me denuntiat, ut prosequendæ causæ, quam adversus dominum Landaviensem habetis, hac vice operam non detis. Placuit enim Serenitati ejus, ut actio ipsa usque ad octavas Epiphaniæ vel ad reditum ejus deinceps differatur; sic tamen ut possessio, quæ in controversia est, a vobis interim inconcusse possideatur. Dominus enim Landaviensis, sicut scripto suo testatur, hoc idem annuit, et vobis interim pacem se per omnia servaturum (Isai. xxvi.) compromittit. Valete; et paternæ circa vos gratias reddentes affectioni, ejus per omnia consiliis acquiescite. [*Ib.* XLVIII.]

\* Foliot was abbat of Gloucester 1139-1148, Uchtryd Bishop of Llandaff 1140-1147, and at the Council of Winchester 1143 (*Thorn*, in *Twysd.* 1803). Several letters of the former are addressed to Uchtryd (Epist. VIII. XXI. XLV. LVI. LVII. LXI. LXXI., and see Epist. XVI.; Epist. CCXVIII. belongs to Bishop Nicolas his successor). Theobald went to the Council of Rheims in March 1148, and on his return was banished from England, and was absent abroad

most part of the year. But besides that this would be too late for Uchtryd's Episcopate, the absence in the text seems to have been both a voluntary journey and at a different time of the year. The only other recorded journey abroad of Archbishop Theobald (after he went for his pall in 1139) was in 1143 "ante Natale" when he followed Henry of Winchester to Rome "de legatione acturi" (*Hen. Hunt.* 225).

A.D. 1143. *Gilbert of S. Asaph consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth\*.*

GERVAS., *Chron.*—Hoc anno [1143] sacrauit Theobaldus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus Gilebertum Laneluensis Ecclesiæ electum apud Lambethe, <sup>b</sup>accepta prius ab eo professione, astantibus et cooperantibus Roberto Londoniensi Episcopo et Ascelino Rofensi Episcopo. [*Twysd.* 1359.]

\* If the letter of the chapter of S. David's, given hereafter under A.D. 1145, really intends Gilbert by the "Richard" therein mentioned, and

if their (very onesided) statements are at all to be trusted, then he must have been elected by the clergy of S. Asaph, to be presented to the Bishop

[FIRST NORMAN BISHOP OF S. ASAPH.]

of S. David's for consecration, but with the consent, as of the Earl of Chester, so also of King Stephen; whose captivity (Feb. 2—Nov. 1141) is there said to have delayed such consecration and to have given Theobald of Canterbury the opportunity of arrogating it to himself. On the other hand, Owen Gwynedd captured the castle of

Mold in Flintshire in A.D. 1144, and must have been in full possession of S. Asaph and all its neighbourhood both then and for some years previously.

<sup>b</sup> Gilbert's Profession is not entered upon the Canterbury Rolls, although his consecration is endorsed upon them.

A.D. 1143. *Cistercians introduced into Wales.*

ANN. MENEV.—Ducti sunt monachi ordinis Cisterciensis, qui modo sunt apud Albam Landam, in West-Walliam per Bernardum Episcopum, qui dedit eis locum apud Trefgarn in Denglethes<sup>a</sup>. [ap. *Wharton, A. S., II.* 649.]—CHRON. S. WERBURG.—Fundata est Cwmhyre in Wallia, filia Blanchland. [ap. *Dugd. Mon. V.* 458.]

<sup>a</sup> "Deuglethef" (*Ann. Camb.* in a. 1144). Viz. Trefgarn in the cantref of Dangleddau, in the middle of Pembrokeshire. The new-comers must have almost immediately moved to Whit-

land: see *Brut*, ed. Williams, in an. 1146, and *Dugd. Mon. V.* 591. Cwm Hir was in Radnorshire. For Kymmer in Merioneth, see A.D. 1198.

A.D. 1144. May 14. *Lucius II. to Bernard of S. David's.*

His legates shall inquire into the S. David's claim to metropolitan-ship. LUCIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Bernardo Episcopo S. Davidis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Fraternitatis tuæ literas debita benignitate suscepimus; et quod de dignitate Ecclesiæ tuæ tam in ipsis quam in aliis, quæ super hoc ad sedem Apostolicam missæ sunt, diligenter attendimus. Verum quoniam, peccatis exigentibus et pravorum hominum superabundante malitia, ejusdem Ecclesiæ dignitas longo elapso tempore ab ipsa alienata et ad alias Ecclesias translata est, certum quid inde statuere ad præsens consilium non habemus. Disponimus quidem per Dei gratiam legatos nostros pro Ecclesiarum negotiis ad partes illas in proximo dirigere, quibus eandem causam per antiquos homines et authentica Ecclesiæ tuæ scripta indicare curabis; et nos, per eos veritate plenius cognita, quod ad honorem Dei statuendum fuerit, maturiori habito consilio statuemus. Datum Laterani, II. id. Maii. [ap. *Gir. Camb., De Invect. II.* 3, and *De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl., Dist. III.*; *Opp. III.* 52, 53, 187: and in *Wharton, A. S., II.* 549.]

A.D. 1145. *Chapter of S. David's to Eugenius III. respecting the metropolitanship of S. David's<sup>a</sup>.*

They allege in—*Eugenio Papæ* CAPITULUM SANCTI DAVID.—Dei gratia

stances of consecration of Welsh Bishops by Bishops of S. David's prior to Bishop Bernard.

vice beati Petri digne sublimato, capitulum S. Andreæ Apostoli sanctique David confessoris, cum omnibus sibi commissis, ad vitæ pascua feliciter pervenire.

Magnam nobis spem, magnumque solamen instantium jam tribulationum, idoneæ vestræ personæ in Apostolicam sedem ab Ecclesiæ rectoribus provisa sapienter electio contulit. Non enim latet nos, pater, etsi magno terrarum spatio remotos, qua sapientia, quaque industria, quibusque vitam ornamentis institueritis, exemplumque vitæ melioris fueritis. His itaque confisi, anchoram in portu et non in pelago figentes, quod nos aliquanto jam tempore momordit decernimus amodo non tacere.

Constat enim præfatam Ecclesiam esse metropolim totius Walliæ, eaque de causa ipsam propriam maximam provinciam nostram appellari inter cæteras regni Britanniæ provincias, atque ipsius Walliæ Episcopos suffraganeos esse nostræ Ecclesiæ, quippe qui et professionem, ut stabilitum est a sanctis patribus, facere Archiepiscopo nostro consueverant, et ad Episcopalem gradum eadem ratione ab eodem omnino promoti sunt. Quos autem novimus in Ecclesia nostra dignitate præfata perfrui, vobis manifestari dignum ducimus. Nostræ siquidem memoriæ Joseph hujus sedis Archiepiscopus ad pontificalem gradum promovit prius Morgleis, et post eum Duvan, Bangorensem; item Julienus noster ad eundem gradum instituit Revedun Bangorensem; Bedwd vero noster ordinavit Melanum Laneluensem. Item simili modo Joseph Archiepiscopus noster Herwaldum Landavensem ad ministerium pontificale promovit. Sicque semper a tempore Breviensis synodi, collectis ibi totius Britanniæ sanctis patribus, enervata quorundam hæreticorum Pelagianæ hæresis pravitate per beatum David in eadem synodo, atque ob hoc concessio ei privilegio ibidem, universæ provinciæ totius cleri atque principum consensu, hocque confirmante Romano pontifice, et ad confirmationem acceptæ dignitatis pallium ipsi præsentī David cum duobus suis suffraganeis Theliao atque Paterno tradente. Quo pallio decorata est Ecclesia nostra a tempore beati David usque ad tempus beati Sampsonis, qui nostræ sedis aliquamdiu pontifex, tandem flavam pestem fugiens, et pallium cum cæteris pontificalibus ornamentis secum deferens, ad Armoricos applicuit, et in Dolensi monasterio honorifice susceptus permansit. Ex tum vero nostra Ecclesia, hostilitate Saxonum et Anglorum et post Normannorum oppressa, pallium recuperare non valuit; sed tamen, ut diximus, metropolitana digni-



[S. DAVID'S CLAIM OF METROPOLITANSHIP.]

tate et ministerio non vacavit, seriatim totis temporibus usque ad annos aliquot regni Henrici Regis Anglorum, Wilfrido tum temporis nostræ sedis Archiepiscopo, qui multa perpressus a Normannica hostilitate, ab hominibus tandem Arnulfi de Monte Gomerici captus, per XL. dies ab eisdem detentus est. Post hunc successit Bernardus, vir magnæ religionis, quem elegimus in metropolitanum antistitem ad Ecclesiam nostram, quæ sedes et caput est primæ et maximæ provinciæ totius Britannię; qui sine ulla contradictione et calumnia consecratus est. Contra quod Theobaldus, nunc Cantuariensis, in tres personas de nostris partibus manus injuste misit, et ad Episcopi gradus eosdem illicite promovit: Henricum scil. Landavensem, pene illiteratum, qui præter reliqua vitæ suæ detestanda sanctimoniali palam dicitur abuti. Item Mauricium Bangorenses, qui virgam et annulum furtim ab ecclesia subtraxit, simili modo promovit. Ricardus vero in Lanelvensi Ecclesia electus a ministris Ecclesiæ cæteroque clero, cum literis Regis et Comitis terræ, metropolitano nostro B[ernardo] ad consecrandum est destinatus. Sed ejus nimirum consecrationis termino per captionem regis Stephani necessario dilato, Cantuariensis eum, sicut et cæteros, præsumptorie promovit.

Pro his ita gestis misericordiæ vestræ clementiam imploramus, quatinus<sup>b</sup> Ecclesia nostræ ostensæ dignitatis jure fini liceat benignissime jubere dignemini....[Adstruunt in fine se ipsos Romam venturos si Ecclesiæ suæ sæpe oppressæ et spoliatae pateretur inopia.]—[ap. *Gir. Camb., De Invect. II. 6; Opp. III. 56-58*: and see also *De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl., Dist. III., ib. 187, 188.*]

<sup>a</sup> Eugenius III. became Pope Feb. 18, 1145, and this letter was evidently written, not only before Bernard's appeal to the Pope of March 1148, but shortly after Eugenius' accession. Giraldus therefore, or whoever copied it, must have written "Henry" by mistake for "Uchtred" of Llandaff (there was a Henry of Llandaff 1193), and "Richard" for "Gilbert" of S. Asaph (there was a Richard at S. Asaph 1154-1161). Up to 1145, Theobald had conse-

crated three Welsh Bishops and three only, Maurice of Bangor and Uchtred of Llandaff, both in 1140, and Gilbert of S. Asaph in 1143; and his next Welsh consecrations were not until March 14, 1148, Nicolas of Llandaff, and Dec. 19, 1148, David of S. David's, Bernard's own successor. For the Bishops in the earlier part of the letter, see above, p. 144.

<sup>b</sup> This sentence stands thus in Brewer's edition.

A.D. 1145. BRUT Y TYWYSOG.<sup>a</sup>  
—Y vlwydyn rac wyneb y bu  
uarw Sulyn vab Richmarch mab  
y Seint Padarn mab maeth yr  
Eglwys, a gwedy hynny athro

The ensuing year died Sulien  
son of Rhyddmarch, son to S. Pa-  
darn, adopted son of the Church,  
and afterwards an especial teacher,  
a man whose science was mature,

[SULIEN OF LLANBADARN.]

arbennic gwr oed ac aeduet y geluydyt, ymadroddwr dros y genedy, a dadleuwr kymedrodwyr, heydychwyr amryuaelon genedloed, adurn o vrodyeu eglwyssolyon ar rei bydolyon, y decuet dyd o galan Hydref<sup>b</sup>: gwedy kymryt iachwyawl benyt ar y gyssegredigaeth gorff a chymyn Corff Crist ac olew ac aghenn. [pp. 166, 168, ed. Williams.]

a speaker on behalf of his nation, a pleader among arbitrators, the peacemaker of several nations, the ornament of ecclesiastical and civil decisions, on the 10th day of the calends of October<sup>b</sup>, after undergoing salutary penance in his consecrated body, and taking the communion of the Body of Christ, and extreme unction. [*ib.* pp. 167, 169.]

<sup>a</sup> See also above, p. 344.<sup>b</sup> 11th cal. November, according to another reading.

A.D. 1145. BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwent*.<sup>a</sup>—Ynghylch hynn o amser ydd aeth llawer o Saeson, a niferoedd mawrion o'r Cymry ym mhererindawd i Gaer y Salem oni weled diffyg yn fawr o fod heb-dynt. [*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X. 118.]

About this time many of the English, and great numbers of the Welsh, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, whose absence was severely felt. [*ib.* 119.]

<sup>a</sup> See *Brut* (p. 166, ed. Williams) in an. 1143.—Y viwydyn honno y bodes [o Gymry] pererinyon ar vor Groec yn mynet achroes y Gae-

rusalem.—“In that year some pilgrims from Wales were drowned on the sea of Greece, in going with the cross to Jerusalem.”

A.D. 1147. CHRON. IN EXCHEQ. DOMESDAY, *in an.*—Fundata est abbatia de Margan a Roberto Comite Gloucestriz. [ap. *Dugd. Mon.* V. 741; printed also in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, VIII. 274. And so also *Ann. de Margan*, 14 Luard.]—The priories of Caerdiff and Caermarthen were also founded about this year or shortly before; the former by Robert of Gloucester (*Dugd. Mon.* IV. 632, VI. 431).

A.D. 1147. BRUT Y TYWYSOG.—Y viwydyn rac wyneb y bu uarw Vchtrut Escob Llan Daf, gwr mawr y volyant ac amdiffynnwr yr Eglwysseu, gwrthwynebwr y clynyon, yny berfeith heneint. Ac yny ol ynteu y bu Escob Nicol uab Gwrgant [Escob]. Yny

The ensuing year died Uchtryd Bishop of Llandaff, a man of high praise, the defender of the Churches, and the opposer of his enemies, in the fulness of age. And after him came Bishop Nichol son of Bishop Gwrgant. In that year Bernard Bishop of Me-

## [S. DAVID'S CLAIM OF METROPOLITANSHIP.]

vlwydyn honno y bu uarw Bernart Escob Mynyw yny dryded vlwydyn ardec ar hugeint oe Escobawt,—gwr enryfed y volyant a dywawlder a santeidrwyd oed,—wedy diruawryon lafuryeu ar vor a thir, wrth beri y Eglwys Vynyw y hen rydit. Ac yny ol ynteu y dynessaawd yn Escob Dauyd uab Geralt archdiagawn Keredigyawn. [p. 176, ed. Williams.]

BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwent.*, in an. 1146.—Yr un flwyddyn y bu farw Uchtryd Escob Llan Daf, gwr mawr ei dysg a'i ddwyfoldeb, efe a wnaeth drefn ar y Suliau a'r gwyliau, a gwyliau mabsant, a'u cynnal yn olychwydawl lle nas gwnelid hynny o fodd ac arfer; ac yn ei le ef y gwnaed Nicolas ab Gwrgant yn Escob yn ei le ef. [*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, X. 118.]

nevia died<sup>a</sup>, in the thirty-third year of his Episcopacy,—a man of extraordinary praise and piety and holiness,—after extreme exertions upon sea and land towards procuring for the Church of Menevia its ancient liberty. And after him David, son of Gerald, Archdeacon of Ceredigion, succeeded as Bishop. [*ib.* p. 177.]

The same year Uchtryd Bishop of Llandaff died, a man of great learning and piety. He regulated the Sundays, holidays, and Saints' days, and caused them to be observed with religious services where that had not been done willingly and customarily; and Nicholas son of Gwrgant was made Bishop in his room. [*ib.* 119.]

<sup>a</sup> Bernard died 1148; see below, p. 355.

A.D. 1148. *Appeal of Bernard of S. David's to Eugenius III. at the Council of Rheims for metropolitan authority.*

I. *Bishop Bernard to Simeon Archdeacon of Bangor.*

A.D. 1148. *Before March.* — BERNARDUS EPISCOPUS *Simeoni Archidiacono Bangorensi* ..... [Post titulum eum] *invitat Papam adire ad concilium, quod] Remis celebraturus est in media Quadragesima ad* <sup>a</sup> *Latere Jerusalem,* ut per te manifesta fiat ibidem veritas dignitatis Ecclesie nostrae, quae tibi plenissime et indubitanter est cognita. Dedecorosum erit enim et praecipue dolendum, si sublimitas regni Britannici, tantis temporibus in honore habita, nunc in novissimis ancilletur, et mater tua sublato titulo libertatis captivetur, et Cantuariensium ludibrio sive libidini perpetualiter deputetur. [ap. *Gir. Camb.*, *De Invect.* II. 8; *Opp.* III. 59.]

<sup>a</sup> 4th Sunday in Lent, March 21, 1148.

Give evidence for S. David's at Rheims, March 21, 1148.

II. *Robert Bishop of Bath to Pope Eugenius III.*

Testifies, that Bernard profess-  
ed obedience to Ralph of Can-  
terbury who con-  
secrated him, and  
acted as suffragan  
to him and to  
William and to  
Theobald his suc-  
cessors. Bernard's  
predecessors also  
believed to be sub-  
ject to Canter-  
bury.

A.D. 1148. *March 21. Rheims.* — TESTIMONIUM ROBERTI BATHONIENSIS *contra Bernardum Episcopum de S. David qui a subjectione Cantuar. resilire voluit.* Reverendissimo Domino ac Patri E[ugenio] Dei gratia summo Pontifici, Sanctitatis suæ servus R. eadem gratia Bathoniensis Ecclesiæ humilis minister, salutem cum debita obedientia. Cum in omnibus veritati standum sit, ibi præcipue veritatis testimonio innitendum est ubi ipsa maxime periclitetur. Unde cum nunc de periculo et diminutione matris nostræ Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ agi audiamus, cui frater noster et coepiscopus Bernardus de S. David debitam ex professione subjectionis obedientiam subtrahere velle dicitur, non sine periculo nostro veritatem tacere posse videmur. Confidentes igitur et securi in conspectu Majestatis vestræ attestamus, quod retroactis temporibus inconvulsum stetisse audivimus et nostris deinceps illibatum stetisse cognovimus. Prædicta itaque Metropolis nostra cum in multis et magnis dignitatibus præ cæteris regni nostri Ecclesiis a temporibus Beati Augustini Anglorum apostoli multipliciter effluerit, a nobis antehac auditum non est, quin prædicti Bernardi prædecessores præfatæ Metropolitanæ sedis Archiepiscopis suffraganei obedienter exstiterunt et ab eis denique consecrati et illis scripto professionis obligati fuerunt. Ut autem ad tempora moderna et ad hunc ipsum Bernardum redeamus, ipse per impositionem manus Radulphi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi promotus fuisse, et scripta professione quæ adhuc in eadem Ecclesia permanere dicitur obligatus teneri, dignoscitur. Postmodum vero, per nostram scilicet promotionem, istum ad vocationem B[eat]i Willelmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi frequenter venire, et ejus canonicis jussionibus tanquam unum ex cæteris suffraganeis suis obedienter et sine contradictione obtemperare, meminimus et vidimus. Iste denique est, qui a venerabili domino Alberico Hostiensi Episcopo, tunc Apostolicæ sedis legato, ad patris nostri Theobaldi, qui nunc eidem Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ Deo auctore præsidet, consecrationem evocatus, tanquam suffraganeus et minister atque cooperator nobiscum adstitit. Eapropter cum eodem et pro eodem Archiepiscopo nostro Sanctitati vestræ supplicantes exoramus, ne

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suggestioni sæpe dicti Bernardi, quæ ex fabulosa antiquitate sive ex antiqua fabulositate fundamentum et initium sumit, aurem accommodetis, sed prætaxatam matrem nostram in dignitatum suarum statu incolumem servetis. Bene valeat Paternitas vestra in Christo, Domine Pater. [*MSS. Cotton. Cleop. E. I.*]

### III. *Eugenius III. to Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury*<sup>a</sup>.

Decides against Bernard personally, but appoints Oct. 18, 1149, for ascertaining the rights of the see of S. David's.

A.D. 1148. *June 28. Meaux.*—Venerabilis frater noster Bernardus Episcopus Sancti Davidis ad nostram præsentiam veniens, Ecclesiam S. Davidis olim metropolim fuisse viva voce asseruit, et eandem dignitatem sibi a nobis restitui suppliciter postulavit. Cum autem circa petitionem istam invigilans diu in curia nostra commoratus esset; tu, frater Archiepiscopo, tandem eo præsentem ex adverso consurgens, in præsentia nostra adversus eum querelam deposuisti, quod debitam tanquam proprio metropolitano obedientiam subtraxisset, tibi inobediens et rebellis existeret; cum a prædecessore tuo tanquam a proprio metropolitano consecratus esset, et viva voce et scripto Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ professionem fecisset, et in multis postea, tanquam alii suffraganei, tibi obedisset et astitisset. Ille vero consecrationem negare non potuit, sed professionem se fecisse et obedientiam exhibuisse omnino negavit; quod tu audiens duos testes in medium produxisti testimonium perhibentes, quod ipse, illis videntibus et audientibus, post consecrationem suam et viva voce et scripto Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ professionem fecisset.

Nos igitur, auditis utriusque partis rationibus et diligentius inquisitis, et testibus tuis studiose examinatis, communicato fratrum nostrorum consilio, juramenta eorum recepimus; et ut ipse Episcopus tibi, tanquam proprio metropolitano, obedientiam et reverentiam exhibeat, justitia dictante, præcepimus. Verum quoniam singulis Ecclesiis et ecclesiasticis personis suam dignitatem et justitiam volumus conservare, beati Lucæ festività proximi sequentis anni tibi et ipsi diem præfiximus, ut tunc præsentibus partibus de dignitate Ecclesiæ Sancti Davidis et libertate sua rei veritatem cognoscamus; et quod justum fuerit, auctore Domino, exinde statuamus. Datum Meldis, 3 kalend. Julii. [ap. *Gir. Camb., De Invect.* II. 2; and *De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl., Dist. II.*; *Opp.* III. 51, 52, 180, 181: as "ex registro Eugenio Papæ:" also in *Hoveden*, p. 454.]

## [SUBJECTION OF S. DAVID'S TO CANTERBURY.]

\* A like Bull, *mutatis mutandis*, was sent to the clergy and laity of S. David's; *Gir. Camb., De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl., Dist. III.*;

*Opp. III. 187.* Jaffé dates Eugenius's letter in 1147, probably on the erroneous supposition that Bernard died in that year.

IV. GIR. CAMB., *De Invect. II. 1.*—Cum dies partibus super libertate et dignitate Menevensis Ecclesiæ præfixus fuisset, morte præventus \* ultimus [Bernardus] non processit. [*Opp. III. 50.*]

Bernard died 1148 (*Ann. Theobald. and Chron. in Excheq. Domest. 13th cent. in Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VIII.*), which is plainly correct. David his successor was consecrated Dec. 19, 1148.

A.D. 1148. Dec. 19. *Canterbury.* David \* consecrated to the See of S. David's by Norman authority and with special profession of submission to Canterbury.

I. GERVAS., *Act. Pontif. Cantuar.*—Theodaldus ... hos sacravit Episcopos, ..... David Menevensem. [*Twysd. 1665.*]

II. ID., *Chron. in an. 1147.*—Quartodecimo kal. Januarii Theodaldus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus sacravit Robertum Lincolnensis Ecclesiæ electum, et David Menevensem, ad altare Christi Cantuariæ, astantibus et cooperantibus Hilario Cicestrensi, Gileberto Herefordensi, Walterio Roffensi, et Patricio Lunicensi de Hibernia. [*ib. 1365.*]

III. VITA DAVID. II. EPISC. MENEV.—Cum seniores Ecclesiæ et major et sanior pars capituli alium virum discretum et honestum elegissent, venientes ad Archiepiscopum Theobaldum paucos de capitulo seduxit ut ... David eligerent; et tam ipse quam sui corrupti pecunia electionem canonicè factam cassarunt; et eum sub quo securus posset [Theobaldus] carpere somnos, in Episcopatum consecravit, sumpta ab eo sufficiente cautione ne quæstionem de dignitate Ecclesiæ Menevensis in vita sua moveret. [*in fin. Gir. Camb., Opp. III. 431.*]

IV. GIR. CAMB., *De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl., Dist. II.*—Successit Bernardo David, Menevensis Ecclesiæ canonicus et de Keirdigan archidiaconus, orto quidem in electione schismate grandi; canonicis nempe Walensicis modis omnibus purum Walensem et impermixtum habere volentibus et talem exigentibus, Francis autem et Anglis e diverso dictum archidiaconum, ingenuis de gente utraque natalibus ortum, per canonicam electionem obtinentibus. [*Opp. III. 154.*]

V. P. R. C. *Professio David Menevensis Episcopi.*—Quia per inobe-

[SUBJECTION OF S. DAVID'S TO CANTERBURY.]

dientie culpam a Paradisi gaudiis exulamus, per obedientie meritum et virtutem ad eadem necesse est gaudia revertamur. Itaque ego David, ad regimen Menevensis Ecclesie electus, et a te, reverende pater Theobalde, sancte Cantuariensis Ecclesie Archiepiscopo et totius Britannie primas, consecrandus ex more Episcopus, quemadmodum obedientie debitum mihi a meis subditis exhiberi volo, ita tibi tuisque successoribus canonice substituendis, et matri nostre Cantuariensi Ecclesie, in omnibus et per omnia canonice subjectionis et obedientie reverentiam profiteor, et proprie manus signo confirmo. ✠ ✠. [Reg. Prior. et Convent. Cant. I.; and MSS. Cotton. Cleop. E. 1.]

\* See above under A.D. 1147.

A.D. 1148 × 1161<sup>a</sup>. *Jurisdiction exercised by Archbishop Theobald over Nicholas Bishop of Llandaff.*

GILBERTUS EPISC. HEREFORD. *ad Theobaldum Cantuar. Archiepiscopum.*—Patri suo et domino T[heobaldo] Cantuariensi Dei gratia Archiepiscopo, G[ilbertus] Herefordiensis Ecclesie minister, post iram misericordie remissionis. Si adversus dominum Landaviensem aliquantulum mota est tranquillitas vestra, tanto sublimitati vestrae humiliter supplicandum est, quanto adversus predictum Episcopum justiore causa motam esse cognoscimus. Sufficiebat enim ad sublevandam causam suam contra adversarium suum appellatio, et si vobis per omnia debitam observasset reverentiam. Quod si minus factum est, improbitati procul dubio Landaviensium clericorum, non ipsius Episcopi malitiae aut ingratitude, imputandum est. Opus enim manuumstrarum ipse est, et plantatio vestra; quem si de justa forte causa conteritis, opus quidem manuumstrarum conteretis, et quem plantavit dextera vestra, evellitis. Absit hoc a vestra gloria, nec tale sortiatur laus vestra dispendium, ut quem semel inter amicos ascripsistis, ab aditu gratiae vestrae eliminatum tam facile proscribatis. Venit quidem ad vos in humilitate et mansuetudine, nil sapiens altum adversum vos, sed quidquid actum sit a vobis, tantum totum quod bonum dominum, quod pium patrem decet, expetens et exspectans. Absit autem ut dies mentis vestrae sic convertatur in tenebras, ut ira in vobis aut gratiae praerjudicet, aut naturam evacuet; quin in paterno pectore sit intus apud vos, qui pro filio pulset et exoret et exaudiatur, affectus. Si quid igitur apud vos nostra potest supplicatio, si (quod tristes dicimus) a

Prays Theobald  
to be reconciled  
to the Bishop of  
Llandaff.

[WELSH BISHOP ACTING IN DIOCESE OF BATH.]

corde vestro propter inanem causam non prorsus excidimus, Episcopum vestrum suscipiatis in gratia, et paci et honori ejus provideatis, ne patrem alibi quærere compellatur, sed totum quod pium est, quod modestum, se apud vos reperisse gloriatur. Ad pedes vestros in prece hac corde prosternimur, quos supplicando libentius ipsi manibus amplectimur. Provideat itaque, si placet, vestra discretio, ne nobis postulata negando, preces nostras amodo muto claudatis silentio. Bene valere vos optamus in longa tempora, in Christo dilecte Pater. [*Epist. G. Foliot. XCI.*; v. 17. Giles.]

\* Foliot was Bishop of Hereford 1148-1163, CCXIX. and probably CCXVIII. are addressed to Bishop Nicholas. Theobald died 1161. Of Foliot's letters,

A.D. 1148 x 1161. *Episcopal Acts of the Bishop of Llandaff in the Diocese of Bath.*

I. *Indulgence to those who visit the Church of Bath on the Feast of the Exaltation of Holy Cross<sup>a</sup>.*

NICHOLAUS DEI GRATIA LANDAUVENSIS EPISCOPUS *uniuersis sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis* salutem. Eis debet Dominicæ Crucis maxime prodesse misterium, qui sinceriori deuotione Ipsius uenerantur honorem, et in statutis solempnitatibus ad consequendam ueniam peccatorum a Salvatore Crucifixo conueniunt. Ea propter, de Diuina confisi misericordia, omnibus, qui Exaltatione Sanctæ Crucis Bathoniensem ecclesiam fidei deuotione uisitauerint, peccatorum, de quibus corde contrito confessi sunt, XX. dierum indulgentiam facimus, et omnium beneficiorum Landauensis Æcclesiæ participis eos esse concedimus. Valete. [*C. C. C. Cant. MSS. CXI.*, fol. 54.]

\* On this occasion, Archbishop Theobald, Robert Bishop of Bath and Wells (who had just dedicated a new cross at Bath), and Mark Bishop of Cloyne (possibly Bishop O'Dubery,

ob. 1159, whose Christian name is not given; possibly Maurice of Tuam, ob. 1150; possibly Muriertach of Clonmacnoise, about 1152, ob. 1188), issued similar indulgences. (4b.)

II. *Indulgence to those who visit the Oratory of S. Werburga, S. John, and S. Katherine, near Bath.*

*Uniuersis Sanctæ Dei Æcclesiæ fidelibus* NICHOLAUS DEI GRATIA ÆCCLESIAE LANDAUVENSIS HUMILIS MINISTER, salutem et orationes. Nouerit Discretio uestra, petitione domini Petri Prioris et totius Conuentus Bath. Æcclesiæ et aliarum religiosarum personarum, et Archidiaconorum eiusdem Episcopatus, me dedicasse Oratorium quiddam in suburbio prefate ciuitatis in honore Sanctæ Werburgæ Uirginis et



[BOUNDARIES OF S. DAVID'S AND LLANDAFF.]

Sanctorum Johannis Euuangelistæ et Katerine Uirginis et Martyris, quorum altaria ibi habentur. Precibus etiam predictorum uirorum prouocatus, et fidelium deuotione ipsum locum cum magna ueneratione frequentantium roboratus, de Dei misericordia et Spiritus Sancti gratia confidens, ad singula predictorum preciosorum Sanctorum solempnia XX. dierum relaxationem de penitentia sua confessis indulgens, ut deuotio fidelium ibi augeatur, et Deus noster ab omnibus et per omnia benedicatur. Valeat in Domino Dilectio uestra. [*ib.*]

A.D. 1148 × 1163. *Renewal of disputes\* between Sees of S. David's and Llandaff.*

Asks David Bishop of S. David's to meet (Nicholas) Bishop of Llandaff at Hereford to settle disputes.

GILBERTUS HEREFORDIENSIS EPISCOPUS *ad David Menevensem Episcopum.*—G[ilbertus] Dei gratia Herefordiensis Episcopus venerabili fratri et amico David Menevensi Episcopo salutem et dilectionem. Quam iucundum, quam sit utile pacis et concordie bonum, facile dignoscitur, si ex contentione et discordia quanta damna proveniant, diligentius attendamus. Nam si motus varios, et quæ nos premunt undique bella, attendimus, patet liquido quam sit periculosum Ecclesie onus super onus assumere, et præter externa quæ premunt, intestina sibi prælia commovere. Inde est, quod si placet vobis consiliis nostris acquiescere, sollicitè daremus operam inter vos et dominum Landaviensem pacis modum aliquem invenire. Quod quia facile non est nisi in locum simul tres conveniremus, precamur locum nobis designari, quo convenientibus nobis possit inter nos de vestra pace tractari. Quod si ad hoc Herefordiam delegeritis, die quacunque ad hoc statueritis, aderimus; nec apud dominum Landaviensem cessabunt preces nostræ, quousque et ipsum adesse faciamus. Noverit autem Dilectio vestra nos in eundem hunc modum domino Landaviensi scripsisse, et placitum utriusque vestrum et rescriptum expectare. Valete. [*Epist. G. Foliot. CXXXIX. ; v. 183.*]

\* Possibly the old dispute about boundaries, which certainly lingered on as between the Welsh dioceses and Hereford until 1236 (see under that

year). Archenfield is mentioned incidentally by Foliot (*Epist. LXIV.*) as at that time in Hereford diocese.

A.D. 1150. *Sanctuary restored in Llandaff Diocese.*

BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwent.*, an. About the same time Nicholas  
1150. — Cylch yr un amser y son of Gwrgan, Bishop of Teilo,

## [RIGHT OF SANCTUARY IN DIOCESE OF LLANDAFF.]

mynaes Nicolas<sup>a</sup> ab Gwrgan, Escob Teilaw, adgyweiriaw nawdd yr eglwysi a dorred er yn amser Iestin ab Gwrgan, ac y doded yn gywair eu nawdd cyssefin i eglwysi Llan Daf, a Llan Carfan, a Llan Ildud, a Llan Doche, a Llan Ffagan, a Chaer Llion, a Chaer Went, ac i'r eglwysi eraill herwydd a fu gynt; ac y deddfwyd nawdd a weddai i'r mynachlogydd newyddion, hyd onid aeth rhan fawr o blwyf Teilaw yn nawdd yr eglwysi, ac y bu achaws hynny lonyddwch ym Morganwg yn amgen nac un mann arall yng Nghymru, a gwedi hynny adgyweiriwyd yr eglwysi a fwriesid i lawr, ac y gwnaed newyddion lle nad oedd o'r blaen, ac o hynny gwell yn trin eu tiroedd, ac nid cystal yn rhyfel, gwyr Morganwg a Gwent. [*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, X. 122.*]

<sup>a</sup> Nicholas is mentioned by the same Chronicle (in an. 1147) as making peace between the

was desirous of reestablishing the sanctuary of the churches that had been neglected since the time of Iestin son of Gwrgan; and their original sanctuary was restored to the churches of Llan Dav, Llan Carvan, Llan Illtud, Llan Doche, Llan Fagan, Caer Llion, and Caer Went, and to the other churches as they formerly obtained; and fitting sanctuary was assigned to the new monasteries, so that the great part of the see of Teilo acquired the sanctuary of the churches, which occasioned greater quietness in Morganwg than in any other part of Wales. After that, the churches that had been demolished were reconstructed, and new ones founded, by which the men of Morganwg and Gwent became better agriculturists than soldiers. [*ib. 123.*]

grandsons of Iestyn and William Earl of Gloucester son of Earl Robert.

A.D. 1151. BRUT Y TYWYSOG.—Y bu uarw Simon Archdiagon Keueilawc gwr mawr y enryded ae deilygdawt. [p. 180. ed. Williams.]

Simon Archdeacon of Cyveiliog, a man of great reputation and worth, died. [*ib. 181.*]

A.D. 1151. BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwent*.—Ynghylch hynn o amser bu farw Einion mebydd Celynoc Fawr, doethaf o ysgolheigion Gwynedd. [*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, X. 124.*]

About this time Einion Archdeacon of Clynog the Great died, the wisest of the scholars of Gwynedd. [*ib. 125.*]

A.D. 1152. *Feb. 24. Lambeth. Geoffrey of Monmouth consecrated to the See of S. Asaph by the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

RÉG. ECCL. CHRISTI CANTUAR.<sup>a</sup>—Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCLI. Theobaldus, Cant. Archiepiscopus et totius Angliæ Primas etc., VII. cal. Martii sacrauit Galefridum electum Ecclesiæ Sancti Asaph in Episcopum apud Lamhetham, accepta prius ab eodem secundum consuetudinem scripta de subiectione et obedientia sibi exhibenda professione, præsentibus et comministrantibus sibi suffraganeis Willelmo Norwicensi Episcopo et Waltero Roffensi: ordinavit autem ad presbyterum eundem precedenti Sabbato, i. e. XV. cal. Martii, apud Westmonasterium. [ap. *Wharton, De Episc. Assav.* 305.]

BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *Gwent.*, in a. 1152.—Yn yr un flwyddyn y gwnaethpwyd Galffrai ab Arthur (offeiriad teulu Wiliam ap Rhobert) yn Escob, eithr cyn ei fyned yn ei ansawdd efe a fu farw yn ei dy yn Llan Daf, ac a cladded yn yr eglwys yno. Gwr ydoedd ni chaid ei ail am ddysg a gwybodau, a phob campau dwyfawl. Mab maeth oedd ef i Uchtryd Archescob Llan Daf, a nai mab brawd iddaw, ac am ei ddysg a'i wybodau y doded arnaw febyddiaeth yn eglwys Teilaw yn Llan Daf lle y bu ef yn athraw llawer o ysgolheigion a phendefigion. [*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, X. 124.*]

In the same year Galfrid, son of Arthur (family priest of William son of Robert<sup>b</sup>), was made Bishop; but he died in his house at Llandaff, before he entered on his functions, and was buried in the church there. He was a man whose like could not be found for learning and knowledge and all divine excellencies. He was a foster-son of Uchtryd Archbishop of Llandaff, his uncle by the father's side; and for his learning and excellencies an archdeaconry was conferred upon him in the church of Teilo at Llandaff, where he was the instructor of many scholars and chieftains<sup>c</sup>. [*ib.* 125.]

<sup>a</sup> The Profession Rolls at Canterbury (v. *Wharton*, as above), the *Gwentian Brut*, and the *Ann. de Waverley*, establish the correct date as above, viz. 1152. In *Gervas. (Twysd. 1367)* it is 1154. *M. Paris* (84) has merely 1151: so also *Diceto*. The form of Geoffrey's Profession is the common one at the time, and identical with those of Bernard, Uchtryd, &c., but different from that of David of S. David's. Geoffrey's successor at S. Asaph,

Richard, was consecrated (by Theobald) in 1154 (*Gervas.* ap. *Twysd.* 1665, and *P. B. C.*), so that the "Geoffrey Bishop of Llandaff," who died in that year "at mass" (*Brut y Tywysog.* in an. 1154, pp. 184, 185, ed. Williams), was obviously Geoffrey of S. Asaph, i. e. the well-known Geoffrey (archdeacon) of Monmouth. But that he never went to his see, was probably from other causes than his early death, seeing that we

## [DEDICATION OF CHURCHES TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.]

find him witnessing in 1153 the compact between Stephen and Henry (*Brompton ap. Twysd.* 1039, *Germans. ib.* 1375).

<sup>b</sup> William Earl of Gloucester, who succeeded his father Robert (Geoffrey's first patron), in the lordship of Glamorgan among other things, in 1147. For the "*officiariad teulu*," see above, pp. 224-232.

<sup>c</sup> Godwin, confusing Geoffrey with Godfrey of S. Asaph (1160-1175), relates (it does not appear upon what authority) that William of Newbo-

rough was elected to the see of S. Asaph upon its avoidance by Geoffrey but rejected, and that hence arose the vehement attack made by him upon Geoffrey in his History. Unfortunately for this supposition, William, being born in 1136 (Cave), was only eighteen years old at Geoffrey's death. Possibly he may have desired to fill Godfrey's vacancy in 1175, but there is no authority forthcoming for the assertion beyond Godwin's statement.

A.D. 1155. *Dedication of Churches to the Blessed Virgin.*

BRUT Y TYWYSOG. in an.—Ny bu bell wedy hynny yny gyssegrwyd eglwys Vair ymeiuot. [p. 184, ed. Williams.]

It was not long after that before the church of S. Mary<sup>a</sup> was consecrated at Meivod. [*ib.* 185.]

<sup>a</sup> See above under A.D. 717. The earliest traceable dedication however to the B. Virgin in

Wales, according to Rees as there quoted, was by Eadgar at Bangor A.D. 973.

A.D. 1162. *Descendants of the last Welsh Bishops.*

BRUT Y TYWYSOG. in an.—Yn y ulwyddyn honno y bu uarw Kediuror uab Daniel archdiagon Keredigyawn. Ac yna y bu uarw Henri ab Arthen goruchel athro ar holl gyffredin yr holl yscolheigon<sup>a</sup>. [p. 198, ed. Williams.]

In that year died Cedivor son of Daniel, archdeacon of Cardigan. And then died Henry son of Arthen, the supreme teacher in general of all the scholars<sup>a</sup>. [*ib.* 199.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 298. This appears to be the last mention of Bishop Salgen's family.

A.D. 1163<sup>a</sup>. *May 19. Tours.*—David of S. David's "ad Turonense concilium vocatus erat" by Alexander III. (*Gir. Camb., De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl., Dist. II.; Opp. III.* 155), as one of the suffragans of Canterbury, all of whom (except the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Bath) were present there with Archbishop Becket (*R. de Diceto, ap. Twysd.* 535).

<sup>a</sup> A letter of "Fratr R. Sancti Asaph de R. Presbyter," to Alexander III. on behalf of the canonization of Edward the Confessor, is in the *Spicil. Læterianum*, II. 753, Florent. 1864, of which the date is there given as after the solemn

translation of Oct. 13, 1163. The Bull of Canonization of Edward is in *Wilkins, I.* 434, dated at Anagnina Feb. 7, 1161; to which year the letter obviously belongs.

[BISHOP OF S. ASAPH DRIVEN FROM WALES.]

A.D. 1164. *Strata Florida founded.*

BRUT Y TYWYSOG., in an.— In that year, by the permission  
 Yn y ulwydyn honno, drwy of God and the inspiration of the  
 gennat Duw ac annac Yspryt Holy Spirit, came a convent of  
 Glan, y doeth koueint o vyneich monks first to Strata Florida.  
 y Ystrat Flur gyntaf. [p. 202, [ib. 203.]  
 ed. Williams.]

\* So also the *Chron. S. Werlurg.* according to *Dugd. Mon. V. 632.*

A.D. 1164–1167. *Godfrey of S. Asaph driven from his Diocese.*1. *Becket Archbishop of Canterbury to Godfrey Bishop of S. Asaph.*

Return to your [c. A.D. 1165.] THOMAS ARCHIEPISCOPUS CANTUARIENSIS  
 see or resign it. *Godefrido Lanelvensi Episcopo.*—Apostolicis sine contra-  
 dictione et mora parendum est institutis, et cum omni celeritate et  
 diligentia mederi convenit languoribus et periculis animarum. Inde  
 est quod mandatum Apostolicum exequentes Fraternitati vestræ man-  
 damus, quatenus juxta præceptum domini Papæ redeatis ad Ecclesiam  
 cui vos præfecit Dominus, aut ipsam resignando curam ejus cedatis  
 alteri qui auctore Deo præesse valeat et prodesse. Alioquin Eccle-  
 siam illam non sustinebimus ulterius pastore proprio viduari, sed  
 ordinationi illius juxta quod in mandatis accepimus intendemus.  
 Valete. [*S. Thom. Epist. CXXVI. a; III. 279.*]

II. *The same to the same.*

Keep to your [c. A.D. 1166.] IDEM *ad eundem.*—Vestra Fraternitas ig-  
 own Bishopric. norare non debet, quod privilegium meretur amittere, qui  
 concessa sibi abutitur potestate. Vos autem, sicut accepimus, in alienis  
 Episcopatibus Ecclesiarum vacantium alienas oves solvere præsumitis  
 et ligare; et petitione laicorum, aut aliorum quibus sacramentorum  
 dispensatio non incumbit, ecclesias dedicatis, et exercetis alia quo-  
 rum non accepistis ab Apostolica sede vel matre vestra Cantuariensi  
 Ecclesia potestatem. Quod tanto credibilis videtur, quanto certius  
 constat vos sine speciali mandato Romani pontificis dudum (quod  
 minime licebat), quantum in vobis fuit, absolvisse excommunicatos  
 nostros, non observato tenore literarum domini Papæ. An hoc recte  
 feceritis, vestra Discretio providebit; quoniam oportebit super his  
 reddere rationem. Nam persistentes in scelere et voluntate peccandi  
 qui Ecclesiarum bona diripiunt et iis incubant violenter, nec ipse

[BISHOP OF S. ASAPH DRIVEN FROM WALES.]

Petrus coram Deo posset absolvere. Ne ergo cujuscumque instinctu de cætero similia præsumatis, prohibemus in virtute obedientiæ, in periculo dignitatis et ordinis, ne curam pastorem et Episcopale officium extra proprium Episcopatum ulterius exerceatis; sed ea sitis potestate contenti, quam vobis Ecclesia contulit in ordinatione vestra. Hoc autem vobis non interdiximus, quin ad preces coepiscoporum vestrorum, quibus communicare licuerit, vices eorum cum necessitas exegerit in rebus licitis impleatis; sed vos ab Ecclesiarum vacantium et Episcoporum qui excommunicati sunt officio præcipimus abstinere, et curam pastorem exercere quatenus facultas adfuerit in proprio Episcopatu. [*ib.* CXXVII.<sup>a</sup>; III. 280.]

\* These letters were written after Godfrey was driven from S. Asaph, which was probably 1164, when Owen revolted: and the second of them apparently after Ascension Day 1166.

Godfrey was Abbat (or rather Administrator) of Abingdon Oct. 31, 1165 (*Hist. Mon. de Abingdon.*; II. 235 Stevenson).

III. MATT. PARIS., *VV. S. Albani Abbatum*, in an. 1165.—Venerabilis Godefridus Episcopus de Sancto Asaph, petente Abbate Roberto, in basilica S. Albani ad majus altare ..... in Coena Domini chrisma confecit, et oleum sanctum quod per beati Albani parochias de more distributum est, eodem Episcopo nullatenus vices Episcopi Lincolnensis gerente in aliquo. Idem quoque Episcopus in capella infirmariæ ordines postea fecit generales, et postea multotiens\*. [82, Wats.]

\* The same Bishop also dedicated several altars in various churches in S. Alban's. See also *M.*

*Paris*, *Hist. Angl.* in an. 1165; p. 104 Wats: and *Dicto*, *Imag. Hist.* ap. *Twyd.* 539.

IV. HIST. MON. DE ABINGDON., A.D. 1165.—HENRICUS REX ANGLIÆ ET DUX NORMANNIÆ ET AQUITANIÆ ET COMES ANDEGAVIÆ, omnibus tam clericis quam laicis tenentibus de Abbatia Abbendonensi, salutem. Præcipio quod intendatis Godefrido Episcopo, cui commendavi abbatiam de Abbendona, tanquam abbati, de omnibus quæ pertinent ad ipsum abbatiam, et faciatis ei fidelitatem et servitia, ita plenarie et integre sicut facere solebatis prædecessoribus suis; et nisi feceritis, vicecomites in quorum bailliis estis, vos justiciant donec faciatis. Teste Johanne Decano Saresberiensis, apud Wdestocam. [II. 234, 235.]

V. JOANN. SARESBER., *Epist. CCXXVIII.* December A.D. 1167.—Illi autem [sc. a Thoma excommunicati], simulantes se in mortis periculo constitutos, quia oportebat eos ex mandato domini Regis

[BISHOP OF S. ASAPH DRIVEN FROM HIS DIOCESE.]

nunc transfretare, nunc in Walliam proficisci, a quodam Episcopo Wallensi, utriusque juris prorsus aut fere ignaro, Lanaluensi scilicet, qui monasterium Abendonensem utpote quæstuosius pro Episcopatu receperat de manu Regis, absolutionem impetraverunt. [II. 92, Giles.]

VI. R. DE DICETO, *De Archiep. Cant.*—[Rich. de Lucy, Richard archdeacon of Poitiers, Jocelyn de Bailleul, Alan de Neville, excommunicated by Becket at Vezelay on Ascension Day 1166,] postmodum mandato Cardinalium Johannis Neapolitani et Willelmi Papiensis absoluti a Godefrido Episcopo S. Asaph. Alanum Londoniensis absoluit Episcopus, etc. [ap. *Wharton*, *A. S. II.* 689<sup>a</sup>.]

\* See also *Diceto*, ap. *Twyss*, 359, 540: and below under A.D. 1175. Godefridus was consecrated and made profession to Theobald in 1160 (*Gervas.* ap. *Twyss*, 1665, and *P. R. C.*). From 1164 to 1169 Gwynedd was in successful revolt under Owen, and S. Asaph was held by the Welsh

(*Brut y Tywyog.* in ann.). The legates (appointed January 1167) were *Otho* Cardinal deacon S. Nicolai in carcere Tulliano, and William Cardinal Presbyter S. Petri ad Vincula (see *Jaffé*). Possibly a previous commission included Cardinal John of Naples.

A.D. 1165–1169. *Fruitless attempts of Archbishop Becket to impose a Bishop on the See of Bangor.*

I. *Owen Prince of Gwynedd to Archbishop Becket.*

[c. A.D. 1165.] OWENI WALLENSIS *ad Thomam Cantuariensem*. Religiosissimo Dei gratia sanctæ Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo Thomæ, suo patri spirituali, O. Walliarum Rex, suus spiritualis in Domino filius, debitam ac voluntariam in Christo obedientiam.—Vestræ, Pater mi venerande, discretionis auribus insonuit, quanta sui juris detrimenta post mortem Episcopi nostri Mauricii nostra passa fuerit Ecclesia<sup>a</sup>. Unde et magno timore perculsi trepidamus, ne, quia nobis incumbit necessitas curam et sollicitudinem hujus Ecclesiæ gerendi, Deus nostræ negligentia ista imputet. Nostis quoque, quantum nos immeritos oderit Rex Angliæ, ita ut nostro honori et in ecclesiasticis et sæcularibus negotiis pro posse deroget, in quo vestri exilii damnosam sentimus absentiam. Sed quoniam in tali statu non estis, quo super hac re nostræ indigentia consilere valeatis, vestram deprecamur obnixe clementiam, quatenus, cum sic amodo esse nequeamus, nostrum alibi Episcopum ordinandi licentiam tribuatis, tali tamen interveniente conditione, quod sanctæ Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ et vobis exhibeat obedientiam, ac

Permit a Bishop to be consecrated to Bangor elsewhere than by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but professing obedience to him: to which however you have no right but only our free consent.

[DIOCESE OF BANGOR REFUSES SUBMISSION TO CANTERBURY.]

si vestræ manus impositione consecratus fuisset. Et bene nostræ petitioni debetis satisfacere, quia non jus aliquod nos cogit vobis subijci, sed voluntas, quæ semper durabit immobilis, nisi in vobis remanserit, quo minus perseveret. Quod si nos de obedientia, si hoc contigerit, suspectos habueritis, securitatem faciemus quam velitis. Et sicut archidiaconus noster David vestra in omnibus præcepta sequitur, sic et nos omnes faciemus. At unum tamen sciatis, quod amplius sic esse non valemus. Voluntatem itaque vestram super his mihi litteris vestris renuntietis. [ap. *Foliot. Epist. D*; *VI. 302*, Giles.]

\* Meurig, Bishop of Bangor, died Aug. 12, 1161. Becket fled, Oct. 1164, and became legate April 24, 1166. This letter and No. II. appear to come between the two last dates.

## II. *Archbishop Becket to Owen Prince of Gwynedd.*

Refuses: will send a messenger. [c. A.D. 1165.] THOMAS CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS *Oweno Regi Walliæ*. Gratias vobis plurimas referimus, quod inter bellorum discrimina, et hostilem inimicorum inquietationem, Ecclesiæ Dei, sicut ex litteris vestris didicimus, curam et diligentiam impendere non omittitis. Verum non mediocriter insedit animo illud, quod in litteris vestris legimus; videlicet ubi dictum est, quod ex jure non debeat nobis subijci Ecclesia de Bangor: licet hoc ob dilectionem, qua vobis tenemur, dissimulemus. Quod autem postulatis, ut nostro assensu et licentia in Ecclesia eadem ab alio quam a nobis Episcopus consecretur, omnino non acquiescimus nec aliquando acquiescemus. Mittemus vobis nuntium nostrum, aut certe aliud, quod litteris modo nolumus commendare, sicut per præsentium latorem vobis mandamus. Interim autem vobis mandamus, ut per vestram diligentiam prædicta Ecclesia honoresque Ecclesiæ in pace permaneant, nec aliqua fiat electio, vel honorum Ecclesiæ transmutatio. Quod si fieret, nos in irritum ducemus. [*S. Thom. Epist. CLXXXIX.*; *III. 388*, Giles.]

## III. *David Archdeacon of Bangor to Archbishop Becket.*

Thanks Becket for giving him the custody of Bangor *sede vacante*, and laments his exile. [c. A.D. 1165.] BANGORENSIS ARCHIDIACONUS <sup>a</sup> *ad Thomam Cantuariensem*. Quanta mentis exultatione, quanta animi jucunditate nostra privetur Ecclesia, tam pii patris orbata præsentia, nec stylo notare nec verbis exprimere valemus; sic quippe cuncta in vobis relaxabat misericordia, quod nihil inultum omitteret justitia. Et licet omnes de vestro damnum patiantur exilio, nos tamen majori super omnes



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affligimur incommodo: præsentes quippe nos pio mentis affectu venerabamini, et inimicorum insidias in absentes illatas frustrabamini. Deus autem pro his vos abunde remuneret, cum nostræ imbecillitati digna retribuendi sit ablata facultas. Quod nisi locorum distantia nos a jucunditate vestræ præsentiæ sejungeret, nostri erga vos animi affectum clarius sentiretis, tum nostri copiam vobis exhibendo, tum nostram vobis, ut domino, substantiam offerendo. De hoc autem, quod nobis indignis Ecclesiarum regimen dignati estis remittere, Deum super hoc trahimus in testimonium nos omnem, quam potuimus, adhibuisse diligentiam, et vestris in omnibus obediisse præceptis; quod et de cætero faciemus. Et quod vestræ de Ecclesia regenda sollicitudini visum fuerit, nobis litteris vestris remandate. [ap. *Foliot. Epist. CCCCXLIV.*; VI. 207.]

\* David. The Alexander who was Becket's chaplain in 1166, became archdeacon of Bangor

subsequently: see *Gir. Camb., Leg. S. Emig. I.* 29; in *Wharton, A. S., II.* 429.

#### IV. *Archbishop Becket to David Archdeacon of Bangor.*

Elect no Bishop without Becket's cognizance. Restraining A. de Chargis.

[c. A.D. 1165.] THOMAS CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPI-SCOPUS *Bangorensi Archidiacono*. Grate suscepimus litteras dilectionis tuæ, et gratias inde tibi referimus. Sed hæc esse poterit summa occasio, qua tibi majores et uberiores gratiarum actiones referre habebimus, si te circa pacem Ecclesiæ Dei et clericorum disciplinam sollicitum audierimus. De eligendo vero Episcopo hæc tibi et fratribus tuis mandamus, ne de aliquo fiat electio vel nominatio, donec visis litteris nostris et nuncio consilium nostrum super hoc negotio audieritis. Nos enim, prout Dominus concesserit, ad pacem Ecclesiæ Dei et vestram modis omnibus studium adhibere curabimus. Audivimus clericos vestros ad alienas provincias ordinationis causa migrare; quod utrum verum sit scire cupientes, per fidelitatem, qua nobis teneris, præcipimus, ut nos inde certos reddas. De præsentium autem latore, qui ad vos per multa pericula venit, hæc tibi mandamus et præcipimus, ut ecclesiam suam et decimas plenarias eum in pace habere facias, et ab injuriis et violentiis, quas ei decimarum causa infert \* Arthurus de Chargis, immunem facias, eumque de cætero ab ejus inquietatione cessare compellas. Quod si facere contempserit, infra Purificationem beatæ Mariæ suam nobis præsentiam satisfactorius exhibeat. [*S. Thom. Epist. CXIII.*; III. 261.]

\* Possibly Arthurus de Bardsey, who was Dean of Bangor 1162, according to Br. Willis.

See the next letter, which has "Burgis," for obviously the same person.

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V. *Archbishop Becket to Arthur [probably Dean of Bangor].*

Appear Feb. 2, to answer for seeking a metropolitan in Ireland instead of Canterbury.

[c. A.D. 1165.] THOMAS CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS *Arturo de Burgis et complicitibus suis*. Relatum est nobis, Arthure, te in nos pariter et Ecclesiam Cantuariensem, matrem tuam, gravissime et sine meritis deliquisse. Tu enim, ut nobis suggestum est, cum tuis complicitibus in Hiberniam ire præsumpsisti; et ibidem falsa prædicatione tuorum et tua machinatus es, ut clerici et Episcopi Gwalliæ ordines et sacramenta reciperent quasi a novo metropolitano sibi in Hibernia constituto. Veraciter scias, quoniam immoderate deliquisti machinando talia, et veniendo in damnum Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ, matris tuæ. Et idcirco mandando tibi præcipimus, et in periculo ordinis tui et beneficiorum tuorum tibi firmiter injungimus, ut tu cum Laurentio et Jacobo et Hucteridio in Purificatione beatæ Mariæ nostro te conspectui repræsentes, satisfactorius Deo, et nobis, et Ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, matri tuæ, super his et aliis, quæ tibi objiciuntur. [*S. Thom. Epist. CLXV.; III. 347.*]

\* The above three letters obviously precede Nos. VI. and VII., and follow Nos. I. and II.

VI. *Archbishop Becket to Pope Alexander III.*

Appoint a Bishop for the see of Bangor.

[A.D. 1165.] THOMAS CANTUARIENSIS *ad Papam Alexandrum*. \* \* \* De Wallensibus, et Oweno, qui se principem nominat, Domine, provideatis, quia dominus Rex super hoc maxime motus est et indignatus. [*S. Thom. Epist. L.; III. 128.*]

VII. *Pope Alexander III. to the Clergy of Bangor.*

Elect a Bishop within two months.

A.D. 1165. Dec. 10. Lateran.—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI *dilectis filiis universis clericis in Episcopatu Bangorensium constitutis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Si quanta detrimenta et incommoda Ecclesiis ex destitutione pastoris soleant provenire, consideratione sollicita pensaretis, Ecclesia vestra tanto tempore prælato nullatenus caruisset, quanto ipsam audivimus destitutam fuisse. Unde, quoniam nostrum est de universis Ecclesiis curam et sollicitudinem gerere et earum destitutioni paternæ considerationis oculo providere: universitati vestræ per

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Apostolica scripta præcipiendo mandamus, et in virtute obedientiæ vobis injungimus, quatinus juxta mandatum et consilium venerabilis fratris nostri Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi aliquam personam idoneam et honestam vobis in pastorem et Episcopum infra duos menses post harum susceptionem pari voto eligere studeatis; sub cujus regimine Ecclesia vestra tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus, cooperante Domino, proficiat incrementis. Electum vero jam dicto Archiepiscopo præsentetis, ut ipse, si expedire cognoverit, electionem ejus confirmet, et eandem congruo tempore studeat promovere. Alioquin eum quem memoratus Archiepiscopus vobis assignaverit, omni occasione et appellatione cessante, in magistrum et Episcopum recipiatis et ei reverentiam et obedientiam debitam studeatis humiliter exhibere.

Præterea quoniam in archidiaconatu memoratæ Ecclesiæ vestræ filium patri quasi hæreditario jure successisse audivimus, et eundem archidiaconatum sine prænominati Archiepiscopi auctoritate vel conscientia obtinere, nos quod taliter exinde factum est irritum esse decernimus, et hoc auctoritate Apostolica omnino cassamus\*. Dat. Lat., IV. id. Dec. [*S. Thom. Epist. CCLXXVII.; II. 91, 92.*]

\* Misprinted by Giles, cassamus.

## VIII. Pope Alexander III. to Archbishop Becket.

Compel the Bangor clergy to elect a Bishop or elect one yourself.

A.D. 1166. Jan. 29. Lateran. — ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI *venerabili fratri Thomæ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Si quanta detrimenta et incommoda Ecclesiis ex destitutione pastoris soleant provenire, Bangorensis Ecclesiæ clerici sollicita consideratione pensarent, Ecclesia illorum tanto tempore prælato nullatenus caruisset, quanto ipsam audivimus pastore viduatam fuisse. Unde quoniam nostra interest de universis Ecclesiis curam et sollicitudinem gerere et eorum destitutioni paternæ considerationis oculo providere, fraternitati tuæ per Apostolica scripta præcipiendo mandamus, quatinus memoratos clericos diligenter convenias et instantius studeas commonere, ut in aliquam personam idoneam et honestam cum consilio tuo pari modo convenient, et eam sibi in pastorem et Episcopum infra duos menses postquam literas nostras susceperint, eligere non postponant. Quod si ad mandatum nostrum et commonitionem tuam non fecerint, tu iis aliquem, qui pontificali officio idoneus reputetur, infra tres menses

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post harum susceptionem provideas, quem in patrem et pastorem recipiant, et cui reverentiam et obedientiam debitam sine omni contradictione, tanquam prælato suo, impendant. Dat. Lat., IV. cal. Feb. [*S. Thom. Epist. CCXXII. ; IV. 36.*]

## IX. Pope Alexander III. to Clergy and Laity of Bangor.

Same with No. A.D. 1166. Feb. 9. *Lateran.*—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS VII.

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI *dilectis filiis Canonicis et universo clero et populo Bangorensis Ecclesie*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quia ex defectu pastoris gravia consueverunt animarum pericula provenire, et ex hoc sacris Dei Ecclesiis plurima incommoda et detrimenta contingere, universitatem vestram, sicut per alia scripta monuimus, ita nunc per iterata scripta monemus atque mandamus, quatinus (si nondum convenistis) in aliquam personam honestam, idoneam, et literatam pariter conveniatis, et eam in Episcopum vestrum communiter eligatis: electum quoque venerabili fratri nostro Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo consecrandum representare curetis. Nos enim, si de persona idonea canonicam jam electionem fecistis, eam ratam habemus; et quicquid inde prædictus Archiepiscopus statuerit, ratum curabimus et firmum habere. Dat. Lat., V. id. Feb. [*S. Thom. Epist. CCLXXVI. ; IV. 90.*]

## X. Archbishop Becket to the Archdeacon and Canons of Bangor.

Appear by Mid-lent, to answer a like charge to that laid against A. de Burgis (or Bardsey), and to elect a Bishop.

[A.D. 1166. \**Before Lent.*].—THOMAS CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS *Archidiacono et Canonicis Bangorensibus*, salutem quam meruerunt. Perlatum est ad aures nostras, vos in Deum, et nos, et Ecclesiam Cantuariensem, matrem vestram, gravissime et sine meritis deliquisse. Quia, sicut nobis assertum est, machinamentis Arthuri et sociorum suorum consilium pariter et assensum vestrum in damnum Cantuariensis Ecclesie, quæ mater vestra est, unanimiter præbuisistis. Nec, ut credimus, tam detestabile factum, tam nefandum facinus aliquatenus factum fuisset, nisi vos consilium et assensum in eo dedissetis. Sed tibi, David, loquimur: a memoria tua non debuit ullatenus excidisse, quod noster juratus es, similiter et Cantuariensis Ecclesie; nec tu aut canonici Bangornensis Ecclesie debuissent consensisse, ut Episcopus Ecclesie suæ, si quis tamen ibi esset, in Hiberniam ivisset,

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et ibidem sacramentum recepisset, quasi a novo metropolitano sibi constituto. Et idcirco mandando tibi præcipimus, et in periculo beneficiorum et ordinis injungimus, ut tu cum filio tuo, et tribus aut quatuor de majoribus et potioribus personis Ecclesiæ, mediante quadagesima nostro te conspectui repræsentantes, responsurus et satisfactor de his et aliis, quæ tibi objicientur. Nihilominus universitati vestræ præsentium significatione præcipiendo mandamus, et in periculo beneficiorum et ordinis vestri vobis injungimus, quatenus infra præscriptum terminum vos nobis repræsentetis. Nos enim de Episcopi vestri electione vobiscum tractabimus. Prohibemus etiam vobis Apostolica auctoritate et nostra, ne de electione Episcopi interrim aliquid faciatis, aut quemquam eligatis. [S. Thom. Epist. CXIV.; III. 262.]

\* The absence of the title of legate seems to refer Nos. X. XI. to the beginning of A.D. 1166.

#### XI. *Archbishop Becket to the Archdeacon and Canons of Bangor.*

[A.D. 1166? <sup>a</sup>] *IDEM ad eosdem.* — Quia Ecclesiam Dei liberam esse decet, et præsertim in electionibus celebrandis obtinere debet unanimitas fratrum, non violentia potestatis, vos a juramento, quod contra bonos mores et sacrorum canonum disciplinam Owenus Wallensium princeps dicitur extorsisse, ut nullum scilicet vobis in Episcopum nisi de ipsius eligeretis arbitrio, dominus Papa clementer absolvit; præcipiens ut quem vobis assignaverimus, omni appellatione et contradictione postposita, pontificem recipiatis. Inde est quod universitati vestræ in virtute obedientiæ præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus juxta quod vobis nuntii nostri intimaverint mandatum Apostolicum cum omni diligentia exsequamini; scituri quod si neglexeritis, in personas vestras anathematis, et in Ecclesiam et loca quæ inhabitatis interdicti sententiam, auctore Domino, proferemus. Valet. [S. Thom. Epist. CXV.; III. 263.]

\* See note to preceding letter.

#### XII. *Archbishop Becket to David Archdeacon of Bangor.*

Appear within four months to elect a Bishop of Bangor. [A.D. 1166 or 1167? <sup>a</sup>] — THOMAS DEI GRATIA CANT. ARCHIEP. ET APOST. SEDIS LEGATUS *David dicto Archidiacono Bangorensis Ecclesiæ*, salutem et cordis oculos

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salubriter aperire. Mater tua, Bangorensis Ecclesia, ab annis multis luget proprio viduata pastore; et qui eam consolari debuerant, acerbiores inimici facti sunt inter angustias. Quorum tu præambulus et signifer esse diceris ab his, qui et matris Ecclesiæ miserias ingemiscunt et bona illius in abusus filiorum et filiarum suarum queruntur esse conversa; et quod intolerabilius est, ordinationem Ecclesiæ tuis machinationibus lacrymabiliter asserunt impediri. Unde, quia tantæ præsumptionis excessus ulterius dissimulare nec possumus nec debemus, tibi in virtute obedientiæ præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus ad nos, omni excusatione cessante, juxta mandatum Apostolicum infra quatuor menses post harum susceptionem litterarum accedas, nostris monitis et præceptis in Domino pariturus, aut exinde, si neglexeritis, officio et beneficio ecclesiastico irreparabiliter privandus, et si nec sic resipueris, Satanae tradendus in interitum carnis. Siquidem Apostolicum nos oportet implere mandatum, et naufragantis Ecclesiæ periculis maturius subvenire. Te monitis obtemperantem in beneplacito suo gratia Dei custodiat. [*S. Thom. Epist. CXII. ; III. 260.*]

\* Apparently written at some little interval after Nos. X. XI., certainly after April 1166: probably in the end of 1166 or beginning of 1167.

### XIII. Pope Alexander III. to Henry II. King of England.

Desist from keeping Bishops in your own hands. A.D. 1168 (?)<sup>a</sup>. Oct. 9. *Beneventum.* — ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI *Henrico illustri Anglorum Regi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. \* \* \* \* Accepimus quod præter alia ..... in Lincolnensi, Bathoniensi, Herefordensi Episcopatibus, quos vacantes et pastorum solatio destitutos in manibus tuis tenes, necnon in Bangorensi et Lanerviensi, liberam electionem, sicut deceret, fieri fastu quodam et majoris potentiæ terrore prohibeas, etc. [*S. Thomæ Epist. CCCIII. ; IV. 124, 125.*]

<sup>a</sup> The three English sees were vacant from February 1167. Godfrey of S. Asaph had fled from that see in 1164 or 1165, but held it nominally until 1175 (see below under that year).

The above letter seems probably written more than merely a few months after the former sees first became vacant, and if so, then in 1168. Jaffé dates it 1167 x 1169.

### XIV. Pope Alexander III. to Archbishop Becket.

Proceed to strong measures against Owen and Archdeacon David. [A.D. 1169<sup>a</sup>.] Feb. 24. *Beneventum.* — ALEXANDER PAPA *Thomæ Archiep. Cantuar.* Ad aures nostras pervenisse cognoscas, quod Owen princeps Walliæ literas,

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quas ei de consobrina sua, quam sicut uxorem tenere dicitur, destinavimus, recipere noluit, nec eandem consobrinam suam secundum commonitionem nostram dimisit. Archidiaconus etiam Bangor scripta nostra contempsit, nec iis voluit aliquatenus obedire. Unde quoniam ad tuum spectat officium illorum in hac parte præsumptionem ecclesiastica severitate punire, maxime quum eorum facta magis tibi quam nobis nota et manifesta existant, quid inde duxeris statuendum arbitrio tuæ discretionis relinquimus. Nos enim sententiam, quam in eos pro excessibus suis canonice dederis, ratam et firmam habebimus, et eam usque ad dignam satisfactionem mandamus irrefragabiliter observari. Datum Beneventi, VI. cal. Martii. [*S. Thom. Epist. CCXXXIII. ; IV. 36, 37.*]

\* Dated by Jaffé 1168 x 1170, but Owen died 1169, and Becket's letters Nos. XIV. XV. seem to follow immediately upon this of Pope Alexander's.

#### XV. *Archbishop Becket to Owen Prince of Gwynedd.*

Do not yield to bad counsel. Accept the Pope's nominee, and suffer our messenger to return.

[A.D. 1169<sup>a</sup>.]—THOMAS DEI GRATIA ARCHIEPISCOPUS CANTUARIENSIS *Oweno Wallensium principi*, salutem, et Ei devotum exhibere obsequium, Cui servire regnare est. Cui plura committuntur a Domino, Ei tenetur de pluribus reddere rationem; Qui sicut fideliter obsequentes felici remuneratione glorificat, sic indevotos potenter horrenda nimis ultione percellit, ut cum afferatur deficienti solatium, tamen et miseriis non subsistant. Sed inter omnia quæ Illi exhibentur obsequia, nil gratiosius acceptat quam si sponsæ, pro qua sanguinem fudit, debitus a fidelibus reddatur honor; et eum nil gravius punit, quam si illa in conspectu Ejus contumeliosis afficiatur injuriis. Hoc ex te ipso, dilecte fili, potes agnoscere, sciens quanta acerbitate mariti vindicent contumelias, si forte sub eorum aspectu conjugibus inferuntur. At Christi Domini tui, quoniam fidelis es, sponsa est Ecclesia Bangorensis; quæ, sicut nosti, jam fere decennio, proprio viduata pastore, machinationibus eorum, qui ei compati et providere debuerant, super desolatione sua ante Sponsi oculos lacrymabiliter ingemiscit. Unde quia te sincera charitate diligimus et honorem tuum in Domino cupimus promoveri, dilectioni tuæ rogando, consulendo, et in remissionem peccatorum injungendo suademus, quatenus juxta mandatum domini Papæ præfatam Ecclesiam benigne patiaris debita pastoris provisione a tantis

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miseriis relevari. Nec contra hoc cujuscunque admittas consilium, ubi tantum periculum vertitur animarum. Si vero te cujuscunque clerici sive laici sive viri sive mulieris consilio quod Ecclesiam secundum canones ordinari impediatur obligasti, nos te ab illa seu promissione seu obligatione Apostolica et nostra auctoritate absolvimus; prohibentes in periculo animæ tuæ, ne illi quicunque sit contra salutem tuam de cætero acquiescas. Præterea mandamus, quatenus litteras domini Papæ, quas suppressi fecisti, Ecclesiæ cui nituntur et nobis restituas; et clericum qui eas deferebat, quem nos ab obligatione qua ipsum ne rediret arctasti absolvimus, ad nos ut debuit sine omni impedimento venire patiaris. Detulimus hactenus et deferimus tibi, et tanquam dilecto filio, ubi secundum Deum poterimus, deferre disponimus. Sed nisi Apostolicis et nostris mandatis, præsertim in his quæ ad salutem tuam pertinere noscuntur, acqvi-  
everis, ulterius tibi deferre vel parcere non poterimus; quin quæ Deus præcipit, et Apostolica sedes instantèr injungit, sollicitius exsequamur. [*S. Thom. Epist. CXC.; III. 389.*]

\* "Fere decennium" from Meurig's death in 1161, could hardly be earlier than 1169: and Owen's death in 1169 precludes any later year.

XVI. *Archbishop Becket to Owen Prince of Gwynedd.*

[A.D. 1169.]—THOMAS CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS *Oweno Wallensium principi.* Novit Inspector cordium et Judex animarum, quod honorem tuum et salutem, sicut filii in Christo charissimi cujus cura nobis adeo injuncta est, sincera in Domino charitate diligimus; et tibi desideramus et oramus summum bonum evenire sicut et nobis; et quanto nobis in te dilectio major est, tanto tibi, quæ ad salutem tuam et honorem pertinent, studiosius intimamus. Recole ergo, fili, quanta bona fecerit tibi Dominus; et Ei de honore [et] de successibus quos tibi contulit condignas Ipsius præeunte clementia gratias age, ut Qui juventutem tuam et virilem ætatem consolatus est in adversis, et erexit et direxit ad prospera, maturitatem tuam beato fine et exitu glorioso consummet, et labores tuos quiete remuneret et gloria sempiterna. Deus enim est Qui Se glorificantes glorificat et contemptores Suos reddit ignobiles. Scimus te virum esse discretum, et qui boni et mali, æqui et iniqui præmia rationis libramine noveris ponderare, et qui te crebra meditatione memineris moriturum; et ut

Put away your  
kinswoman and  
suffer a Bishop  
to be consecrated  
to Bangor.



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rerum experientia docet, juvenes cito moriuntur et facile, sed impossibile est ut qui senes sunt, diu vivant. Ponamus autem ut senum contra morem vita diutius protendatur, certe vivendo deficiunt, et mors non intellecta sensim per universa membra corporis et sensus hebetatiores obrepit. Nam

Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes,

et ipsas quibus ante gaudebamus voluptates eripiunt. Sed cum omnium tam justorum quam peccatorum finis sit unus et communis interitus, horum tamen et illorum gravis in ipsa morte differentia est. Si quidem pretiosa est in conspectu Dei mors sanctorum Ejus, quæ de miseria exeuntes ad æternam traducit gloriam; mors autem peccatorum est pessima, quæ prævaricatores legis impœnitentes trajicit in gehennam, ubi subter eos sternetur tinea, operimentum erunt vermes, et vermes quidem qui non moriuntur, sicut ignis non exstinguetur in sæcula. Quid ergo prodest, fili, si mundum lucretur quis universum quem vix ad momentum poterit retinere, et hos cruciatus et præmia laborum animæ suæ acquirat? Quia vero te super omnes coætaneos tuos in gente tua extulit et honoravit 'misericors Dominus, in multa patientia te exspectans, et multis tam beneficiis quam periculis provocans, ad pœnitentiam Nobilitatem tuam rogamus, monemus, et exhortamur in Domino; et in remissionem peccatorum tibi injungimus, quatenus Apostolicum mandatum de relinquenda cognata tua et ordinatione Bangorensis Ecclesiæ benignius audias et diligentius exsequaris, ut fructum obedientiæ, quam salubriter exoptas, tibi et semini tuo cumulet et multiplicet Deus et temporaliter et in æterna retributione justorum. Alioquin dimittere non poterimus quin illud, prout nobis injunctum est, impleamus. Si cognatam tuam diligis, abundas opibus, quibus ei poteris utiliter et honeste providere: diligas ut cognatam, non ut uxorem, quia satis esse debet quod te Deus hactenus et Ecclesia Ejus in tam manifesta culpa et multo scandalo et pernicioso exemplo sustinuit delinquentem. Amodo enim tantum scandalum non poterit sustineri, et necesse est ut Ecclesia, suo diutius viduata pastore, proprium Episcopum recipiat, qui, auctore Domino, salutem procuret animarum. Valet. [*S. Thom. Epist. CXCI. ; III. 390.*]

XVII. *Archbishop Becket to Humbald Bishop of Ostia.*

Complains of the King. A.D. 1169<sup>a</sup>. — THOMAS CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS *Ostiensi Episcopo Humbaldo*<sup>b</sup>. \* \* \* \* \* Ecce jam quinquennio possedit (Henricus) Episcopatum nostrum; item ..... Landavensis Ecclesiæ possessiones fere omnes distribuit militibus suis; Bangorensem, quæ jam fere decennio Episcopum non habuit, non patitur ordinari. [*S. Thom. Epist. XLVII. ; III. 120.*]

<sup>a</sup> "Five years" from Becket's exile Nov. 1164, and "almost ten years" from Meurig's death 1161, makes the date of this to be 1169. The name of the Papal nominee (kept out certainly by Owen, hardly by Henry) is not recorded, and Bangor was vacant as regards a Canterbury Bishop (it may have had, and probably had, an Irish one) from 1161 to the consecration

of Guianus May 22, 1177: the "William," Prior of S. Augustine's at Bristol, who is sometimes inserted between Meurig and Guy, being merely a confusion with William of Llandaff 1186, called by Benedict Abbas and Hoveden (in an. 1184) William of "Bangor."

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Pope Lucius III.

XVIII. *Ordinance of Henry II. against favourers of Archbishop Becket.*

A.D. 1169. GERVAS., *Chrom.* in an.—[*After strict prohibitions respecting (among other things) leaving or entering the kingdom, introducing Bulls or letters, &c. to which all freeholders above fifteen were to swear,*] Si quis Walensis clericus vel laicus applicuerit, nisi habeat litteras domini Regis de passagio suo, capiatur et custodiatur; et omnes Walenses, qui sunt in scholis in Anglia, eiciantur. [*ap. Twysd. 1409.*]

XIX. *Archbishop Becket to his Suffragans.*

A.D. 1169. [*Becket's circular letter to his suffragans, commanding them finally to issue sentences of interdict and threats of excommunication, throughout their dioceses, against Henry II., directs each of the English Bishops (with a slight variation in the case of Rochester) to enforce that interdict, "per totum Episcopatum vestrum in omnibus ecclesiis"*] David Menevensi vero, et Nicolao Landavensi, et Godefrido Lavenensi, sic,—per totam terram ejus [scil. Henrici] quæ in Episcopatu vestro est, in omnibus ecclesiis<sup>a</sup>. [*S. Thom. Epist. CLVII. ; III. 337.*]

<sup>a</sup> Bangor is omitted. "Radulphus Archidiaconus Landavensis," afterwards in 1172 one of Henry's representatives at the Irish Council of

Cashel, is among those excommunicated unless they yield before the ensuing Christmas.

A.D. 1170. *Bishops of S. Asaph and of Llandaff and Archdeacon of S. Asaph suspended (among others) for joining in the coronation of Prince Henry.*

I. *Pope Alexander III. to Archbishop Becket.*

A.D. 1170. *Sept. 10. Verulis [Veroli].*—ALEXANDER EPISCOPUS, etc. *Thomæ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, etc. \* \* \* \* \** G[odefridum] Episcopum S. Asaph, mandati nostri contemptorem, et David Ecclesiæ ejusdem Archidiaconum, auctoritati et potestati tuæ relinquimus; ut tu, si durius aliquid in eos fuerit statuendum, de potestate tibi tradita remoto appellationis obstaculo exequaris. Nos vero, quod de poena illorum a te canonice factum fuerit, auctore Domino, ratum et firmum habebimus. [*S. Thom. Epist. CCXXX. ; IV. 32, 34.*]

II. *Pope Alexander III. to the Bishops of London, etc.*

A.D. 1170. *Sept. 16. Ferentinum.*—ALEXANDER PAPA *Londoniensi, Saresberiensi, Exoniensi, Cestrensi, Roffensi, de S. Asaph, et Landavensi Episcopis.* [Suspends them “ab omni Episcopali officio,” for joining in the coronation of Henry II.’s son (June 16, 1170), “contra jura Cantuariensia. ... Datum Ferentini decimo sexto calendas Octobris.”]—[*S. Thomæ Epist. CCLXXII. ; IV. 82–85; and Wilk., I. 459, 460, ex Reg. Cant. A. fol. 14 a., and MS. Cott. Faust. B. i. 5 b.*]

III. *Pope Alexander III. to the Bishops of Chester, etc.*

A.D. 1170. *Nov. 24. Tusculanum.*—ALEXANDER PAPA *Cestrensi, Roffensi, et de S. Asaph, et Landaviensi, et Dunelmensi.* [Becket is empowered to remit their suspension if they make due satisfaction to him. “Datum Tusculani octavo calendas Decembris.”]—[*S. Thomæ Epist. CCLXXIII. ; IV. 85–87; and in Wilk., I. 460, 461 (in part), ex Reg. Cant. A. fol. 14.*]

A.D. 1170. Ystrad Marchell, or Valle Crucis in Montgomery, founded by the princes of Powys [*Dugd. Mon. V. 636: and see Brut, ed. Williams, in an. 1186.*]

A.D. 1171, 1172. *Henry II. at S. David's.*

BRUT Y TYWYSOG.—A. 1171. A gwedy dyuot hyt y Ty Gwynn, clybot a wnaeth ryvynet y Brenhin y Vynyw<sup>a</sup> y bererinaw, ac offrymaw a wnaeth y Brenhin ym Mynyw deu gappann cor o bali ar vedyr cantoryeit y wassanaethu Duw a Dewi. Ac offrymaw hefyt a wnaeth dŷrneit o arŷant amgŷlch dec swllt. [pp. 212, 214, ed. Williams.]

IB. A. 1172.—A duw Gwener y Croglith<sup>c</sup> y doeth hyt ym Penuro, ac yno y trigyawd y Pasc hwnnw; a duw Llun Pasc yd ymdidanawd a Rys yn Talacharn ar y fford. Ac odyo yd aeth y Loeger. [pp. 216, 218, ed. Williams.]

<sup>a</sup> Henry was there both on his way to, and on his return from, Ireland [see, for the latter visit, *Gir. Camb., Itin. Camb., II. i*, p. 857], where he landed Oct. 17, 1171, and whence he returned about Easter 1172—(“redeuns de Hibernia XV. Cal. Maii” [April 17], *Ann. Menev.* in an. 1173, ap. *Wharton, A. S., II.* 649; and *Ann. Camb.*, p. 54, ed. Williams). He had started from Pembroke on the feast of S. Calixtus (Oct. 14), but was delayed a day or two for the weather, and sailed Oct. 17, being Sunday, and 16 *Cal. Decemb.* (so in the *Brut*, but read *Novemb.*), but “Sabbato 17 Kal. Nov.” according

And having come to the White House, he (Rhys) heard that the King (Henry II.) had gone to Menevia<sup>a</sup> on a pilgrimage; and in Menevia the King made an offering of two choral caps<sup>b</sup> of velvet, intended for the singers in serving God and S. David; and he also offered a handful of silver, about ten shillings. [*ib.* 213, 215.]

And on Good Friday<sup>c</sup> [Henry, returning from Ireland,] arrived at Pembroke: and there he remained during that Easter; on Easter Monday he had an interview with Rhys on the road at Talacharn; and from thence he went to England<sup>a</sup>. [*ib.* 217, 219.]

to Hoveden (in an.).

<sup>b</sup> Rather, copes; a present also more suitable for a royal donor. Each canon of Llandaff was required to present such a cope, value five marks (or else five marks to the fabric of the cathedral), on admission to his canonry (*Ordin. 13th Century of Bishop and Chapter of Llandaff*, at end of orig. MS. of *Lib. Landav.*).

<sup>c</sup> In 1172 Good Friday was April 14, and Easter Sunday April 16; and on the 17th, according to *Ann. Menev.*, Henry paid the visit to S. David's mentioned by Giraldus.

A.D. 1175. *May 18. Sunday before Ascension Day. Godfrey of S. Asaph resigns his See at the Council of Westminster.*

BENEDICT. ABBAS, in *Vita Henrici II.*—In ipso autem concilio clerici Ecclesie Sancti Asaph petierunt a Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo [Richardo], ut in vi obedientie præciperet Godefrido Ecclesie Sancti Asaph Episcopo ad sedem Ecclesie sue redire, cui præfuit pontificali

[BISHOP OF S. ASAPH RESIGNS HIS SEE.]

potentia, vel ut prædictus Archiepiscopus alium Episcopum loco ipsius Godefridi institueret. Ipse enim Godefridus Episcopatum suum deseruit, paupertate et Walensium infestatione compulsus. Veniensque in Angliam, a Christianissimo Rege Henrico benigne et honorifice susceptus est. Et tradidit ei Rex abbatiam Abendonæ vacantem, in custodia, donec ad sedem propriam liberum haberet regressum. Itaque præfatus Cantuar. Archiepiscopus in ipso concilio ad instantiam prænominatorum clericorum, et admonitione Alexandri summi Pontificis, necnon et consilio venerabilium co-episcoporum suorum, convenit jam dictum Godefridum, ut in vi obedientiæ ad sedem propriam rediret, vel curam pastorem, quæ sibi erat commissa, in manu ipsius libere et absolute resignaret. Ipse vero Godefridus, sperans quod Abbatia de Abendonæ quæ tradita fuerat ei ad custodiendum posset sibi remanere, Episcopatum suum, nullo cogente, resignavit in manum Cant. Archiepiscopi, et tradidit ei annulum suum et baculum pastorem, et ipse Cantuar. privavit eum concessi ordinis dignitate et loco, et statuit loco ipsius et consecravit Magistrum Adam in Episcopum Sancti Asaph\*. [I. 90, 91, ed. Stubbs; and *Wilk.* I. 479 note. The "Episcopus de S. David" was the only Welsh Bishop present.]

\* See also *Gervas.* (*Tuyad.* 1674) and *Hoveden* in an. The latter adds, that "Sic deceptus amisit utrumque, nam Rex dedit Episcopatum Sancti Asaph magistro Ada Walensi, et Abbatiam de Abendonæ cuidam monacho." Adam, who was a canon of Paris—*Parisiensis* (*Dicto* 587, and see below under A.D. 1180), was consecrated

Oct. 12, 1175 (*R. de Diceto* and *Gervas.* in *Tuyad.* 587, 1432, 1674, and *P. R. C.*); and Godefridus, who had been presented in *commendam* to Abingdon Abbey Oct. 31, 1165, was turned out of that also July 11, 1175 (*Chron. Abendon.* II. 234, 293—*v. Wharton*). See above under A.D. 1164; and also under A.D. 1152, note\*.

A.D. 1175. *Directions of Giraldus Archdeacon of Brecknock to his Officials, Rural Chapters, and Clergy.*

Directions to his officials. Treat W. de Breuse and his lady gently. Offer a mass for the late Archdeacon of Worcester.

I. *Officialibus suis.*—Specialiter vobis super negotiis meis præ cæteris scribo, quia specialius vobis earundem præ cæteris curam commisi. In primis itaque vos obtestor, et per fidem ac sacramenta mihi a vobis exhibita firmiter adjuro, quatinus in his quæ Dei sunt, et quæ ad officium meum spectant, me fideliter erga Deum adquietetis, nulli justitiam ecclesiasticam denegantes, nihil cuiquam seu clerico seu laico per injuriam aut cupiditatem extorquentes. Omnia ex caritate proveniant et ad correctionem, non autem ex cupiditate ad exactiorem. Nihil unquam simoniace, nihil turpiter et illicite ad opus meum accipiatis. Quod si feceritis, anathematis sententiam in

[DIRECTIONS OF ARCHDRACON OF BRECKNOCK.]

simoniacos et Giezitos datam, hoc est in emptores spiritualium et venditores, non mihi sed vobis acquiretis. Unde et justitiam quæ Deus est, ac iudicium, propter quæ gratis exhibenda fungimur officio, nemini vendatis, nihil omnino quod simoniam redoleat pro talibus accipientes. Domino tamen Willelmo de Breusa et dominæ multum in omnibus deferatis, qui si in aliquo circa Ecclesiam Dei manifeste deliquerint, juxta formam quam vobis in discessu viva voce præscripsimus, monitionibus utendum crebris ad emendationem, non interdictis generalibus aut sententiis ad exasperandum. Sed si forte, quod absit, incorrigibiles extiterint in aliquo, ad dominum Episcopum, ut manum adhibeat vel correptionis vel coercionis, deferatis.

Singulis annis singulas ecclesias vice nostra visitetis, et nunc infra quadragesimam incipiat, inquirentes utrum in eis Divina rite celebrentur; utrum calices habeant idoneos, libros, vasa, et ornamenta, sicut nostis. Hos autem defectus ubi inveneritis, quia multoties præmoniti et præmuniti sunt, acrius vindicare debetis. Similiter et si inobedientes fuerint, aut in aliquo crimine seu crimininali notabiles et incorrigibiles. Nihil enim ob levem causam et negligentiam, dummodo frequens non fuerit, in clericos vel laicos vindicetur. Cum tribus autem equis vel quatuor solum hospitium sumatis, ut non ad gravamen alicujus sed ad officii scrutamen ire videamini. Istud autem, quocumque per capitula ire poteritis, in propriis personis faciatis. Alias autem decanis locorum et fidelibus personis eis adjunctis, super eorundum sacramenta, id faciendum injungatis. Præterea per vos in singulis capitulis presbyteros rogo, quatinus pro carissimo socio nostro magistro Petro de Leche, archidiacono Wigornensi, viro bono et benigno nuper defuncto, quilibet eorum missam unam pro fidelibus, caritatis intuitu et precum vestrarum obtentu, celebrare velit. Mihi quoque missam unam de Spiritu Sancto oro similiter, ut singuli indulgeant, si placet, et orent ut mihi Deus sacram suam Scripturam non solum ad intelligendum, verum etiam ad custodiendum et servandum, aperiat; et in hoc studii statu, usque ad plenam scientiæ suæ perceptionem, gratia Sua me conservet; nec ullo me casu, seu propter rerum temporalium et reddituum admissionem<sup>a</sup>, sive novorum adjectionem per magnam Suam misericordiam, abduci permittat. Valete; et anachoritis per archidiaconatum meum constitutis, quæ vobis alias injunxeram, et ampliora cum opus esse videritis, inpendatis. [In *Symb. Elect. Epist. XX.*, *Opp. I.* 251, 252.]

<sup>a</sup> *Leg. amissionem.*

[DIRECTIONS OF ARCHDEACON OF BRECKNOCK.]

Cautions to rural chapters, and to clerks. Begs a mass and prayers for Ralph Foliot, and for himself.

II. *Capitulis et clericis suis.*—Sciatis quia dedimus in mandatis officialibus et decanis nostris, non semel sed pluries, ut nihil a quoquam vel clerico vel laico per cupiditatem et extortionem aut improbitatem accipiant. Caveatis igitur ne inobedientes, ne contumaces, ne in criminali quolibet usque ad scandalum notabiles sitis; ne ecclesias nostras sine ornatu debito et obsequio Divino, assiduo et devoto, sicut formam a nobis multotiens accepistis, relinquatis. Hæc enim ea sunt quæ absque dissimulatione animadversionem expetunt et correctionem. Siquis autem ex nostris non ex caritate ad correctionem sed ex cupiditate magis ad exactionem et gravamen vos molestare præsumpserit, nostra id auctoritate aut voluntate minime factum esse noveritis. Unde si illata cuiquam per vos injuria ad nos forte relata fuerit, celerem pro posse correctionem consequatur.

Præterea dilectus et specialis amicus noster et vicinus Herefordensis archidiaconus, Radulphus Foliot vir egregius, sicut satis audistis, jam decessit; unde Fraternitatem vestram diligenter exoptulo, quatinus quilibet sacerdos unam pro anima ipsius missam celebrandam caritative concedat. Mei quoque in orationibus vestris et missis precor ut in absentia mea memores esse velitis. Hoc etiam moneo, rogo, et in fide consulo, quatinus quilibet sacerdotum unam singulis ebdomadis, quando vacare poterit, missam pro fidelibus, alteram vero pro vivis amicis, scilicet benefactoribus et benevolis suis, de quorum etiam me numero ex nomine constituat, celebrare non postponat. Sibi enim ipsi congregat quod in alios transferre caritate largiflua curat. Scriptum est enim: "Qui pro aliis orat pro se ipso laborat." Et Ambrosius ait: "Multi inimici dum congregantur unanimes fiunt magni." Et multorum preces cum devotione porrectæ vix evenire potest ut non impetrent. Multum ergo multorum in unum oratio valet, præcipue quidem ubi assidua fuerit et devota<sup>b</sup>. [*Ib. Epist. XXXII., ib. 334, 335.*]

<sup>a</sup> Giraldus became Archdeacon of Brecknock 1175 according to Wharton's chronological table of his life. He had shortly before been sent by Archbishop Richard, "in Walliam, legatus sc. a legato," in order to reform abuses (*De Reb. a se Gestis*, I. 3; *Opp.* I. 24).

<sup>b</sup> At the end of the Owston MS. of the *Lb. Landav.* is the following 14th century entry, the first lines of which have been erased from the vellum to make room for a collect from a Mass of S. Teilo, but which obviously laid down

that—[Archidiaconum] "Landavens., in tantum quoad potest, semel in anno quando voluerit, per se vel suum deputatum discretum et ecclesiasticum visitare, ac de criminibus et excessibus clericorum et laicorum ad ecclesiastici fori cognitionem spectantibus inquirere; necnon criminosos et in minoribus criminibus delinquentes, viz. pro non reparatione ecclesiarum et ornamentorum, pro fornicatione ac adulterio, cum hiis similibus, debite corrigere et punire; et inductiones concedere, et facere; testamenta probare,

## [LLANBADARN.]

administrationes committere de bonis intestatorum; et in causis matrimonialibus, causis divor-  
tium, et diffamationis, procedere; ac easdem fine  
debita terminare. Majora tamen crimina ac  
causas, viz. causam hereseos, mendacii (?), per-  
juri, causam deputationis, institutionis, et desti-  
tutionis, cum talibus causis majorem jurisdic-  
tionem requirentibus, Episcopo debet referre; quia  
dicitur oculus Episcopi. Cuius quidem jurisdic-  
tionis et visitationis ratione dictus Archidiaconus

Landavensis de consuetudine postscript: debet  
annates habere et percipere de qualibet eccle-  
siarum dictarum dioc<sup>ie</sup>. nomine visitationis; et  
etiam summas ratione expensarum impensas ...  
.. perpetuis huius libri infra .... iurisdictionis  
nomine solidos X. .... et quattuor denarios."

The last three lines are partially torn off, and  
are followed by a list of the churches in the  
diocese and of their respective payments to the  
Archdeacon.

A.D. 1175. *Adjudication of Llanbadarn to S. Peter's Abbey at Gloucester<sup>a</sup>,  
i. e. to Norman instead of Welsh possessors.*

CARTULAR. S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ.—DAVID DEI GRATIA MENE-  
VENSIS EPISCOPUS *omnibus tam clericis quam laicis per dyocesium suam  
constitutis* salutem et benedictionem.

Causam venerabilium fratrum nostrorum abbatis et monachorum  
Gloucestræ super Ecclesia Sancti Paterni, quam quidam tempore  
hostilitatis ipsis abstulerunt et aliquantis temporibus injuste deti-  
nuerunt occupatam, a domino et patre summo pontifice Alexandro  
nobis delegatam suscepimus cognoscendam, et fine debito, appella-  
tione non admissa, terminandam. Diligenter itaque veritate in-  
quirit et cognita, tam ex autenticis scriptis eorum nobis per fratres  
suos Johannem et Philippum transmissis, quam ex unanimi attesta-  
tione totius capituli nostri, quoniam eadem Ecclesia ad monasterium  
jam dictorum fratrum de jure pertineret, tandem cum omnibus perti-  
nentiis suis præfato monasterio Gloucestræ, capitulo nostro apud  
Sanctum David convocato, adjudicavimus. Nos ergo hanc adjudica-  
tionem memoratis fratribus factam confirmantes sigilli nostri impres-  
sione communimus, ipsosque convocato capitulo nostro apud Sanctum  
David in præscriptam Ecclesiam instituimus. Hæc autem facta sunt  
anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo septuagesimo  
quinto. Hiis testibus, Pontio Archidiacono, etc. [II. 76, 77, ed.  
Hart.]

\* The abbey of Gloucester claimed a series of  
earlier donations, the first being witnessed by  
Bishop Bernard (1115-1147), yet dated in their  
own Historia (ib. I. 73, 106) in 1111. And in  
the Episcopate of Anselm, 1230-1247, a long  
lawsuit is terminated by a division of the Church  
and its lands equally between the cathedral of  
S. David's and the abbey of Gloucester, the latter  
however obtaining a confirmation in the whole  
from Henry III. in 1251 (ib. 77, 79). But Gi-  
raldus tells us (Itin. Camb. II. 4, p. 863) that

in A.D. 1188, Llanbadarn "Ecclesia, sicut et  
aliæ per Hiberniam et Walliam plures, abbatem  
laicum habet. Usus enim inolevit et prava con-  
suetudo, ut viri in parochia potentes, primo tan-  
quam oekonomi seu potius Ecclesiarum patroni  
et defensores a clero constituti, postea processu  
temporis aucta cupidine totum sibi jus usurparent,  
et terras omnes cum exteriori possessione sibi  
impudenter appropriarent, solum altaria cum decimis  
et obventionibus clero relinquentes; et hæc  
ipsa filiis suis clericis et cognatis assignantes.



## [S. DAVID'S CLAIM OF METROPOLITANSHIP.]

Tales itaque defensores seu potius Ecclesiarum destructores abbates se vocari fecere:" proceeding to say, that Archbishop Baldwin and himself in 1188 found a Welsh abbat of this class in possession, with his sons as clerks, and that the monks of S. Peter's, Gloucester, who had quietly possessed the church during the life of Henry I.,

had been ejected with the general expulsion of the English in the reign of Stephen; and implying that (in spite of Bishop David's judgment, above in the text) they continued still ousted of their right at the time of his visit. Pontius = (probably) De Pwns; see above, p. 327.

A.D. 1175(?). CANONS OF RICHARD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY<sup>a</sup>, *Can. XXIII.*—Wallenses non vendant ecclesias, vel dent in dotem; vel consanguineis adhæreant, vel commutent uxores. [ap. *Wilk. I.* 475, from *Cotton MSS.* Claud. A. IV.]

<sup>a</sup> Assigned by Wilkins to 1173. Richard however was elected in that year but not consecrated until 1174. And these canons, which are undated, look much more like an abridged

copy (with a few additions) of the canons of the council of Westminster in 1175, in *Wilk. I.* 476-479.

A.D. 1176. *March 14. Chapter of S. David's renew the claim of Metropolitanship<sup>a</sup>.*

GIRALD. CAMB., *De Invect. II.* 1.—Anno penultimo (David Episcopi), cum per XXVII. annos in Episcopatu durasset, canonici Menevenses coram Hugutione, Cardinali et sedis Apostolicæ legato, Londoniis per litis contestationem aut synodalem proclamationem contra Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem Ricardum factam interruperunt præscriptionem. [*Opp. III.* 50: and see also *De J. et S. Menev. Ecl., prol. and dist. II., ib.* 109, 155.]

ID., *De Rebus a se Gestis, I.* 8.—Cum circiter clausum Pascha<sup>b</sup> Hugutio, Cardinalis titulo S. Angeli, fungens in Anglia legatione, concilium generale regni totius apud Londoniam convocasset; archidiaconi Menevenses et canonici discretiores ad protestandum pariter et prosequendum, si liceret, jus dignitatis Ecclesiæ suæ, sc. metropoliticum, coram Cardinali Londonias advenerunt. Episcopus enim ipsorum, quoniam in consecratione sua controversiam illam abjurerat, contra sacramentum suum licet extortum venire volebat. Præemptantes autem primo Regis animum, utrum inclinari posset ad consensum, pecuniamque non modicam tam ipsi quam consiliariis suis ad hoc offerentes, cum plurimum circa hæc laborassent, quia Rex ille, sc. Henricus II., morosus erat in responsionibus, tandem responsum hoc acceperunt; quod nunquam id tempore suo Rex permetteret, nec caput Walliæ dando Walensibus Archiepiscopum contra Angliam

[DISPUTE ABOUT BOUNDARIES BETWEEN S. DAVID'S AND S. ASAPH.]

erigeret. Quo audito, fecerunt quod potuerunt; jus Ecclesiæ suæ et pristinam dignitatem coram legato, cujus tamen consilium per contentiones et pugnas inter Archiepiscopos duos, sc. Cantuariensem Ricardum et Eboracensem Rogerum, de prima sede et primatiæ dignitate, aborsu fecit<sup>c</sup>, in publica audientia sunt protestati. [Opp. I. 40, 41.]

<sup>a</sup> Viz. at the well-known Council of March 14, 1176, which was violently cut short by the brawl between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. See *Hoveden, B. de Diocet*, etc., and *Wilk. I.* 485. Giraldus has misdated it April 11. The Cardinal's name and title was Hugo, Card. deacon S. Angeli, who with Peter, Card. presbyter S. Chrysogoni, had further instructions for their conduct as legates to Henry II., May 21, 1176. David himself was present, as a suffragan of Canterbury, at the Council of London (i. e. Westminster) held upon May 18, 1175, by Richard Archbishop of Canterbury (*Benedict Abbas, I.*

84; and *Wilk. I.* 476); at which also his Canons intended to present an accusation against him in no less than "XXVII. capitula" to Archbishop Richard, respecting Chapter rights and property, had he not anticipated the charge by yielding what they required (*V. David. II. Episc. Menev., in fin. Opp. Gir. Camb. III.* 432, 433. and *Wharton, A. S. II.*, written by [probably] a Canon of S. David's, but one very bitter against the Bishop). David, it appears by the same Life, was married and had sons and daughters.

<sup>b</sup> So in Brewer.

<sup>c</sup> So in MS.

A.D. 1176. Shortly after May 8<sup>a</sup>. *Dispute between the Sees of S. Asaph and S. David's respecting the Deanery of Elvael and particularly the parish of Kerry.*

GIRALD. CAMB., *De Rebus a se Gestis*, I. 6. — [The scene between Giraldus, acting as Archdeacon of Brecknock in the vacancy of the see of S. David's, and Adam Bishop of S. Asaph, will be found at length in this chapter of Giraldus' autobiography. The claim of the Bishop was,] Ecclesiam de Keri, sicut et omnes ecclesias inter Vagam et Sabrinam, ad Ecclesiam suam Laneluensem jure parochiali pertinere; et in ejus rei testimonium librum produxit antiquum, in cujus id fine contineri dicebat; quod et legi fecit..... Archidiaconus autem ad hæc respondit, Ecclesiam de Keri et alias inter Vagam et Sabrinam, de Elevein sc. et Melenith et Warthrenniaun, nec ad diocesis Laneluensem nec ad Archiepiscopi confirmationem illam [*viz. the letters of the Archbishop of Canterbury at the recent consecration of Adam to S. Asaph*, "quibus Episcopatum Lanelu[ense]m cum cunctis pertinentiis suis ei confirmavit,"] ullatenus pertinere; puta quas trecentis annis et pluribus intra diocesim Menevensensem contentas fuisse dinoscitur: in libro autem suo scribere poterat quod volebat. Sed si cartam inde haberet cum authentico sigillo vel privilegium, ostenderet. [Opp. I. 35.]

[A NON-WELSH BISHOP FORCED UPON THE CHAPTER OF S. DAVID'S.]

\* David died May 8, 1176 (*Gtr. Camb.*, *ib.* 9; *ib.* p. 41), and the church of S. David had been "orbata pastore," only "paulo ante" the dispute at Keri (*Id.* as above). Peter the next Bishop of S. David's was not consecrated until Nov. 7, 1176. The district in dispute, which included the southern part of Montgomery and a large part of Radnorshire, was part of Powys Wenwynwyn, and probably enough had originally belonged to a North Wales Bishopric. The claim of S. Asaph however appears to have extended on this occasion into the deanery of

Arwystli near the sources of Wye and Severn; now an insulated part of Bangor diocese, but of which certainly one district (unless the locality designates the man and not the church) appears elsewhere in Giraldus (*De J. et S. Menev. Eccl.*, *Dist. VII.*, *Opp. III.* 349) as in S. David's during Geoffrey's Episcopate, 1203-1215. Even Giraldus in his claim specifies only three hundred years' prescription, which scarcely runs back to the times of the see of Llanbadarn. Keri, and the deanery of Elvael, are still in S. David's diocese.

A.D. 1176. Nov. 7. *Peter de Leia forced upon the Chapter of S. David's as Bishop.*

I. R. DE DICETO, *Imag. Histor.*—Petrus Prior de Weneloc Menevensis electus, facta prius professione tam Ricardo Dorobernensi Archiepiscopo quam successoribus ejus canonicè substituendis de canonica subjectione, Cantuariæ consecratus est a Gileberto Lundoniensi Episcopo, astantibus sibi Waltero Rofensi, Rogero Wigoriensi Episcopis, VII. id. Novembris. [ap. *Twysden*, 595<sup>a</sup>.]

According to *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *De Rebus a se Gestis*, I. 9-11 (*Opp.* I. 41-44), the Chapter, without waiting for the King's Congé d'Eslire, nominated their own four Archdeacons (Giraldus being one), "ita ut quem illorum Rex vellet assumeret;" Giraldus however repudiated the nomination as respected himself, "cum in regno Anglicano neque nominatio fieri soleat nec electio, nisi Rege prius adito vel ejus Justiciario, et obitu Episcopi ei nunciato, suoque assensu requisito:" the King, when informed of the election, "statim canonicos omnes terris suis et redditibus destitui jussit;" and declared, after consultation with Archbishop Richard and his suffragans, that in spite of their advice he would have no relation of Welsh chiefs at S. David's; and, finally, "constitutis demum coram Rege canonicis apud Wintoniam, nominatus est eis et oblatus ex parte Regis monachus ordinis Cluniacensis, sc. Prior de Wenelac" [Wenlock].

II. P. R. C. <sup>b</sup>—*Prof. Pet. Menev. Episcopi.* Ego Petrus, Menev. Eccl. id est Sancti Davidis in Gualia etc. antistes, Cant. Ecclesie et Ricardo ejusdem Eccles. Archiepiscopo suisque successoribus canonicè substituendis canonicam subjectionem et obedientiam me per omnia exhibiturum promitto, et per manum propriam signo crucis confirmo ✠ (Ista professio facta est absente Archiepiscopo).

[SUBJECTION OF WELSH SEES TO CANTERBURY.]

*Prof. Pet. Menev. Episcopi.*—Ego Petrus Menev. Episcopus Sancte Dorobernensi Ecclesie, tibi, Pater reverende Ricarde, tuisque successoribus canonice substituendis me per omnia canonicam obedientiam servaturum promitto, et propria manu confirmo ✠ (Ista facta est in ejus præsentiâ).<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> So also *Gervas.* in *Twysd.* 1434, 1674, and *P. R. C.* He was consecrated by Gilbert of London and others in the absence of Archbishop Richard (*Gervas.*, and *Gir. Camb.* as quoted above).

<sup>b</sup> Giraldus affirms that in Peter's Profession, as well as David's, a clause was inserted whereby "super jure dignitatis Ecclesie Menevensis contra Cantuariensem non proseguendo

sacramentum dedit" (as above, p. 44). Such a clause does not appear in the Profession Rolls. Peter himself was elected Archbishop of Canterbury by the Canterbury monks—"virum justum et bonum, Petrum Menevensensem"—on the death of Archbishop Richard, but was set aside (*Gervas.* ap. *Twysd.* 1675).

<sup>c</sup> Made at the Council of London, March 1177 (*Bened. Abb. I.* 154).

A.D. 1177. May 22, at Amesbury, Bishop Guy consecrated to Bangor.

BENED. ABB.—Eadem die ibidem [sc. XI. kal. Jun., at Ambresbiri], per consensum et voluntatem Regis, prædictus Archiepiscopus [Ricardus] consecravit Vidonem [or Guidonem],...electum in antistitem Pangorensis Ecclesie; qui ante consecrationem suam promisit prædicto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo et successoribus suis canonicam obedientiam, et professionem suam ei scriptam tradidit coram prænominatis Episcopis, ministrantibus sibi in illo officio. [I. 165, 166. —*R. de Diceto*, ap. *Twysd.* 598, gives the "idus Maii" as the date. See also *Gervas.*, *ib.* 1674; and *Hoveden*, in an. (and ap. *Wilk. I.* 485).<sup>a</sup>]

<sup>a</sup> At the Council of Westminster, March 13, 1177, the Bishops of S. David's and Bangor, and "Magister Ada Episc. de S. Asaph," were present (*Bened. Abb. I.* 144, 154; and *Hoveden*, in an. 1177, pp. 561, 565, ed. Savile). The Bishop of Bangor must have been Bishop elect. Possibly, but not certainly, Guido

(called by Girald. Camb., Guianus) was identical with Wido Ruffus, Dean of Waltham, who had been one of Henry's ambassadors to the Pope against Becket in 1165, and who resigned his Deanery January 13, 1177 (*Bened. Abb. I.* 134, *Hoveden* p. 496). The Profession of "Guydo" is of the ordinary form.

A.D. 1177. Nicolas Bishop of Llandaff suspended by the Archbishop of Canterbury for interfering with the diocese of Salisbury.

R[ICARDUS] ARCHIEP. CANTUAR. ad Alexandrum III. Papam.—Sicut eminentiam Apostolicæ sedis magistræ omnium Ecclesiarum profiteamur; sic ab ipsa consilia in ambiguis, in angustiis solatia, responsa in judiciis, expectamus. Monasterium Malmisburiense, quod in Sarisberiensi diocesi situm est, nuper sibi abbatem elegerat. Cumque Sarisberiensi Episcopus appellasset, atque ex parte vestra constanter inhibuisset electo, ne aliunde quam a se munus benedictionis acci-

[S. DAVID'S CLAIM OF METROPOLITANSHIP.]

peret; ille nihilominus, occulte profectus in Wallias, ab Episcopo Landavensi clandestinam et furtivam benedictionem adeptus sibi abbatis officium usurpavit. Nos autem, querela Episcopi et veritate rei diligentius inquisita, suspendimus Wallensem Episcopum et abbatem, donec ad excusationem tanti excessus libertatis aut dignitatis privilegium allegarent. Partibus itaque in nostra præsentia constitutis, et Ecclesiarum privilegiis productis in medium, nihil invenimus quare Malmisburiense monasterium Episcopo Sarisburiensi subesse non debeat et humiliter obedire, etc. [*Petri Blesens. Epist. LXVIII.* pp. 101, 102, Paris 1667.]

A.D. 1179. *March 5* × 19. *Claim of S. David's renewed by the Chapter at the third (General) Lateran Council.*

GIRALD. CAMB., *De Invect.* II. 1.—Anno a consecratione (Petri) quasi tertio, a lite contestata coram Hugutione quasi quinto, in Lateranensi Concilio a canonicis Ecclesiæ nostræ, jus Ecclesiæ suæ coram Papa Alexandro III. constanter in tanta audientia protestantibus, synodalis proclamatio facta fuit. Quamquam enim Episcopus noster in Concilio fuerit, propter sacramentum tamen ab ipso in consecratione extortum, de non proseguendo jure Ecclesiæ suæ contra Cantuariensem Ecclesiam (sicut a decessore suo David similiter extortum fuerat), nec ibi ab illo coram Hugutione, nec hic ab isto, sed per canonicos suos est proclamatum. [*Opp. III.* 50, 51: and see also *De f. et S. Menev. Eccl., Prol.* and *Dist. II., ib.* 109, 163, and *De Reb. a se Gestis, II.* 3, *ib.* I. 48, 49<sup>a</sup>.]

\* Because the Bishop, there present (see also *D'Achery, Spicil. I.* 639—the Bishop of S. Asaph was there as well), “nullam inde men-

tionem fecit, negotium tunc non processit” (*Id., ib.*)

A.D. 1180. ANN. MENEV.—Ecclesia Menevensis diruitur, et novum opus inchoatur. [ap. *Wharton, A. S. II.* 649.]

A.D. 1180–1183. *See of S. Asaph again vacant for two or three years.*

BRUT Y TYWYSOG. a. 1180<sup>a</sup>.— And then Adam, Bishop of  
Ac yna y bu uarw Adaf Escob Llanelyw, died at Oxford, and  
Llanelyw yn Rytychen, ac y clad- was buried in the monastery of  
wyt y mywn manachlawc Osnei. Oseney. [*ib.* 231.]  
[p. 230, ed. Williams.]

## [ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN'S LEGATINE VISITATIONS.]

\* According to *Ann. Waverl., Theobald.*, and others (*Wharton, De Episc. Assar.*), 1181. His successor John was not consecrated until July 3, 1183, at Angers (see *Stubbs's Registr.*). On his death however in 1186 (*Ann. Waverl.*), the next Bishop Reinerus was appointed at once (*Gervas. ap. Twysd.* 1678, *P. R. C.*, &c., see

*Wharton, ib.*). Adam, who is called "Anglus Peripateticus" by John of Salisbury, was the logician, Adam du Petit Pont (*Hist. Litt. de France*, XIV. 190), who defended his master Peter Lombard at the 3rd Lateran Council A.D. 1179 (*D'Achery, Spicil.* I. 639; *Du Boulay*, and *Crevier, Hist. Univ. Par.*).

A.D. 1186. *July*. BRUT Y TYWYSOG.—Yny vlwydyn honno amgylch mis Gorffenna ydaeth cofeint Ystrat Flur y Redynawc Velen ygwyned\*. [p. 232, ed. Williams.]

In the same year, about the month of July, the convent of Strata Florida removed to Rhedynog Velen in Gwynedd\*. [*ib.* p. 233.]

\* i. e. founded the monastery of Aberconway, completed July 24, 1186 (*Reg. de Abercon. ap. Dugd., Mon. V. 671*).

A.D. 1186. *Aug. 10. Lambeth*. William of Saltmarsh consecrated to the see of Llandaff\* by choice of the Chapter.

BENED. ABBAS.—In crastino vero [sc. Dec. 3, 1184] ... clerici Episcopatus de *Bangor* elegerunt sibi in Episcopum Willelmum Priorem de Bristol, Rege assensum præbente spontaneum. [*I.* 320.—Bishop Nicholas of Llandaff died July 6, 1183.]

GERVAS. [in Sept. an. 1185].—W. electo Landavensi. [ap. *Twysd.* 1477.]

R. DE DICETO, *Imag. Hist.* [in a. 1186].—Willelmus etiam Prior ipsa die [sc. festo S. Laurentii, et apud Lameheith] consecratus est Episcopus *Sancti Asaph* [ap. *Twysd.* 630.]

\* That William was not of S. Asaph, according to Diceto's blunder, is plain from the fact that Reiner was consecrated to that see just before in 1186 (*P. R. C.*), and held it until 1224. That he was not of Bangor, as Benedict (and after him Hoveden) says, is equally plain, because Guianus being consecrated in 1177, survived in 1188 (by Giraldus' express testimony), and indeed until 1190. That he was really of Llandaff, appears by the testimony of *Ann. Waverl.* and *Gervas.* and the *P. R. C.*, and above all by the list of Bishops in the

Owston MS. of the *Lb. Landav.*; confirmed by Giraldus' mention of a Bishop William there in 1188. Possibly it was he whom Becket caused to be nominated in vain to Bangor about 1167 (see above under A.D. 1165-1169).

All William's predecessors were certainly Welshmen: and two out of the four certainly, viz. Hereward and Uchtryd, and almost certainly also a third, viz. Urban, married men with families, the fourth (Nicholas) being son of Urban.

A.D. 1187. *July*². Archbishop Baldwin visits Wales as Legate.

GERVAS., *Chron.* in an. 1187.—Exinde assumpta legatione (Archiep.

Baldwinus) plures occidentales Angliæ visitavit Ecclesias, et usque in fines Walliæ elongatus est. [*Twysd.* 1497.]

\* Baldwin was made Legate January 12, 1186. Upon June 23, 1187, he was at Shrewsbury on his way to Wales; shortly after he excommunicated two Canterbury monks, "cum longe positus legatione fungeretur in Guallia;"

and a few days before August 11 he was at Canterbury, "rediens a legatione sua" (*Epist. Cantuar., Epist. LXXX., LXXXIV., and XCIII.*: pp. 67, 61, and 76, ed. Stubbs; and see also the Calendar prefixed to the same volume).

A.D. 1188<sup>a</sup>. *March, April. Archbishop Baldwin preaches the Crusade throughout Wales.*

BROMPTON, *Chron.* in an. 1187.—Baldewinus Archiepiscopus (Cantuar.), crucis legatione fungens, Walliam intravit, et in cunctis Cathedralibus ecclesiis ibidem, quod usque tunc visum non fuerat, missam indutus pontificalibus celebravit. [*Twysd.* 1148, 1149.]

GIR. CAMB., *Itin. Camb.* II. 1.—De nullo vero Cantuariensi antistite legitur, vel post subjectionem istam [sc. of Welsh Church to English] vel ante, Cambriæ fines intrasse, præter Baldwinum solum, monachum, etc. ... qui legationis hujus occasione, et salutiferæ crucis obsequio, terram tam hypsidam, tam inaccessibilem et remotam, laudabili devotione circumivit, et in singulis Cathedralibus ecclesiis tanquam investituræ cujusdam signum missam celebravit. [p. 856. ed. Camd.]

\* Baldwin took the cross at the Council of Gaitington or Geddington (near Northampton) Feb. 11, 1188 (*Hoveden*, in an. p. 642; *Gervas.* in *Twysd.* 1522). He entered Wales with Giraldus Camb. (who also wrote an account of the journey) at Radnor, about Ash Wednesday, March 2, 1188 (see however Stubbs's note, *Pref. to Epist. Cantuar.* p. lxiv.); passed southwards into Llandaff diocese by Hay, Llantony, Abergavenny, Caerleon, Monmouth; through Llandaff itself by Margan over the Neath into S. David's; by Gower and Kidwelly to Caermarthen, Whiteland, Haverfordwest (visiting the Flemish settlers in Rhos by the way), S. David's; by Kemaes to S. Dogmael's, Llanddewi Brefi, Llanbadarn; over the Dewi into Bangor diocese, and by Tywyn, Llanfair Ardudwy (close to Harlech), to Newyn, Caernarvon, Bangor; whence he made an excursion into Anglesey and back: then by Conway into S. Asaph diocese, to Rhuddlan and S. Asaph; then across the Dee to Chester, by Easter (April 17); whence he passed through Oswestry, Shrewsbury, &c. to Hereford, visiting parts of Powys by his way (*Gir. Camb., Itin. Camb.*, ed.

Camd.). Alexander Archdeacon of Bangor accompanied him as interpreter (*Id. I.* 5, p. 836).

At Radnor, certain "canonici Menevenses" strove in vain to persuade King Rhys, "ut Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem (quoniam inaudium hoc hactenus fuerat) ad penitiores Walliarum partes, præcipue sedem Menevensensem, quæ caput est Walliæ, accedere nullatenus sustineret; dicentes et asserentes eo ipso, si processerit, præjudicium magnum, et gravamen in posterum, antiquæ dignitati suæ recuperandæ et metropolitaniæ sedis honori posse proculdubio provenire" (*Id. ib. I.* 1, p. 821).

At Bangor, "missa in principali altari ab Archipræsule celebrata, sedis ejusdem antistes, cui nomen Guianus, a dextris altaris ad magnum tam Archiepiscopi quam aliorum plurium instantiam, et importunam magis quam persuasoriam, ad crucis susceptionem est compulsus, cum magna suorum in ipsa ecclesia lamentatione, miserabilique sub barbara quadam vociferatione utriusque sexus hominum tam clamore quam mœnore" (*Id., ib. II.* 6, p. 866). See also *Gir. Camb., De Rob. a se Gestis*, II. 17-19; *Opp. I.* 73-78.

## PERIOD THE FOURTH.

A.D. 1188-1295.

FROM THE VISITATIONS OF ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN AS LEGATE TO THAT OF ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM AS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND TO THE FINAL ABSORPTION OF THE WELSH CHURCH (AND STATE) INTO THE ENGLISH.

- [A.D. 1197. Gryffydd Prince of South Wales on his succession does homage to Richard I. (*Ann. Camb.*).
- A.D. 1198-1203. Giraldus Cambrensis at S. David's contends for—1. freedom of election against Norman King and Archbishop (a similar contest at Bangor at the same time), and 2. metropolitan power of S. David's over Wales.
- A.D. 1201. July 11, and again A.D. 1202, John recognized by Llewellyn Prince of Gwynedd (*Rymer, I. 84; Rot. Pat. I. 8*, ed. Hardy), and,
- A.D. 1208. Oct. 8, by Gwenwynwyn Prince of Powys (*Rymer, I. 101*), as suzerain.
- A.D. 1209. Llewellyn, and ("quod antea actis temporibus fuerat inauditum") Welsh nobles, do homage to John at Woodstock (*M. Paris, 228*).
- A.D. 1211. John invades Wales and burns Bangor, and seizes its Bishop (*Brut*, ed. Williams, in an. 1210; *Ann. de Waverl.*).
- A.D. 1212. Interdict (imposed upon all England on account of King John) removed from Wales (*Brut*, ed. Williams).
- A.D. 1215. Free election of a Welsh Bishop of S. David's. Llewellyn excommunicated (*Ann. de Waverl.*).
- A.D. 1216. Wales again under an interdict, removed in 1217 (*Brut*, ed. Williams).
- A.D. 1218. April 22, Llewellyn, and 1219, Rhys Prince of South Wales, do homage to Henry III. (*Brut*, ed. Williams, in an. 1218; *Rymer, I. 150*).
- A.D. 1223, and again 1231, Llewellyn excommunicated.
- A.D. 1232. Homage of Llewellyn to Henry III. renewed by him at Shrewsbury in person Dec. 7 (*Rymer, I. 208*), and 1237 he submits again (*M. Paris, 436, 437*).
- A.D. 1240. David Prince of Gwynedd, with the "barons of Wales," does homage, May 15, on his accession, at Gloucester (*Ann. Camb.*; *Brut*, ed. Williams; *Rymer, I. 239; Brady, Append.*), and 1241, Oct. 6, again at London (*Ann. Camb.*; *Brut*, ed. Williams; *M. Paris, 570, 626*).
- A.D. 1241-5. David intrigues to make his kingdom a fief of the Papacy.—1245, Henry III. "subjugavit sibi Walliam" (so also *Ann. Camb.*) "et constituit ibi leges Anglicanas" (*Ann. Wint. and de Waverl.*).—Miserable state of the Welsh Church.
- A.D. 1247. Country between Dee and Conway (Perfeddwlad) ceded to Henry III., who in 1254 grants it to Prince Edward (*Rymer, I. 267, 297*; and see *Brut*, ed. Williams, in an. 1255).



## [DISPENSATION FROM THE CRUSADE.]

- A.D. 1248. Bishop and Chapter of S. Asaph accordingly recognize by formal acknowledgment the King's right of election to Bishops; but, the same year, a free election at S. David's.
- A.D. 1256. Edward attempts to introduce English laws into Perfeddwlad (*Ann. de Dunstapli.*); and, accordingly, 1257, Welsh revolt (*ib.*, and *Ann. Camb.*, in an. 1256; *Ann. de Teokesb. I.* 158, Luard); and 1256 at S. David's, 1257 at Llandaff, a free election of Welsh Bishops; and 1260, Llewellyn excommunicated, and afterwards a truce made (*Ann. Camb.*).
- A.D. 1261-5. Llewellyn joins De Montfort; who in 1265 makes Henry III. cancel the obligations contracted by the Welsh princes (*Rymer, I.* 457).
- A.D. 1267. Llewellyn does homage to Henry III. at Montgomery (*Brut*, ed. Williams; *Rymer, I.* 473).
- A.D. 1273. He refuses homage to Edward I., but 1274, Aug. 18, the Pope inhibits an interdict (*Rymer, I.* 505, 515). So also A.D. 1275 (*Brut*, ed. Williams).
- A.D. 1276. After summons by the Archdeacon of Canterbury, he is, Feb. 27, 1277 (*Rymer, I.* 541), excommunicated, but Nov. 11, 1277, absolved at Rhuddlan, where he does homage (*Ann. de Winton.*), and 1278 at Worcester is married to Eleanor de Montfort (*Brut*, ed. Williams).
- A.D. 1282. He rebels, and notwithstanding Archbishop Peckham's mediation is excommunicated (*Ann. de Waverl.*), and Dec. 11 (*Ann. Camb.*) killed.
- A.D. 1283. David captured and executed (*Ann. Camb.*). Plan for transferring S. Asaph to Rhuddlan.
- A.D. 1284. Archbishop Peckham visits all the Welsh dioceses as Archbishop. Bishop Beck of S. David's protests. Edward I. and Queen Eleanor at S. David's. Statute of Rhuddlan.
- A.D. 1294. Madoc rebels and is excommunicated, and 1295 is slain; the rebellion being put down by August in the latter year (*Cont. Flor. Wig.*).

A.D. 1189. December 11<sup>a</sup>. *Dispensation of John of Anagnia, Papal Legate, for the Bishop of S. David's, and Giraldus Archdeacon of Brecknock, from going to the Crusade.*

Excuses their personal presence in the Crusade, on the ground of poverty, and on condition of alms.

[A.D. 1189. December 11. Dover.]—*Venerabili in Christo patri Baldwino Dei gratia Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo et omnibus ad quos littere presentes pervenerint*, JOHANNES ANAGNINUS EADEM GRATIA TITULO S. MARCI PRESBYTER CARDINALIS, APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS LEGATUS, æternam in Domino salutem. Veniens ad nos Giraldus de Sancto David Archidiaconus ex parte sua et venerabilis fratris nostri Petri Menevensis Episcopi nobis proposuit; quod, cum eis ex parte Henrici Anglorum Regis spes, si Ierosolimam secum vellent adire, in expensis quas in prædicta via facerent non modica facta esset, prædicto siquidem Rege sublato de medio, votum præconceptum, cum eis expensæ non suppetant, peragere minime possunt. Nos igitur paupertati tam prædictorum Episcopi et Archidiaconi quam aliorum Walensium, qui

[RENEWED DISPUTES ABOUT THE SEE OF BANGOR.]

ad votum præconceptum peragendum per se non sufficiunt, taliter duximus consulendum; quod in propriis personis ire non possint, de bonis divinitus sibi collatis Ierosolimam euntibus tribuant, et ad reparationem ecclesiæ Menevensis operam impendant et auxilium. Præfatos quoque Episcopum et Archidiaconum, propter ætatis defectum vel paupertatem, a prætaxato itinere Ierosolimitano, auctoritate nobis concessas<sup>b</sup>, ab eadem dispensatione duximus absolvendos, et penitus denuntiamus absolutos: ista tamen [conditione] quod Ierosolimam accedentibus auxilium præbeant et adjutorium. Illud item de populo sibi commissio facimus. [*Gir. Camb. De Reb. a se Gestis*, II. 22; *Opp. I.* 84, 85.]

\* John of Anagnia, appointed March 12, 1189 (*Jaffé*), came to England in November as legate, but was not admitted into the kingdom until December and quitted it Dec. 11 (*Bened. Abb.*, II. 97, 98, 101). Richard had

been crowned on the previous Sept. 3. Henry had died July 6. And Peter of S. David's was at the Council of Pipewell Sept. 15, 16 (*Hoveden*, in an.).

<sup>b</sup> *Leg. concessa.*

A.D. 1190-1195, 1196-1203. *Renewed disputes about the See of Bangor.*

I. [Bishop Guy—Gwianus, Guianus,—died 1190 (so *Stubbs*, from *Gir. Camb.*; 1191, *Brut*, ed. Williams); and the see, which was offered to Giraldus (if his own assertion can be trusted),—as was also the see of Llandaff, vacant in 1191 by the death of William of Saltmarsh and not filled until 1193 (*De Reb. a se Gest.* II. 22, 24; *Opp. I.* 85, 87),—was not filled until the consecration of Alan (so called by *Gir. Camb. De Invest.* V. 14; *Opp. III.* 139; and in his own Profession) April 16, 1195 (*Ann. Southwark. MS.*, *Gervas.* 1681, *P. R. C.*). But there is no record of the cause of the delay.

II. Bishop Alan died May 19, 1196 (*Godwin* from *MSS. Cott. Nero E. 6*, and see also the *Brut*, ed. Williams), and Robert of Shrewsbury, his successor, was consecrated March 16, 1197, at Westminster by Archbishop Hubert (*Chron. de Merton*). But a Welsh opposition to Robert, parallel to the great strife (almost contemporaneous) at S. David's, and only less known, "caret quia vate sacro"—because it was not fortunate enough to have a Giraldus to record it, lived on in the form of appeals to the Pope until at least A.D. 1203: as appears by]—

III. GIR. CAMB., *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl.*, Dist. III.—  
Appeal to the Pope against Robert Bishop of Bangor. Interim autem vicissim et alternatim magnæ contentiones coram eisdem auditoribus<sup>a</sup> erant inter R. Bangorensem electum et<sup>b</sup> Andream, qui se ei propter Archiepiscopi favorem pro Roberto Bangorensi Episcopo totis nisibus opponebat. Hic autem electus<sup>c</sup> monachus erat ordinis Cisterciensis et subprior monasterii de Aberconeu in Venedocia, dicens se legitimum electum de Bangor, et Robertum ab Archiepiscopo superintrusum. Hunc autem et prima vice qua Romæ fuerat Archidiaconus [1199, 1200] et hac secunda [1201] Romæ inventum, tam in odium Archiepiscopi, cujus

[RENEWED DISPUTES ABOUT THE SEE OF BANGOR.]

factum monachus etiam impugnabat, quam etiam quoniam ipse Walensis extiterat, et in causa status et dignitatis Sancti Davidis ei pro posse assisteret, totis juvare viribus intendebat<sup>d</sup>. [*Opp. III.* 193: see also *De Invect. I.* 2; *III.* 11: *ib.* 19, 66.]

<sup>a</sup> Viz. those appointed by Innocent to hear Giraldus' case at Rome, about July 1201.

<sup>b</sup> One of the clerks employed by Hubert against Giraldus.

<sup>c</sup> i. e. the R. aforesaid, whose name is not

recorded.

<sup>d</sup> Robert was consecrated "citra electionem omnem," if Gir. Cambr. is to be trusted (*De Reb. a se Gest. III.* 14; *Opp. I.* 114).

Address of Giraldus to the Pope for Canons of Bangor.

IV. ID., *De Invect. I.* 11. [A.D. 1201, *July.*] *Pro Bangorensi electo.*—Placeat Sanctitati vestræ, pater et domine, canonicos hos Bangorenses audire, et nos pro ipsis simul et nobis, quia causæ nostræ ut nostri sese contingunt, pauca proponentes admittere velitis ..... et eundem habemus inimicum Archiepiscopum, qui abbatem unum mihi superintrusit, immo et abbates duos, primum mihi sanguine propinquum, ut schisma faceret et in genere meo, alterum vero, qui canonicus fuerat Ecclesiæ nostræ, plures in eos filios et consanguineos canonicos habens, ut schisma faceret in capitulo; quorum utrique firmam spem dedit, cum tamen eandem cathedram simul et semel obtinere non possint; et sic alterum decipiendo vel forsā utrumque. Eadem arte et ingenio, huic viro bono, primum electo et canonice vocato, Anglicum quandam citra electionem omnem et vocationem superintrudi et consecrari procuravit, vagum eundem ac profugum et nullius civitatis Episcopum.—[Precatur ut Pontifex eum suæ Ecclesiæ restituat.]—His itaque summatis sic prælibatis, dicant nunc isti, vel legant factum suum. [*Opp. III.* 39, 40.]

The Bangor claimant returns with a commission.

V. ID., *De f. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. V.* [A.D. 1203, *June.*]—Præterea monachus ille, qui se Bangoriensem gessit electum, interim peractis negotiis ut tunc poterant, cum commissione discesserat. [*ib.* 287.]

The Archbishop persecutes him.

VI. ID., *De Invect. I.* 10.—Sensit quoque [nequitiam Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis] Bangorensis electus, cui post electionem suam canonicam et appellationem interpositam Anglicum quandam superintrusit, et nunc etiam ordinis sui consortium per abbates Anglicos et capitulum Cisterciense auferri procuravit. [*ib.* 38, 39.]

## [CHAPTER OF LLANDAFF ORGANIZED.]

VII. ID., *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. IV.* [A.D. 1203, *January.*]—*Electus autem Bangoriensis*\*, propter sententiam qua separatus ab ordine fuerat, quoniam id abbas Cisterciensis domino Papæ literis et nunciis significaverat, non statim urbem intrare ..... disposuerat; donec Archidiaconus, ei vix animum adjiciens et audaciam, secum eundem ad curiam duxit. [*ib.* 241<sup>b</sup>.]

\* Giraldus found him at Paris, and they arrived at Rome together.

<sup>b</sup> The appeal must have been decided against the unfortunate subprior of Aberconway, as Robert continued in possession of his see until his death in 1213. He was at the Council of Westminster Sept. 19, 1199 (*R. de Diceto*), with (Henry) of Llandaff, and R(einer) of S. Asaph (*Id.*). And in 1197, Peter of Blois

(who was Archdeacon of Bath as late as March 18, 1195 [*Pet. Bles. Epist. CIX.* addressed to Hubert of Canterbury as legate] and obviously later still) complains (*Epist. CXLVII.*), immediately upon Robert's consecration, that when elect of Bangor he had ejected a nominee of Peter's from a prebend of Wolverhampton, of which Robert seemingly had been Dean.

A.D. 1193 × 1218. *Chapter of Llandaff organized by Henry of Abergavenny Bishop of Llandaff.*

ADDIT. TO LIB. LANDAV.—Iste Henricus de Bergaueny constituit XIII<sup>m</sup>. prebendas in sancta Cathed. Landauensi et tot adhuc deberent esse: quarum XIII<sup>m</sup>. prebendarum secundum statuta nostra octo defungi debent per uicarios sacerdotes, quatuor uero per uicarios diaconos, et alie due prebende defungi debent per uicarios subdiaconos: qui faciunt XIII<sup>m</sup>. uicarios respondentes XIII<sup>m</sup>. prebendis seu XIII<sup>m</sup>. canonibus prebendariis: ut premissum est. [*Mem. of 15th century, at the end of the Ouston Lib. Landav.*]

A.D. 1197. *Synodical Excommunication and Absolution of Rhys King of South Wales by Peter Bishop of S. David's.*

ANN. DE WINTON., in an. 1197.—[Peter de Leia, Bishop of S. David's, being personally insulted and ill-treated by King Rhys,] citatis archidiaconibus suis et totius Episcopatus presbyteris, cum illis pariter Regem et Regis filios cum tota terra sua anathemate perculit. [Upon Rhys's death a few days afterwards, his son Gryfydd made submission, and] Episcopus, vapulato Regis defuncti corpore jam foetido, vapulatis etiam filiis, cum mortuo vivis, [eos] eorumque terram absolvit, assensu et auctoritate domini Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis. [66 Luard.]

\* "Resus Grifini filius .... IV. cal. Maii moritur (1197), cujus corpus nobile apud Sanctum

David cum honore debito humatum est." (*Ann. Camb.* a. 1197, p. 60, ed. Williams.) And,

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singular to say, he and his son are said to be the only Welsh princes of their race buried there, Strata Florida being their usual burial-place (*Jones and Freeman, S. David's*, 114,

115). The transaction in the text is a close parallel to the early Llandaff synods (so called), which have been so repeatedly mentioned already.

A.D. 1198, 1200<sup>a</sup>. *Abbeys of Kemmer and of Valle Crucis founded.*

A.D. 1198. BRUT Y TYWYSOG.  
—Ac yna ydaeth coueint y Cwm  
Hir y bresswylaw y Gymer [y  
Nannav y Meirionydd].—[p. 252,  
ed. Williams.]

And then the convent of Cwm  
Hir removed to settle at Cymmer  
in Nannau of Meirionydd. [*ib.*  
253.]

A.D. 1200. IB.—Y ulwydyn  
honno y grwndwalwyt [Madoc  
ap Gruffydd Maelor] manachlawc  
Lenegwestyl [yn ol yr hen groes]  
yn Ial. [*ib.* 254, 256.]

The same year, Madoc, son of  
Gryffydd Maelor, founded the mo-  
nastery of Llanegwestl near the  
old cross in Yale. [*ib.* 255, 257.]

<sup>a</sup> See *Dugd. Mon. V.* 720, 742.

A.D. 1198–1204. *Fruitless efforts of Giraldus Cambrensis to obtain metro-  
politan power and freedom of election for S. David's.—Claim of Welsh  
Archbishopric.—Nomination of Bishops by the Crown.*

I. A.D. 1198. September—A.D. 1199. June. *Giraldus, elected by the  
Chapter of S. David's with three others to be nominated to the Crown, upon  
the death (July 16, 1198) of Bishop Peter, is rejected by the King.*

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| [i. Giraldus elected with three others, in the presence of Hubert the<br>Justiciary (probably in London), for the Crown to choose one as<br>Bishop of S. David's. Hubert refuses to recognize the election of<br>any Welshman . . . . .] | } Shortly before<br>Sept. 29, 1198. |
| ii. Chapter summoned to Normandy to elect by Dec. 11 . . . . .   |                                     |
| iii. And again to Westminster by Jan. 20, 1199 . . . . .   | Nov. 9, 1198.<br>Dec. 18, 1198.     |
| iv. Richard I. dies, before the Chapter messengers can reach him . . . . .   | April 6, 1199.                      |
| v. Application of Chapter to John at Chinon, about April, accepted; }<br>but John, coming to London, finally rejects Giraldus . . . . .  | Shortly after<br>May 27, 1199.]     |

i. GIR. CAMB., *De Reb. a se Gestis*, III. 4.—Cum igitur Episcopus  
Menevensis quasi in principio autumnus defunctus fuisset; duo Archi-  
diaconi et quatuor canonici Menevenses, parum ante festum S. Mi-  
chaelis, ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem Hubertum, tunc Angliæ  
justiciarium, per districtum ejusdem mandatum cum literis capituli de  
rato ad electionem faciendam accesserunt; et tres personas ei nomi-

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naverunt [sc. first, Giraldus, then Walter Abbat of Dogmael's, and thirdly Peter Abbat of Whitland, all Welsh]; quantum etiam, ut numerum augerent nominatorum et Anglicos penitus excludere non viderentur, Reginaldum Foliot, qui Anglicus fuit. .... Archiepiscopus autem primo nominatum primo recusavit et constanter abnegavit. Et cum quærerent canonici quare virum discretum ac literatum, generosum et legitime natum, recusaret, respondit, quia Rex nullum Walensem, præsertim autem illum qui principes Walliæ sanguine contingat, Episcopum in Wallia habere volebat. [Opp. I. 94, 95.]—Id., c. 7. Obtulit autem eis Anglicos duos, monachum sc. Cisterciensis ordinis, Alexandrum nomine, ... et priorem Lantoniz Galfriadum, [cui] etiam custodia Menevensis Episcopatus dum vacaret postea per Archiepiscopum commissa fuerat. [ib. 103<sup>a</sup>.]

\* The statement of Giraldus' opponents adds to this—that after the nomination of the four candidates, “quod non constabat eis de Regis assensu, qui in transmarinis agebat, in Archiepiscopum tunc ad Regem transfretare paratum vota eligendi contulerunt, ut quem ipse cum Regis assensu vice capituli eligeret, illum pro electo suo et pastore susciperent” (*Gir. Camb., De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. III.; Opp. III. 192*); that the Archbishop accordingly “apud insulam Andeli in crastino Epiphaniæ proximæ (Jan. 7, 1199) abbatem Sancti Dogmaelis cum assensu Regis elegit; et parum ante Natale sequens capitulum electionem ab Archiepiscopo factam solemnizavit” (*Id. ib.*). Consequently the absolute election of the Abbat of S. Dogmael's was six months prior to the (absolute) election of Giraldus (see below) upon June 29, 1199, the further election of a little before Christmas 1199 being upon this statement (not a formal election for the first time of the Abbat aforesaid, but) only a confirmation of his election in the previous January. The Pope ultimately avoided the principles involved in the dispute, by accepting this statement as substantiated, and accordingly pronouncing Giraldus' election by the Chapter in June 1199 to be void, that of Walter of S. Dogmael's being also void because the Canons had no authority from the Chapter to authorize the Archbishop to make it. The question of metropolitanship never came to an issue at all. Hubert as Justiciary was in Radnorshire in the end of July 1198, having just won a victory there over the Welsh (*Gir. Camb.,*

*De Reb. a se Gestis, III. 4; Opp. I. 95*); and receiving there the news of Peter's death, refused to commit the custody of the diocese to Giraldus (*Id. ib.*). He gave up his office of Justiciary immediately afterwards, and crossed to the King in Normandy before Nov. 9. The Chapter representatives, therefore, who came to him just before he sailed, probably went to him in London. There are four letters from and to Giraldus (August to November 1198), two written before the Chapter held in Hubert's presence, two after it, which it will be sufficient to mention: 1. Giraldus to Hubert, immediately after the victory over the Welsh and Hubert's refusal to commit the custody of the see to Giraldus, congratulating him on the former, and professing an earnest wish for a quiet obscurity (*De Reb. a se Gest. III. 5; Opp. I. 96-101*; and *Symb. Elect., Epist. XXV. ib. 289*); 2. Hubert's reply, sarcastically congratulating him on his *nolo Episcopatus* spirit (*ib. III. 6*, and *Epist. XXVII. ib. 101, 102, 290*); 3. Giraldus to Hubert, after the Chapter meeting before Hubert, at which he was not present, expressing his ready concurrence in any one as Bishop, so that he would not be for ever begging a translation to richer English preferment, and was not (as Peter had been) a Cistercian monk (*ib. III. 7*, and *Epist. XXVI. ib. 102, 103, 289, 290*); 4. Giraldus in further reply to Hubert, defending himself from charges laid against him, and protesting against an English Bishop of a Welsh see, or at any rate against an Englishman that could not speak Welsh (*Symb. Elect., Epist. XXVIII. Opp. I. 290-307*).

Send four Canons ii. A.D. 1198. Nov. 9. *Roche d'Andely. Mandate of*  
into Normandy *Richard I. to Chapter of S. David's* <sup>a</sup>.—RICARDUS DEI GRA-

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by next Dec. 11, TIA REX ANGLIÆ, DUX NORMANNIÆ ET AQUITANIÆ, Co-  
to elect a Bishop. MES ANDEGAVIÆ, *dilectis sibi capitulo Menevensis Ecclesiæ*,  
salutem. Sciatis quod bonum animum et bonam voluntatem habemus  
consulendi Ecclesiæ vestræ, quæ pastore desolata est. Unde ad  
petitionem domini Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi ei secundum Deum  
providere volumus. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod mittatis ad nos  
in Normanniam quatuor de discretioribus capituli vestri; ita quod  
sint ad nos in XV. die post festum S. Andreæ cum litteris de rato ad  
eligendum idoneum pastorem secundum Deum et dignitatem Ecclesiæ  
vestræ. Teste meipso apud Rupem Andeleiæ, IX. die Novembris.  
[*Gir. Camb., De Reb. a se Gest., III. 8; Opp. I. 105.*]

• Received by the Chapter only on Dec. 21, with the mandate next following.

iii. A.D. 1198. Dec. 18. Tower of London. *Mandate of  
Justiciary Geoffrey Fitz-Peter to Chapter of S. David's.*—G.  
FILIUS-PETRI *dilecto sibi in Domino Menevensis Ecclesiæ*  
*capitulo* salutem. Noveritis quod quoniam ad dominum  
Regem in Normannia ad statutum terminum propter  
eligendum pastorem Ecclesiæ vestræ non transfretastis;  
nobis dedit in mandatis, quod vos citari faciamus, quatinus ad hoc  
faciendum in partes transmarinas ad eum accedatis. Mandamus  
itaque vobis, quod omni occasione postposita sitis apud Westmona-  
sterium in octavis S. Hilarii, parati transfretare ad dominum Regem,  
vel quatuor sive sex de discretioribus capituli vestri ad ipsum in  
Normanniam transmittere. Teste meipso, apud Turrim Londo-  
niensem XVIII. die Decembris. [*Id., ib. 9; ib. 106.*]

A.D. 1198. Dec. 18 × 25. *Chapter of S. David's to  
Giraldus Archdeacon of Brecknock.*—*Domino et amico in  
Christo dilecto Giraldo Archidiacono de Brechene* CAPITU-  
LUM MENEVENSIS ECCLESIAE, salutem in Domino. Hucusque per  
litteras et internuntios locuti fuimus; amodo autem nos urget neces-  
sitas ut præsentes loquamur; ut communicato consilio Ecclesiæ  
nostræ profectui pariter et honori intendamus. Inde est quod vobis  
mandamus et in fide consulimus, quatinus statim visis litteris istis  
omni occasione et excusatione postposita, ad Ecclesiam vestram  
veniatis. Consilium etiam omnium amicorum vestrorum est, ut  
veniatis. Valet in Domino. [*Id., ib. 10; ib. 106, 107.*]

Meet three other  
Canons at London before the  
Justiciary just before  
Lent, to press your own  
election.

A.D. 1198. Dec. 25 × 1199. Jan. 11. *Same to same.*—  
*Dilecto in Domino fratri et amico Giraldo Archidiacono de Brechene* CAPITULUM MENEVENSIS ECCLESIAE, salutem et  
amorem caritatis glutino connexum. Noverit Discretio  
vestra, quod XII. cal. Januarii, qua videlicet die litteras  
vestras suscepimus, mandatum domini Regis in hac forma suscepimus: 'Ricardus, Dei gratia' etc. ut paulo ante.

Item litteras Justiciarii Angliæ circa Natale tales: 'G. filius-Petri' etc. ut ante.

Super hujusmodi mandato tam expresso quid nobis agendum sit amodo consilium vestrum expectamus. Consilium nostrum namque est, si vobis expedire videbitur, ne nimis Walenses aut rebelles videamur, mittere ad dominum Regem tres de discretioribus capituli vobiscum, ut pro quarto existatis; tres quidem cum litteris de rato, qui vos constanter petant et eligant: si vero dominus Rex aliquo modo, quod absit, in hoc non consenserit. Et sciatis pro certo, quod neque schismata neque dissensiones ortæ sunt inter nos; sed omnes concordēs sumus et unanimes, quantum in nobis est, ad vos eligendum; nihilque nobis deest, nisi expensarum facultas. Preces autem et petitiones sive ad dominum Regem sive ad Justiciarium qualescunque idoneas noveritis, ad nos transmittite; et nos easdem sigillabimus. Valete, et faciatis nos habere responsum consilii vestri in crastino S. Hilarii; quia tunc, Deo volente, generale capitulum habituri sumus. [*Id., ib. 107.*]

After a fruitless  
meeting before  
the Justiciary,  
shortly before  
Lent, the Chapter  
send messengers  
to Richard in  
Normandy.

iv. GIR. CAMBR., *De Reb. a se Gest.*, III. 10. [A.D. 1199. *Shortly before March 3.*]—[Giraldus] ad diem statutum, parum sc. ante Quadragesimam, Londonias accessit. Justiciarius autem canonicis, qui ante adventum Archidiaconi coram ipso fuerant, obtulit instantes duos illos, abbatem sc. et priorem, quos Archiepiscopus eis primitus obtulerat, ut utrum illorum vellent in Episcopum susciperent. .... Alioquin præcepit eis, quatinus ad Regem quantocius transfretarent. Ipsi vero responsum usque ad adventum Archidiaconi differentes, demum inito cum ipso consilio responderunt; quod a suis nominatis discedere, vel alios suscipere, consilium a capitulo suo non habebant; et quod pauperes erant et de paupere terra ac remota, sibi ad transfretandum expensas non suppetere; nec unquam



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Ecclesiam suam vel aliquam Ecclesiam Walliæ propter electionem faciendam transmarinas ad partes mittere consuevisse. Obtulerunt tamen ei, quod duos de clericis suis cum literis ipsius si vellet ad Regem mitterent, propter assensum ipsius de pastore sibi præficiendo expresse sciendum, et ut electionem suam eis in Anglia facere liceret. Quo concesso, ..... unum ex illis quatuor, Elydorum nomine, filium Elydori<sup>a</sup>, cum clerico quodam Ecclesiæ suæ transmiserunt. Qui suscepto negotio transfretantes, et tam Normanniam quam Andegaviam et Aquitaniam partem transcurrentes, suscepto rumore de Regis obitu in Limovicensi provincia ubi expeditionem agebat interempti<sup>b</sup>, etc. [Opp. I. 108.]

<sup>a</sup> A grant of the lands of "Hendavarn" to this Eliodorus by Bishop Peter of S. David's is confirmed by King John at Devizes Sept. 12, 1205 (Bot. Chartist. 7 Joh. memb. 7, num. 4, vol. I.

pt. I. p. 157 b. ed. Hardy).

<sup>b</sup> Richard was wounded at Chalus-Chabrol, a castle belonging to the Viscount of Limoges, and died April 6, 1199 (Hoveden 450, &c.).

v. A.D. 1199. End of April<sup>a</sup>. Chapter of S. David's They thank him for assenting (in Touraine) to the election of Giraldus. *to Prince John.—Carissimo ac desideratissimo domino suo Johanni Domino Angliæ et Hyberniæ, Duci Normanniæ et Aquitanie, Comiti Andegaviæ, CAPITULUM MENEVENSE, salutem et orationes in Christo. Gratias vestræ Sublimitati referimus tam cumulas quam affectuosas, quod petitionem nostram necnon et baronum patriæ clerique totius super pastore nobis præficiendo tam benigne exaudistis. Noverit igitur Excellentia vestra, quod magistrum Giraldum Archidiaconum de Sancto David præcipue et præ aliis cunctis postulamus, et eum per illos duos vel tres canonicos nostros has litteras nostras vobis præsentantes eligimus; et electionem, quam ipsi pro nobis de eo canonice fecerint, ratam habebimus et gratam. [Gir. Cambr., De Reb. a se Gest., III. 12; Opp. I. 110.]*

<sup>a</sup> The messengers above-mentioned found John at Chinon in Touraine, gave their letters, obtained his consent to elect Giraldus, and returned with letters to Giraldus and the Chapter from John, desiring Giraldus to come to him at once, with three or four canons, to be elected; also to the justiciary, desiring him not to inter-

fere (Gir. ib. 11; ib. 109). Giraldus receives his letters at Lincoln April 25, and comes to London by Ascension Day (May 27, 1199), when John was crowned. The above is the reply of the Chapter, written when John "nondum Rex fuerat," i. e. before his coronation although after Richard's death.

GIR. CAMB., *ib.* III. 12.—[Upon John's coronation] John in London refuses his assent. cum concanonicis suis ad Regem, sicut mandaverat, Archidiaconus accessit. Et audita voluntate ipsius,

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quam tamen propter Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis dissuasionem, cujus ad nutum tunc cuncta fiebant, in publicum propalare nolebat; Archidiaconus curiam et Angliam post terga relinquens, Walliam reversus est \*. [ib. III.]

\* If John did really privately assent to the election, he immediately and absolutely retracted that assent: for the election of June 29 by the Chapter, immediately afterwards, was made

"citra Regis assensum omnem, quia requisitum sed non habitum, immo Archipræsulis instinctu prorsus denegatum." (*Id.*, *De J. et S. Menov. Eccl.*, *Dist. II.*; *Opp. III.* 164.)

II. A.D. 1199. *June—end of A.D. 1200. Chapter of S. David's elect in defiance of the Crown, and send Giraldus to Rome to apply for consecration and to prosecute their claim of Metropolitanship. Both questions referred by Innocent III. to three English Bishops.*

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| i. The Chapter elect Giraldus absolutely and without leave of the Crown                          | } June 29, 1199.              |
| ii. Giraldus starts for Rome*, which he reaches by   | } Nov. 30, 1199.              |
| iii. The Chapter, summoned to London by Ang. 22, elect the Abbat of S. Dogmael's a little before | } Christmas 1199.             |
| But the Archbishop's messenger, bearing the tidings of this, reaches Rome between                | } March 19 and April 9, 1200. |
| iv. Innocent III. refers both questions to a commission to report to him by March 4, 1201        | } May 5, 1200.                |
| (v. He proposes to canonize S. Caradoc at Giraldus' request                                      | } May 8, 1200.)               |
| vi. Giraldus made meanwhile "custos et spiritualium et temporalium" of S. David's                | } May 12, 1200.               |
| vii. He returns to England before the end of   | } 1200.]                      |

\* The Bishops of the other three Welsh sees are mentioned as at the Council of Westminster, Sept. 19, 1199 (*R. de Diceb.*).

i. A.D. 1199. *About July 21. The Chapter of S. David's to Innocent III.—Reverendissimo patri et domino Innocentio Dei gratia summo Pontifici* CAPITULUM SANCTI ANDREÆ SANCTIQUE DAVID, salutem et debitæ devotionis obsequium. Sanctitati vestræ notum facimus nos magistrum Giraldum Archidiaconum nostrum post varias postulationes, quibus ipsum præ aliis tam ab Anglorum Rege quam ab Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi communi assensu tam cleri patriæ quam populi totius postulavimus, tandem in ecclesia nostra canonice et concorditer elegisse. Unde quoniam prædictus Archiepiscopus cum Regis officialibus nobis extraneum aliquem, linguæ nostræ et morum patriæ prorsus ignarum, contra electionem nostram et privilegia nostra violenta intrusione præficere volebant; et quoniam voluntatem Archiepiscopi nobis omnino contrarium ex recusatis multotiens postulationibus nostris

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experti eramus; nec ad ipsum nobis propter insidias undique positas patebat accessus; præcipue vero ne illicitum sacramentum ab electo nostro in præjudicium juris Ecclesiæ nostræ, sicut aliquotiens a prælatis nostris factum fuerat, extorqueretur: præsentiam vestram appellantes, vobis prænominatum electum nostrum, virum literatum, discretum, et honestum, legitime natum et generosum, Ecclesiæ nostræ tam in temporalibus quam etiam spiritualibus, sicut pro certo credimus, perutilem futurum, unanimi consensu confirmandum transmissimus et consecrandum: rogantes attentius et supplicantes, quatinus manum ei consecrationis imponere dignantes, his quæ tam ipse quam clerici nostri cum ipso transmissi super pristina dignitate et libertate Ecclesiæ nostræ, per laicam potestatem peccatis urgentibus olim deperdita, vestræ Sanctitati ex parte nostra significaverint, fidem habeatis et remedia paterna pietate adhibeatis.

Valeat in Domino per tempora longa Paternitas vestra. [*Gir. Camb., De Reb. a se Gest. III. 14; Opp. I. 113, 114.*]

They protest against the consecration of the Prior of Llantonny if the Archbishop should have consecrated him without waiting for their election.

Same date. Same to same.—*Reverendissimo domino et patri Innocentio Dei gratia summo Pontifici* CAPITULUM MENEVENSE, salutem et fidelitatis obsequium. Si forte ad audientiam vestram pervenire contigerit priorem de Lantonnia Episcopum Ecclesiæ nostræ a Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo consecratum et præfectum esse, contra electionem nostram omnem et voluntatem id proculdubio factum esse noveritis. Ab initio namque sede nostra vacante magistrum Giraldum Archidiaconum nostrum, quem in ecclesia nostra canonice jam elegimus et postulavimus, et adhuc a Paternitate vestra postulamus consecrandum; in nullum alium per Dei gratiam et vestram consentire volentes. Ne quid et in præjudicium Ecclesiæ nostræ et electionis hujus communi tam populi patriæ quam cleri assensu tam canonice factæ fieri præsumeretur, presentiam vestram, sicut ab initio, sic continue quidem et constanter appellavimus.

Valeat in Domino toti fidelium orbi profutura per ævum Paternitas vestra. [*Id., ib. 15; Opp. I. 114, 115.*]

\* Giraldus made haste. He was at S. David's before June 14, and the election (unanimous and by all the canons) was made on the 29th (ib. 12; ib. 111). It was "in ecclesia et non in camera, item de unica persona per se quidem et expresse nominata, non cum turba, item citra Regis assensum omnem, quia requisitum et non

habitum, immo ..... prorsus denegatum" (*Id., De J. et S. Menev. Ecol., Dist. II.; Opp. III. 164*). Giraldus went to Ireland to consult friends June 30, and returned in nearly three weeks' time (*De Reb. a se Gest. III. 13; Opp. I. 113*): when the above two letters were given to him to carry to Rome; whither he went,

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1. to be consecrated, 2. that "dignitatem Ecclesie sue metropolitice Romæ . . . vendicaret" (De Reb. a se Gest. c. 12 as above). A mandate meanwhile had reached the canons, to appear before the Archbishop and the Justiciary, to elect the Prior of Llantony, Aug. 22 (ib. c. 13, p. 112), who however would be consecrated whether they elected him or not.

ii. [Giraldus went to Strata Florida Aug. 14, started thence a few days after, crossed at Sandwich, and making a detour to the east part of Flanders by Hainault and the Forest of Ardennes, went by Champagne and Burgundy across the Alps to Rome, which he reached about Nov. 30, being delayed fifteen days and more at S. Omer's. *De Reb. a se Gestis*, III. 17, 18; *Opp. I.* 117-119.]

iii. A.D. 1199. *Autumn.* <sup>a</sup>Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury to Innocent III.—*Sanctissimo in Christo patri ac domino in vera Dei gratia summo Pontifici*, H., DIVINA PERMISSIO NE CANTUARIENSIS ECCLESIE MINISTER HUMILIS, salutem, et tam devotam quam debitam patri et domino

obedientiam et reverentiam. Ad hoc Divinæ providentiæ dispositio vos super gentes et regna constituit, ut juxta merentium diversitatem discretio vestræ sollicitudinis evellat, destruat, dissipet et disperdat, ædificet et plantet, ut omnem plantationem quam non plantavit Pater cœlestis, per vos, cui vices suas commisit in terris Altissimi Filius, eradicet et explantet, et disperdat eos qui dispergunt, eo quod cum ipso colligere non elaborant. Ideo namque vobis desuper data est plenitudo potestatis, ut quod per nos, qui in partem vocati sumus sollicitudinis, corrigi non potest, ad regulam redigat et reducat vestra, cui resisti non poterit, majestatis amplitudo.

Non ignorare vos arbitror, pater sanctissime, quod Menevensis Ecclesiæ et cæterarum Ecclesiarum totius Walliæ mater et metropolis est Ecclesia Cantuariensis, sicut prædecessorum vestrorum piæ recordationis Adriani, Eugenii, Alexandri, et Celestini confirmationes et scripta testantur, et nuper a vobis missa pagina vestræ confirmationis ostendit. Nuper tamen, sicut certa relatione didici, quidam Menevensis Ecclesiæ Archidiaconus, Giraldus nomine, natione Wallensis, plerosque Walliæ magnates vel sanguine vel affinitate contingens, fiducia forsan sanguinis animatus, cum deceat virtute magis quam sanguine niti, a tribus tantum canonicis, quos, ut dicitur, aliter quam decebat vel debebat ad consensum illexerat, in Menevensem se eligi Episcopum procuravit, aliis concanonicis<sup>b</sup> nequaquam favorem præstantibus vel assensum. Ille tamen tali nominatione suffultus,

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confirmationis a me, ad quem primum recurrere debuerat, munus nec expetens nec expectans, sed mox electi nomen pariter et auctoritatem usurpans, canonicum qui sigillum Menevensis capituli custodiebat, quem<sup>e</sup> precibus inflectere non potuit, usque adeo cruentis deterruit comminationibus, quod idem sigilli custos sigillum prædictum super altare Episcopalis ecclesiæ posuit. Prius tamen appellaverat, ne quis præter communem capituli assensum modo tollere vel asportare præsumeret. Ille tamen non magis appellationem reverens quam horruerat intrusionem, sigillum sustulit et sic abstulit, ut quotiens et qualia velit patrocini vel testificationis possit instrumenta conficere. Novit Deus, ante Quem sto, et Quem nullum latet secretum, quod si eum idoneum et ad tantæ dignitatis apicem canonica electione præeunte evocatum credidissem, munus confirmationis, sed et<sup>d</sup> consecrationis, si a me vel alterum vel utrumque petere voluisset, benigne impendissem. Verumtamen ille de electionis qualitate minime confidens, me minus licite minusque canonice neglecto, ad sedem Apostolicam, sicut fama est, festinum iter arripuit; ut vos, cui necdum de forma electionis suæ innotuit, falsis circumveniat testimoniis. Sed nostis, pater peritissime, quod testibus non testimoniis credi oportet; præsertim cum plura efficere possint et soleant, quod testimoniis eorum qui testes nominantur voluntates non consonent: sicut veri sigilli vel furtiva subreptio vel ablatio violenta, vel impressionis adulterinæ cum vero sigillo, sicut plerumque fit, expressa similitudine. Hæc vobis, sanctissime pater, non odio personæ, novit Deus, sed zelo justitiæ, castigatius forsitan et temperantius quam expedit vel rei veritas exigeret, significanda duxi; ne quoquomodo circumventi, veritate prius non intellecta, manum ei consecrationis, si placet Sanctitati vestræ, vel imponatis vel faciatis imponi. Sed et hæc<sup>e</sup> vellemus vestræ innotescere Sanctitati, quod sæpèdictus Archidiaconus, optento forsitan a vobis, quod absit, consecrationis munere, non foret hoc fine contentus, sed juxta quod spes improbissimas amplectuntur insperata consecuti, ad altiora et deteriora conatus extenderet; et exemptionem a jurisdictione Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ, quam tamen, Deo volente, et vestra semper prudentia denegante, numquam impetrabit, sub prætextu consecrationis sibi a vobis indultæ irreverenter affectaret; et inter Anglicos et Wallenses de cætero pro posse suo perpetuæ dissensionis jaceret seminarium. Wallenses enim, a prima Britonum prosapia continua sanguinis successione deducti, totius Britanniae dominium sibi de jure debere

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jactitant; unde si non efferæ gentis et effrenæ barbariem districtionis ecclesiasticæ censura coercuisset, facta per Cantuariensem, cui gens illa lege provinciali hactenus subjecta fuisse dignoscitur, a Rege suo vel continua vel crebra rebellione discessisset, sequente necessario totius Anglicanæ regionis inquietudine. Vitam et incolomitatem vestram conservet Altissimus in tempora longa. [*Gir. Camb., De Invect. I. 1; Opp. III. 13-15; and in part in De Reb. a se Gest. III. 19; ib. I. 120-122.*]

<sup>a</sup> Brought to Rome by Dec. 10, 1199.

<sup>o</sup> "quoniam," *ib.*

<sup>b</sup> "omnibus canonicis," in *De Reb. a se Gest.*

<sup>d</sup> "etiam," *ib.*

<sup>e</sup> "hoc," *ib.*

A.D. 1200. *January 7. Rome. Giraldus to the Pope in*  
*Giraldus' reply.*  
 [The pertinent passages only are given.] *reply.* — Pater sancte, canum, ut nostis, proprietas et protervitas est, quod ubi mordere non possunt, latrare non cessant. .... Subjungit etiam et jactat se privilegiis Adriani, Alexandri III., et Cœlestini munitum. In quo notandum moneo, quod non a remotis incipit, sed quasi a modernis tantum; quod et literis populi ac cleri Walliæ quas suscepistis concordare videtur, qui asserunt tamen <sup>a</sup> tres Episcopos Menevenses Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ subjectos fuisse. Sed hoc quoque dignum est nota, quod scripta illa confirmationes vocat non donationes. Videat autem ipse, viderint et decessores sui, ne conscientiam sedis Apostolicæ suppressa veritate circumvenerint. Sed hoc sua desiderant tempora, et nos quod instat agamus. Procedit: 'Quidam Menevensis Ecclesiæ Archidiaconus, Giraldus nomine, natione Wallensis.' .... Ac si aperte dicat: 'Quia de Wallia oriundus in Wallia non debet esse prælatus;' ergo a simili nec Anglici in Anglia, nec Franci in Francia, nec Italici in Italia, præfici debent nec promoveri. Permisceantur ergo pastores ignari linguarum et boni invenientur prædicatores. Item: 'Plerosque Walliæ magnates vel sanguine vel affinitate contingens,' etc. Verum dicit; et si omnes fere majores Walliæ totius dixisset de utraque gente, tam Anglicis scilicet baronibus Regis, qui maritimam Walliæ contra Wallenses Regi et regno egregie militando incastellatam tenent, ex parte patris,—quod tamen ex cautela supprimit et subticet ille, quia causam nostram juvare videretur,—quam etiam de principibus Walliæ ex sanguine materno, non minus vere, sed magis quidem expresse scripsisset.... Præterea si tantum a tribus canonicis, ut scribit ipse, electus fuisset, aliis omnibus invitis et reclamantibus, cum totidem fere Anglicos in Ecclesia nostra canonicos habeamus quot Wallenses, aliquem utique

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vel etiam aliquos prece vel pretio allectos ad curiam contra nos destinasset. Nullum autem destinavit, quia nec unum habere potuit. Item non minus impudenter scripsit, 'me sigillum capituli nostri violenter asportasse.' Sed quam sit et istud a veritate remotum, sicut et præmissum, novit quidem Ecclesia nostra, novit etiam provincia tota, norunt et clerici nostri, qui omnibus intererant et in præsentia vestra præsto sunt, novit et cunctis perspicacius Ille Qui omnia novit, Qui utinam mendacem in hoc articulo gravi ad corrigendum vindicta percellat.... Canonicam autem electionem non hanc reputat quæ facta est in ecclesia matre ac matrice, omnium consensu populique totius applausu. Sed si quatuor canonici vel sex, cum literis de rato Londonias vel in curiam vocati ad eligendum monachum aut medicum suum, vel alium quemlibet morum<sup>b</sup> ..... virum, vocibus quidem et non votis aut blanditiis<sup>b</sup> ..... aut comminationibus et bonorum spoliationibus compellerentur, hujusmodi ut credimus electionem, quum talibus assuevit, pro quibus tamen reprimendis decessor suus martyr gloriosus gladiis impiorum caput exposuit, canonicam et justam reputaret. ... Ad hæc etiam finalem malleum apponens, totumque negotium quasi sub securi quadam et securitate concludens, causam suam sub Regis societate munire molitur; dicens, 'Quod nisi Ecclesia Walliæ Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ jure provinciali subjecta fuisset, gens illa ab Anglorum Rege discedens continuo vel crebro rebellaret.' Sed minus circumspecte, salva auctoritate sua, in hac parte scripsisse videtur, tanquam non possit Rex Angliæ totis et tantis viribus suis gentem illam modicam gladio suo domare materiali, nisi et spirituales sibi in subsidium mutuetur. Hinc, domine, vestræ Sanctitati literis suis communiter principes Walliæ communiter conqueruntur, quod quotiens in bellico conflictu contra hostilem populum ob patriæ tutelam et libertatis congregiuntur, per Cantuariensis sententiam citra omnem juris ordinem pro animi sui motu solo minus discrete datam, quicumque ex parte ipsorum cadunt excommunicati cadunt. Pater sancte, de utraque gente, ut diximus, originem traho, et de principibus Walliæ et de baronibus Marchiæ, qui regni fines contra Wallenses continua rebellionem defendunt; et tamen in utraque gente, quod iniquum video, detestor. Quid autem iniquius esse potest quam gentem illam ab antiquo in fide fundatam et radicatam,—quia a tempore Eleutherii Papæ, qui per Faganum et Duvianum, tempore Lucii Regis Britonum, Christi fidem in insula plantavit, longe

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ante adventum Saxonum, qui in paganismo suo usque ad tempora Gregorii manserint,—quid, inquam, iniquius quam gentem illam, quia corpora sua, terras, et libertates contra hostilem populum vim vi repellendo tuentur, statim a corpore Christi, quod est Ecclesia, separari et Sathanæ tradi? Iniquissimum est istud et hactenus inauditum. ... Sic, domine, literis illis respondeo; sic ea quæ vos forte aut fratres in aliquo movere possent evacuo. Decreto capituli nostri et literis testimonialibus ac vivis vocibus audiendis de cætero, si placet, locum præbeat; ut cunctis ad unguem in audientia vestra discussis, veritas hodie sole clarius elucescat<sup>a</sup>. [*De Invect.* I. 2; *Opp.* III. 16-26.]

<sup>a</sup> *Leg.* "tantum."<sup>b</sup> Blank in Brewer's ed.<sup>c</sup> Henry Bishop of Llandaff appears to havewritten letters on Hubert's side, seemingly at this time (*Gér. Camb.*, lib. 3, lib. 26).A.D. 1200. *About February. Rome. Historical Memorial*

Welsh Church  
independent of  
Canterbury until  
Henry I.

*of Giraldus to Innocent III.*—Ut evidentiore, pater sancte, quæ subscribentur existant, paulo remotius atque pro-

lixius, venia petita, quoniam ab ortu pariter et processu fidei Christianæ in insula Britannica, tam juxta divisiones Anacleti Papæ et epistolam Gregorii Augustino directam, quam etiam Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Anglicanæ a Beda digestæ, seriem ordiemur. Ad instantiam itaque Lucii Regis Britonum missi sunt ab Eleutherio Papa, qui quasi quartus decimus fuit a beato Petro, duo nobiles prædicatores in Britanniam majorem, Faganus scilicet et Duvianus, qui fidem Christi per universam insulam a mari usque ad mare plantaverunt, et juxta provinciarum numerum, quas tempore gentilitatis habuerat insula, quinque metropoles, singulas XII. urbes (sicut olim habuerant) et suffraganeas Ecclesias totidem subjectas habentes, ordine

Five provinces,  
originally; and  
five Archbishops.

et numero competenti distinxerunt. Juxta tomum enim Anacleti Papæ, sicut in pontificalibus Romanorum gestis et imperialibus continetur, directam Galliarum Episcopis, juxta statum gentilium ante Christi adventum Britannia habuit provincias numero quinque, Britanniam primam, Britanniam secundam, Flaviam, Maximiam, Valentiam. Prima dicta est occidentalis pars insulæ, quod primum in illa Britones, Bruto et Corineo ducibus, applicuerunt; eaque primo a Corineo et suis occupata est et inhabitata. Britannia secunda Cantia, quod secundo a Bruto et suis inhabitata fuerat. Tertia Flavia, hoc est *flava*; quæ dicitur et Mercia, quasi *mercibus* abundans, caput cujus est Londonia. Quarta



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Maximia, id est, Eboraca, ab imperatore Maximo dicta. Quinta Valentia, ab imperatore Valente nuncupata, Albania scilicet, quæ nunc abusive Scotia dicitur. Sicque ordinatum a viris sanctis prædictis duobus fuerat, ut in occidentali insulæ parte, quæ et nunc adulterino vocabulo Wallia dicitur, proprie vero Kambria, a Kambro Bruti filio dicta, urbs Legionum metropolis fuerat, XII. suffraganeos habens. Dorobernia, quæ nunc Cantuaria dicitur, a *dur* Britannico, quod est *aqua*, quoniam aquis abundat, sic nuncupata, metropolis ab australi Thamisiæ fluvii parte, XII. suffraganeos habens. Londonia metropolis, XII. suffraganeos habens. Eboraca, quæ nunc dicitur Eboracum, metropolis, XII. suffraganeos habens. Et urbs, quæ nunc S. Andreæ forsan dicitur, totidem suffraganeos habens, olim Alba dicta, unde et Albania provincia; vel potius ab Albanacto, Bruti filio, nuncupata. Cumque hoc ordine distincta ducentis annis et pluribus Britannica Ecclesia florisset, supervenit gens Saxonica, quæ nunc Anglica dicitur, a Britonibus invitata ut eis contra Pictos et Scotos, qui Boreales insulæ partes occupaverant, Britonum stipendiis militarent. Tandem vero cum viribus et numero crevissent, juncto cum hostibus foedere, et ipsi quoque pejores hostes effecti, miris proditiōibus incolas usque ad occiduas partes insulæ propulerunt; totamque terram residuam, quam et Angliam postea vocaverunt, a natali suo Saxoniciæ solo, quod lingua eorum *Engelont* vocabatur, id est, angularis terra, Britanniam occupatam sic nominantes, necnon et Scotiæ partem non modicam, destructis ecclesiis, ritu gentilitatis, quoniam gentiles erant, foedaverunt; Britonibus nihilominus Christi fidem in occiduis insulæ finibus inconcusse servantibus.

His autem usque ad tempora Gregorii magni doctoris sic se habentibus, missus est ab eo Augustinus monachus in Angliam, qui, Ethelberto Rege Canticiæ ad fidem cum gente Anglorum converso, duas tantum in Anglia metropoles constituit; Doroberniam scilicet, quæ nunc Cantuaria dicitur, et Eboracum. Doroberniæ, quam sibi sedem elegerat, totam Angliam fere, quia XII. vel XIII. Episcopatus amplius, subjiciens; Eboracensem autem Ecclesiam fere monoculam relinquens: illud ad mentem, quanquam monachus, revocando, 'Maledictus, qui partem suam deteriorem fecerit.' Sed hæc hactenus. Ad Ecclesiam autem nostram Walensicam redeamus.

Archbishopric of  
Caerleon trans-  
ferred to S. Da-  
vid's.

Apud urbem Legionum, ut diximus, ante adventum Saxonum per Faganum et Duvianum Walliæ metropolis fuerat; et Archiepiscopo sedis ejusdem Dubricio Davidi

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honorem cedente, et eodem Davide postea procurante, sedes metropolitana usque Meneviam est translata; quod a vate nostro Merlino longe fuerat in hunc modum ante prædictum, 'Menevia pallio urbis Legionum induetur.' Habuimus autem apud Meneviam urbis Legionum Archiepiscopos successive XXV., quorum primus fuit Sanctus David, ultimus vero Sanctus Sampson, qui ingruente per Walliam icteritia clade in Armoricam Galliæ Britanniam navigio se transtulit cum pallio nostro, sicut plene superius dictum est.

British Church  
refuses subjection  
to Angostine.

Nunc autem ad Anglicanam historiam a Beda digesta tam transeamus, et inde argumenta ad enucleandum quod intendimus eliciamus. Sciendum igitur imprimis, quod in dicta Anglorum Historia tota, ab eorundem historico Beda digesta, nusquam invenitur Walensicam Ecclesiam Anglicanæ in aliquo subjectam; sicut nec Scoticam, quæ usque in hodiernum diem in sua libertate remansit. Eboracensis autem Ecclesia quandoque Cantuariæ subjecta fuit, quandoque vero in libertatem evasis. Item legitur etiam in eadem historia, quod post conversionem Regis Ethelberti et quorundam Anglorum, multitudo tamen populi in sua infidelitate adhuc manente, audiens Augustinus in occidentali insulæ parte Christianos esse, accedens ad fines illos, convocatis VII. Episcopis Britonum, cum de termino Paschali, quem non more Ecclesiæ Romanæ colere videbantur, et aliis quibusdam corrigendis diutius disputatum esset; tantumque duo peteret Augustinus ab ipsis, ut in termino Paschali concordantes, ad prædicandum gentili Saxonum populo ipsum juvarent; id facere omnino renuentes, responderunt, quod gentibus sibi commissis juxta gratiam desuper datam intendere volebant, ipse vero Anglorum instructioni et conversioni, ad quos missus fuerat, operam daret. Si ergo Augustini renuerunt esse socii, multo minus sibi vel successoribus suis vellent esse subiecti. Item adjectum est etiam ibidem, quod cum VII. Episcopi venissent, quoniam Augustinus in sella sedens venientibus non assurrexit, eum superbiæ notantes, sumpto quidem a viro quodam anachorita, de gente sua sanctissimo a cunctis habito, experimenti illius documento, tam ipsum quam ejus statuta statim reversi spreverunt. Nec ipsum pro Archiepiscopo suo se habituros publice proclamabant; testantes ad invicem, quod si nunc nobis assurgere noluit, quanto magis, si ei subdi coeperimus, jam nos pro nihilo contemnet? Quod autem VII. tunc erant Episcopi Britonum, cum hodie nonnisi IV., hæc ratio assignari potest, quod plures tunc forte fuerant in hoc Walliæ spatio

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quam nunc sunt sedes cathedrales, vel potius se tunc ampliori Wallia fine, quia usque ad Sabrinæ fluvium, dilatabat.

Neither did his successors claim sui gregis, sed etiam Britonum, Hiberniensium, et Scotum or have it.

Item successit Augustino Laurentius, qui non solum torum curam gerens, in termini Paschalis observantia eos literis admonuit, nec profecit. Simili enim modo Hibernici, Britones, et Scoti, a quarta decima luna antiquo more servabant. In eadem autem epistola scribunt Laurentius, Mellitus, et Justus Episcopi, quod Daganus Episcopus Hiberniæ ad ipsos veniens non solum cibum cum ipsis sumere, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebantur manere, voluit. Ubi notandum, quod literas communitorias Britonibus, sicut et Hibernicis vel Scotis, qui nihil ad eos pertinebant, miserunt. Sententiam autem nunquam in eos magis quam in alios ullam dederunt, vel sua vel domini Papæ auctoritate; quod quidem forte fecissent, si eis jure provinciali subiecti fuissent.

Laurentio successit Justus, Roffensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus; cui scribens Bonifacius Papa, pallium ei ad missarum solennia tantum et ordinandi Episcopos potestatem, ad evangelizandum genti quæ nondum fidem susceperat, indulsit. Ecce quod gentem, quæ fidem susceperat, excludit.

Theodorus successit Justo, septimus ab Augustino, vir literatus et bonus, de Ecclesia Romana missus, et de Sicilia oriundus. Hic primus Archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium concilium Episcoporum convocavit. Tenuit autem duo. Et cum nomina singulorum apposuerit Episcoporum qui intererant, nullus omnino Britonum nominatur. Unde constat, quod nec interfuerunt, nec ei subiecti fuerunt. Patet igitur ex his, quod Walensica Ecclesia nequaquam Cantuariensi subiecta fuerit. Quod quidem si fuisset, non illud Beda, qui Anglicus fuerat, in Historia sua tacuisset.

Ex registro quoque Gregorii et epistola Augustino transmissa, quæ sic incipit, *Cum certum sit*, haberi potest; quod si qua Eboracensis Ecclesiæ vel alterius Augustino subiectio concessa fuit, personale beneficium et non perpetuum erat. Cum enim Eboracensi se pallium daturum Gregorius promiserit, subjecit, 'Quem tamen tuæ volumus Fraternitatis dispositioni subiacere;' statimque subnectit, 'Post obitum vero tuum ita Episcopis quos ordinaverit præsit, ut Londoniensis Episcopi diœcesi nullo modo subiaceat. Sit vero inter Londoniæ et Eboracæ civitatis Episcopos in posterum honoris ista

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distinctio, ut ille prior habeatur qui prius fuerit ordinatus.' Proposuerat enim tunc Augustinus, sed postea forte mutavit, sedem suam metropolitica[m] Londoniis, ubi caput est regni, facere. Walensica vero Ecclesia nunquam, sicut nec Scotica, Cantuariensi, præsertim vero post Augustini tempora, quemadmodum nec Beda testatur, subiecta fuerat; donec Rex Angliæ Henricus I., Walliam in manu forti subjugando, apposuit, ut Ecclesiam quoque Walensicam, quam liberam invenit, Ecclesiæ regni sui supponeret, sicut et terram regno suo subjecerat. Potuit igitur esse, sicut ex dicta Gregorii epistola Augustino directa manifeste colligitur, quod omnes totius insulæ Britanniæ Episcopos Augustino voluerit personaliter esse subiectos. Quod autem Augustinus Walensicam Ecclesiam sibi, ut dictum est, rebellem invenit, propter novellam et teneram fidei in insula Britannica plantationem sub dissimulatione transivit.

Ex scriptis igitur authenticis hæc, pater sancte, constat esse collecta. Et præter hæc, etiam senes et valetudinarii extant adhuc in Wallia plurimi, qui Walensicam Ecclesiam, sicut et Scoticam, Romanæ tantum Ecclesiæ subjectam immediate viderunt.

Advantages to Rome from Welsh metropolitanship. Cum autem tot rationibus pristinum jus Ecclesiæ nostræ clarescere possit, hic erit effectus causæ status, si cum effectu processerit; quod in primis magnus erit honor Ecclesiæ Romanæ, si Ecclesia Walensica ei immediate subiecta fuerit, sicut est Ecclesia Scotica, et sicut ipsa quoque olim fuerat, et esse deberet; hoc etiam emolumentum, quod Wallia parata est dare Ecclesiæ Romanæ denarium S. Petri de singulis domibus, sicut datur in Anglia, quod ascenderet ad summam ducentarum marcarum annuatim et plurium. Et præterea dabit magnam decimam suam Ecclesiæ Romanæ. Hoc autem vocant magnam decimam, quando decimant omnia animalia sua, tam pecora quam armenta et equitia, omnemque substantiam suam mobilem. Summa vero decimæ istius per Walliam totam ad plus quam tria millia marcarum ascenderet.

Church of Dol. Hoc etiam non sine pronostico creditur contigisse, quod eodem anno\*, in cujus principio Dolensis Ecclesia per hanc curiam pallium amisit quod a nobis habuerat, et nos illud, ejus omnino casus ignari, in hac curia ejusdem anni fine petivimus. Unde cum omnia redire debeant ad sua initia, sicut Ecclesia Dolensis ad suum initium jam rediit, scilicet simplicem Episcopatum, sic et Menevensis Ecclesia ad suum initium, id est sedem metro-

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politanam, Deo dante, diebus vestris redire debet. [*Gir. Camb., De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. II.; Opp. III. 169-176.*]

\* The see of Dol was subjected to that of Tours by Innocent III., in A.D. 1199; this and the Welsh case being almost exact parallels.

[A.D. 1200. *Just before April 9.*] *GIR. CAMB., ib.*—Parum ante Pascha venit ad curiam quidem<sup>a</sup> nomine Bon-Johannes, Lumbardus scilicet et clericus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, cum exeniis pulchris, ut creditur, ab Archiepiscopo more solito Papæ transmissis. Qui die quodam interrogatus a Papa in consistorio, utrum speciale mandatum aliquod haberet contra Archidiaconum Menevensensem, qui diutinam jam in curia moram fecerat, respondit quod non; hoc tamen injunxerat ei dominus suus Papæ dicendum, ut ait, si Archidiaconum illum in curia forte reperiret, quod quatuor erant nominati ad Ecclesiam illam, quorum unus erat Archidiaconus iste; sed ipso statim a Rege recusato, canonici Menevenses abbatem quendam cum Regis assensu Londoniis elegerunt. Et cum quæreret Papa, quando hoc factum fuerat, dixit ille, quod parum ante Natale. Cui Papa: “Tunc autem erat Archidiaconus in curia ista.” [*ib. 176, 177.*]

<sup>a</sup> *Leg. quidam.*

Report both upon iv. A.D. 1200. [*May 5. Rome.*] *Commission of Innocent election and metropolitanship by III. to three English Bishops, Lincoln, Durham, and Ely*<sup>a</sup>. March 4, 1201. —INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus Lincolnensi, Dunelmensi, et Eliensi Episcopis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum dilectus filius Giraldus Archidiaconus et quidam clerici Menevenses, etc. sicut in *Libro Invectionum* plene continetur. [*Id., ib. 182.*]

\* The letter is not in the *Inveed*, as we now have them: but Giraldus tells us that the Commission included the “*causa status*” as well as that of the election (*ib.*), and that the day fixed for the

cause was Midlent Sunday 1201 (*ib., Dist. III. p. 188*). The date is probably that of the next letters.

He recommends the A.D. 1200. *May 5. Rome. Innocent III. to Llywelyn and the other Welsh Princes.*—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis nobilibus viris Lewelino et aliis principibus Walliæ*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Accedentes ad præsentiam nostram dilectum filium<sup>a</sup> Archidiaconum et quosdam clericos Menevenses super negotio Menevensis Ecclesiæ,

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quam nobis per literas vestras commendastis, et consideratione ipsorum et precum vestrarum obtentu benigne recepimus; et quantum cum Deo potuimus, justis desideriis vestris studuimus favorem Apostolicum impertiri, cum vos tanquam devotos Ecclesiæ filios sincera diligamus in Domino caritate. Ut autem in diebus vestris spiritualiter et temporaliter proficere valeat jam dicta Ecclesia Menevensis, quam et nos versa vice devotioni vestræ duximus commendandam, Nobilitatem vestram rogamus attentius et monemus, per Apostolica scripta mandantes, quatinus ad utilitatem ipsius filialem respectum habentes, ita ejus necessitatibus subvenire curetis ipsiusque commodis et profectibus imminere, ut quam diligere verbis asseritis vos amare per exhibitionem etiam operum demonstretis; pro certo scituri, quod obsequia Ecclesiis et earum ministris impensa et Altissimus acceptabit, Cujus hæc intuitu conferuntur, et facientibus ad æternum præmium proficient obtinendum. Datum Laterani, III. nonas Maii, pontificatus nostri anno III. [*Id.*, *De Invect.* III. 4; and *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl.*, *Dist.* II.; *Opp.* III. 62, 63, and 184, 185.]

\* "dilectos filios" in *Gir. Camb.* p. 185. also above, p. 404, are not extant. See below  
The letters of the Welsh princes, referred to for their letter of A.D. 1202.

Same as the previous letter. *Same date and place. Same to the Cistercian Abbats in Wales.*—INNOCENTIUS, etc., *universis abbatibus Cisterciensis ordinis per Walliam constitutis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum vos tanquam devotos—[Commendat ipsis Ecclesiam Menevensem. Dat. ut supra.]—[*Id.*, *De Invect.* III. 5; *ib.* 63.]

Same as the previous letter. *Same date and place. Same to the Clergy and People of Wales. Same to Noble Kinsmen of Giraldus in Ireland. Same to Meillerius (Meyler FitzHenry), Justiciary of Ireland.* GIR. CAMB., *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl.*, *Dist.* II.—Literas impetravit (Giraldus) commendationis Menevensis Ecclesiæ et ad promovendum communitationis; primo principibus Walliæ, Lewelino scilicet et aliis, secundo abbatibus Walliæ, tertio vero clero et populo Walliæ directas; quæ quidem omnes in libello *De Invectionibus* per ordinem continentur. Similes quoque magnis et nobilibus viris Hiberniæ, Meillerio tunc Justiciario, et aliis de genere suo, per Giraldi diligentiam directæ fuerunt. [*ib.* 184; and *De Invect.* III. 6; *ib.* 63.]

v. A.D. 1200. May 8. Rome. Innocent III. to Abbats of Whitland, Strata Florida, and S. Dogmael's<sup>a</sup>.—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, dilectis filiis abbatibus Alba Domus, Strata Florida, et S. Dogmaelis, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Multa jamdudum de honesta conversatione viri venerabilis Caradoci, dum vixit, et de miraculis quæ post ejus obitum dextera Domini fecit, ad aud[i]entiam sedis Apostolicæ pervenerunt. Unde nuper a nobis etiam fuit suppliciter postulatum, ut quem Deus exaltavit in cœlis nos curaremus glorificare in terris, ipsum sanctorum catalogo ascribendo. Verum quoniam in rebus ambiguis non est absolutum judicium proferendum, et in ipso præsentī articulo, qui plus pertinet ad Divinam inspectionem quam humanam, inquisitionem hujusmodi vobis duximus committendum; per Apostolica scripta mandantes, quatenus qualis fuerit jam dicti viri vita præcedens, cujusmodi obitus, et quæ miracula ipsum fuerint subsecuta, diligentius inquirentes, quæ super his inveneritis nobis per literas vestras fideliter intimetis; ut per vos, veritate comperta, quod statuendum fuerit statuatur: attentius provisuri, ut ita pure veritatem inquirere studeatis, ne fraus vel falsitas valeat admisceri. Quod si omnes his exsequendis interesse nequiveritis, duo vestrum ea nihilominus exsequantur. Datum Laterani, VIII. id Maii, pontificatus nostri ann. III. [*Gir. Camb., De Invect. III. 7*; and *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. II.*; *Opp. III. 64, 65, 182, 183.*]

<sup>a</sup> The proposed canonization came to nothing, out of spite to Giraldus according to himself (*ib.*). Caradoc (see also *Lib. Landav. 4, 5*) was one of the clergy of Llandaff and S. David's successively; then became a Pembrokeshire her-

mit; died in 1124, according to his legend (*Ceppr. IV. 2. A 55, and Act. SS. April 13, II. 151*); was buried in S. David's cathedral (*Gir. Camb., Itin. Camb. I. 2*); and was regarded as a Saint after all (*Jones and Freeman, S. David's, p. 106*).

vi. A.D. 1200. May 12. Rome. Innocent III. to the Officials, Clergy, and People of S. David's.—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, dilectis filiis, officialibus, et universo clero et populo diocesis Menevensis, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum instantia nostra cotidiana—[Quibus Innocentius Giraldo custodiam Menevensis Ecclesiæ pastore viduatæ in spiritualibus et temporalibus dum vacuerit committit.] Datum Lateran., III. id. Maj. pontific. anno III. [*Gir. Camb., De Invect. III. 1*: and see *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. II.*; *Opp. III. 61, 184.*]

Has committed the custody of both spiritualities and temporalities of S. David's during the vacancy to Giraldus.

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Giraldus has not  
spoken ill of the  
King to Innocent  
III.

A.D. 1200. *May, after the 12th. Rome. Same to King John.*—INNOCENTIUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilecto filio illustri Regi Angliæ*, etc. Menevensis Archidiaconus cum nuper ad præsentiam nostram accessisset—[Quibus testatur Giraldum nil in audientia sua contra Regem oblocutum unquam fuisse, eumque regiæ gratiæ commendat.]—[*Id.*, *ib.* 8: and see *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl.*, *Dist. II.*; *Opp. III.* 65, 185.]

Has made Giraldus  
"custos" of  
see of S. David's.

*Same date and place. Same to Archbishop Hubert.*—INNOCENTIUS, etc., *venerabili fratri H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quid ordinatum a nobis super negotio Ecclesiæ Menevensis—[Giraldum laudat, in gratiam Archiepiscopi eum commendat, custodem eundem proponens Ecclesiæ Menevensis tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus.]—[*Id.*, *ib.* 9; *ib.* 65.]

vii. A.D. 1200. *After June.* GIR. CAMB., *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl.*, *Dist. III.*—[Giraldus returned] demum post longos labores ad Ecclesiam suam; [and busied himself in searching the muniments of S. David's; where however he seems to have found nothing to his purpose earlier than the application of the Chapter to Honorius II. A.D. 1125×1130, given above under its date. He stayed there until he went] ad iudices suos in Angliā [sc. the three Bishops; time enough to reach Rome, after meeting them, by March 4, 1201.]—[*ib.* 186-188.]

[Before A.D. 1200, Priory of Black Canons founded at Haverford by Robert de Haverford; and the Benedictine Priory of Pille (in Stainton parish near Haverford), at first a cell of S. Dogmael's, founded by Adam de Rupe (*Dugd. Mon. VI.* 444, and *IV.* 502).]

III. A.D. 1201. *January-December.* Giraldus' second journey to Rome; his cause after many delays deferred for further evidence to be produced before Nov. 1, 1202. Giraldus returns to S. David's by Dec. 13.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| i. Writ of King John to Chapter of S. David's against Giraldus . . . . .                       | Jan. 13, 1201.                                    |
| ii. Giraldus again at Rome . . . . .   | } from before<br>March 4. to end<br>of July 1201. |
| iii. Letters of Innocent III. on behalf of Giraldus . . . . .                                  |   |
| iv. Commission of Innocent III. to collect and send evidence to Rome by Nov. 1, 1202 . . . . . | } July 28, 1201.                                  |
| v. Giraldus returns again to S. David's . . . . .  |   |
|  | } before Dec.<br>13, 1201.]                       |



## [S. DAVID'S CLAIM OF METROPOLITANSHIP AND FREE ELECTION.]

Has not consent-  
ed, and never will  
consent, to Gi-  
raldus' election.

i. A.D. 1201. *January 13. Lincoln. Mandate of King John to Chapter of S. David's.*—JOHANNES DEI GRATIA [etc.], *Capitulo Menevensis Ecclesie et clero per Episcopatum Menevensem constituto*, salutem. Mittimus ad vos dilectos et fideles clericos nostros magistrum Michaellem Belet et Henricum de Rolvestone, per ipsos et per has litteras nostras patentes vobis mandantes et protestantes, quod electioni Archidiaconi de Brekeinou Geroldi in pastorem Ecclesie Menevensis nusquam assensum præbuimus neque præbemus. Et ne quid in præjudicium dignitatis nostræ fiat de pastore vobis præficiendo, appellavimus, et per memoratos clericos nostros et per has litteras nostras patentes appellationem nostram innovamus. Teste me ipso apud Lincolniam, XIII. die Januarii. [*Charter Roll 2 Joh., memb. 17, num. 15, l. 100 b. ed. Hardy; and in Appendix to Gir. Camb., Opp. I. 431.*]

Cause heard at  
Rome, with re-  
peated delays,  
from March 4 to  
June 5, when the  
Pope finally de-  
fers it to Nov. 1,  
A.D. 1202.

ii. A.D. 1201. *March 4–June 5. Rome. GIR. CAMB., De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. III.*—His itaque sic Meneviæ gestis et congestis, ad judices suos in Anglia, Walliam post terga relinquens, Giraldus incunctanter accessit. Sed quoniam Rex Angliæ Johannes minis acerrimis in ipsum intonuit, et Archiepiscopus litteras ei Regis de salvo conductu patentes, sicut promiserat, obtinere vel noluit vel non potuit, sumpta relatione judicum iter versus curiam, et ad diem Dominicam (scilicet qua cantatur “*Lætare Jerusalem*”) partibus præfixam, acceleravit. [The Archbishop puts in an appearance to the suit respecting the election only; and after two hearings up to the end of April, upon May 20 the answer of the Abbat of S. Dogmael’s is read, stating that,] cum defuncto Petro Menevensi Episcopo Archidiaconi et canonici Ecclesie, cum literis capituli sui de rato propter pastorem eligendum, coram Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi circa festum S. Michaelis constituti fuissent, et quatuor personas nominassent, quod non constabat eis de Regis assensu qui in transmarinis agebat, in Archiepiscopum tunc ad Regem transfretare paratum vota eligendi contulerunt; ut quem ipse cum Regis assensu vice capituli eligeret, illum pro electo suo et pastore susciperent. Unde et processu temporis Archiepiscopus apud insulam Andeli in crastino Epiphaniæ proximæ abbatem Sancti Dogmaelis cum assensu Regis elegit; et parum ante Natale sequens Capitulum electionem ab Archiepiscopo factam solemnizavit.” [The cause is reheard “quasi XV. diebus post Pentecosten,” May 28; and] super causam status

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Menevensis Ecclesiæ Papa sententiam dedit, Archiepiscopum ..... in expensas Archidiacono condemnando, iterumque diem peremptorium, scilicet festum Omnium Sanctorum anni secundi, coram ipso partibus assignando. [And at length upon June 5,] elapsis autem post hæc quasi diebus octo, super causa electionis Papa in pleno consistorio sententiavit. Et quoniam pars adversa ad testes suos producendum dilationem petiit, diem eundem, quem et in causa status, coram ipso partibus dedit. In favorem autem Archidiaconi testes contrarios non nisi in curia Romana recipi jussit; sciens quippe Archiepiscopum in Anglia testium copiam ad quidlibet asserendum habere posse, ex cautela et industria hoc statuendum esse. Et quoniam ad duas causas vocatus tantum in una defensorem habuit, in medietatem expensarum Archidiaconi Archiepiscopus est condemnatus. [Opp. III. 188—195.]

Again commits see of S. David's during vacancy to Giraldu. iii. A.D. 1201. *July 22. Signia. Innocent III. to Officials, Clergy, and Laity of S. David's.*—[INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis, officialibus et universo clero et populo diocesis Menevensis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.] Olim ad nos super electione Menevensis Ecclesiæ quæstione—[Custodiam Ecclesiæ Menevensis in temporalibus et spiritualibus Giraldo committit, obedientiam eis præcipit, comminans in rebelles cum excommunicatione.] Datum Signiæ, X. kal. Augusti pont. an. III.<sup>a</sup> [Gir. Camb., *De Invect.* III. 2: and see *De f. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. III.*; Opp. III. 61, 190, 195.]

<sup>a</sup> This should be IIII.

Safe conduct to Giraldu and to the claimant of the see of Bangor. Same date and place. Same on behalf of Giraldu and of R. of Aberconway<sup>a</sup>.—INNOCENTIUS, etc., *venerabilibus fratribus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et dilectis filiis, aliis etc.* Præsentium vobis auctoritate—[Datus Giraldo et R. monacho de Abberkon. salvus conductus ad peregrinandum Romam pro justitia sua proseguenda in curia Romana]. Dat. Signiæ, X. kal. Aug. pontif. anno IV. [*Id., ib.* 11; Opp. III. 66: adding, "Timebat enim Archidiaconus quod propter regiæ potestatis offensam causas Ecclesiæ suæ in propria persona prosegui non posset; ideoque superiorem<sup>b</sup> de Aberkon., qui se Bangorensem gerebat electum, procuratorem suum constituere disposuerat."]

<sup>a</sup> "Litteræ protectionis patentes."

<sup>b</sup> *Leg.* "subpriorem."

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Do not suffer either Giralduſ or the Bangor claimant to be moleſted in their journey hither. *Same date and place. Same to Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterbury*<sup>a</sup>.—INNOCENTIUS, etc., *venerabili fratri H. Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi*, ſalutem et Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Quamdiu et quantum dilectus filius Menevenſis Archidiaconus ſuper cauſa ſua duxerit laborandum, qualiter nec perſonæ pepercerit nec expenſis, inclementiam temporis, intemperiem aeris, et viarum discrimina, non evitans, tua Fraternitas plene novit, etc. Quapropter Fraternitati tuæ per Apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatinus nec per te nec per cariſſimum in Chriſto filium Johannem Regem Anglorum, aut tuos vel ejus officiales, impediās aut permittas ab aliis impediſi, quominus tam ſuper quæſtione ſtatus, quam cauſa electionis ipſius, mandatum Apoſtolicum impleatur; clericos etiam et laicos Menevenſes in alterutro aſſiſtentes eidem, nec afficias damnis, nec minis perterreas, nec blanditiis revoces, quominus et teſtimonium perhibeant veritati, et eorum quibus ſuper hoc ſcripſimus ſe conſpectui repræſentent; immo tam dilecto filio R. monacho de Aberkonewe, quem procuratorem inſtituit, quam aliis qui pro eo fuerint, ſecuritatem facias plenariam provideri. Alioquin ejus injuriam, immo noſtram potius, non poſſemus æquanimiter ſuſtinere, ſed cogeremur jure, licet inviti, graviter vindicare; quia, ſicut jus tuum nolumus impediſi, ſed integre tibi potius intendimus reſervare, ſic jus illius, ſi quod habet in cauſa quæ ad noſtrum pervenit examen, nolumus deperire. Dat. Signiæ, X. kal. Aug. pont. anno IV. [*Id.*, *De f. et S. Menev. Eccl.*, *Diſt. IV.*, in part; *ib.*, *Diſt. III.*, in part; *De Invect. III.* 12, in part; *Opp. III.* 242, 243, and 190, 191, and 67.]

<sup>a</sup> "Literæ clauſæ."

Do not wrong or hinder Giralduſ in his cuſtody of the ſee of S. David's. *Same date and place. Same to ſame.*—INNOCENTIUS, etc., *venerabili fratri H. Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo*, ſalutem et Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Olim ad nos ſuper electionem Menevenſis Eccleſiæ—[Mandat ei, ut electo a ſe Menevenſis Eccleſiæ cuſtodi, Giraldo ſcilicet, univerſa quæ de proventibus episcopaliſibus ex eo tempore ſunt percepta, ex quo idem Archidiaconus literas pontificias ſuper commiſſa ſibi cuſtodia præſentavit, faciat ſine qualibet diminutione reſignari, nec eum in cuſtodia Menevenſis Eccleſiæ impediāt.] Dat. Signiæ, X. kal. Aug. pontif. an. IIII. [*Id.*, *De Invect. III.* 13; *Opp. III.* 67, 68.]

Give Giraldus *Same date and place. Same to the Abbat of S. Dogmael's.*  
 full possession of —INNOCENTIUS, etc., *dilecto filio Abbati S. Dogmaelis*, etc.  
 the fruits of the see of S. David's. Olim ad nos super electione Menevensis Ecclesiæ—[Ei mandat item, ut Giraldo, Ecclesiæ Menevensis constituto a se custodi, tam domos quam terras ad Episcopatum pertinentes cum fructibus inde perceptis, ex quo super custodia sibi commissa literas Apostolicas præsentavit, sine diminutione resignet, nec eum in custodia Ecclesiæ Menevensis impediatur.] Alioquin noveris nos venerabili fratri Episcopo, et dilectis filiis præcentori et magistro J. canonico, Herefordensi, per Apostolica scripta mandasse, ut te ad id, monitione præmissa, sublato appellationis obstaculo, ecclesiastica districtione compellant. Dat. Signiæ, X. kal. August. pontif. nostri anno IV. [*Id.*, *ib.* 14; *ib.* 68.]

Gives Giraldus A.D. 1201. *July 25. Signia. Same to Giraldus.*—INNOCENTIUS, etc., *dilecto filio G. Archidiacono Menevensi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Olim ad nos super electionem Menevensis Ecclesiæ—[Custodiam ejusdem Ecclesiæ tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus Giraldo denuo committit;] præbendas autem et cætera ecclesiastica beneficia, si quæ vacant in ipsa, vel ex eo tempore vacaverunt quo super commissâ tibi custodia literas nostras Menevensi capitulo præsentasti, tibi liceat idoneis personis assignare. Dat. Signiæ, VIII. kal. Aug. pont. ann. IV. [*Id.*, *ib.* 10; *ib.* 66.]

Protect Giraldus A.D. 1201. *July 27. Signia. Same to Bishop of Ely,*  
 against the Abbat of S. Dogmael's and R. *Dean of London, and Archdeacon of Bucks.*—INNOCENTIUS  
 Foliot, and examine into the *Episcopus*, etc., *Eliensi Episcopo et Decano Londoniæ et*  
 literary qualifications of the *Archidiacono de Bukingebam*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Significavit nobis dilectus filius Archidiaconus Menevensis, quod Abbas S. Dogmaelis et R. Folliot eum custodia Menevensis Ecclesiæ, a nobis ipsi commissæ, per violentiam spoliarent; et quia idem R. sacrilegium in ipsius spoliatione commisit, sententiam excommunicationis incurrit; a qua fuit postmodum, jramento præstito secundum formam Ecclesiæ, apud sedem Apostolicam absolutus. Volentes igitur eidem Archidiacono in jure suo, sicut debemus, adesse, Discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus,

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quatinus spoliatores prædictos, ut debitam ei satisfactionem impendant, monitione præmissa, per ecclesiasticam censuram, appellatione postposita, compellatis. Verum quoniam idem Abbas, qui electum se nominat Menevensem et confirmationis postulat beneficium sibi impertiri, esse dicitur quasi penitus idiota, volumus et mandamus ut, omni gratia et timore postpositis, de literatura et idoneitate ipsius inquiratis, etc. Dat. Signiæ, VI. kal. Aug. pontific. anno IV. [*Id.*, *ib.* 15; *ib.* 68, 69.]

iv. A.D. 1201. *July 29. Signia. Same to same.* \* \* Archidiaconus autem coram auditoribus sibi datis quosdam testes induxit; et cum depositiones eorum posceret publicari, adversarius ejus ad testes producendos in patria, tam ad fundandam intentionem suam quam repellendos testes ex adverso productos, dilationem sibi petiit indulgeri. Licet autem ex multis præsumptionibus videretur Archidiaconus in quibusdam fuisse gravatus, volentes tamen juris ordinem observare, dilationem duximus concedendam. Ideoque Discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus tam Archiepiscopo quam prædicto Abbati S. Dogmaelis, immo etiam cuilibet qui super electione prædicto Archidiacono se duxerit opponendum, ex parte nostra per nuncios et literas vestras districtius injungatis, ut a festo Omnium Sanctorum proxime venturo usque ad annum, quod pro peremptorio assignamus, paratus sufficienter et instructus per se vel per responsalem idoneum ad Apostolicam sedem accedere non postponat \*. Quod si venire contempserit, nos extunc in eodem negotio procedemus. Verum quoniam Archiepiscopus, tam super electione quam super quæstione status ad nostram citatus præsentiam, ad alteram tantum sufficientem procuratorem direxit, cum idem Archidiaconus utramque causam in persona propria fuerit prosecutus; volumus et mandamus, ut Archiepiscopus ei saltem medietatem legitimarum restituat expensarum. Ad quod eum, auctoritate nostra suffulti, remoto appellationis obstaculo, compellatis. Datum Signiæ, IIII. kal. Aug. pontific. anno IV. [*Id.*, *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. III.*: and (with omissions) in *De Invect. III.* 16; *Opp. III.* 189, 190, and 69, 70.]

\* The Commissioners were however allowed to take the evidence of the old and sick in England upon the metropolitan question: but that question was to be shelved unless "totum

capitulum Menevense vel pars major Archidiaconus assisterit" (*Gr. Camb., De J., etc.* p. 194).

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Giraldus comes v. GIR. CAMB., *De f. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. III.*—back to S. David's by Dec. 13, 1201. [Giraldus] sic in Walliam incunctanter accelerans, et ad ecclesiam suam in octavis S. Nicholai veniens, ..... post hæc ..... in Venedociam et Powisiam transiens, a principibus partium illarum cum honore maximo susceptus fuit. [*Opp. III.* 196.]

IV. A.D. 1201, December—A.D. 1202, October. Cause conducted in England by the Pope's Commissioners adversely to Giraldus, after many delays, at S. Alban's, Sept. 9 (or 16), 1202.

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| i. Giraldus seeks the aid of the Welsh princes . . . . .   | } Dec. 13, 1201 X<br>Jan. 20, 1202.   |
| ii. Mandates of King John and of the Justiciary against Giraldus . . . . .                                       | } Dec. 17, 1201 to<br>April 21, 1202. |
| iii. Giraldus attends the Papal Judges fruitlessly at Worcester Jan. 26, and Newport May 4 . . . . .             | } 1202.                               |
| iv. He holds a Diocesan Synod . . . . .  | } June 10, 1202.                      |
| v. He again attends the Papal Judges at Brackley June 18, Bedford August 1, S. Alban's Sept. 9 (or 16) . . . . . | } 1202.                               |
| vi. He sets out upon a third journey to Rome, probably about . . . . .   | } Oct. 19, 1202.]                     |

The princes both of North and South Wales back up the Chapter. i. GIR. CAMB., *De f. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. III.* [A.D. 1202. Jan. 20].—Principes quoque Sudwalliæ, Mailgo et Resus filius Resi, nunciis suis qui præsentés erant et literis, quatinus cum Archidiacono Giraldo firmiter starent pro dignitate Sancti David, commonuerunt; alioquin ipsos cunctosque probos terrarum suarum viros capitales in perpetuum hostes haberent.

Lewelinus quoque Norwalliæ princeps ad idem ipsos per nuncium suum, virum eloquentem, Laurentium priorem de Insula Sanctorum<sup>a</sup>, ad hoc destinatum invitavit, literis etiam suis patentibus id ipsum monendo. Si quis canonicorum aut clericorum Ecclesiæ quicquam ob hoc per Anglicos amiserit, in duplum ei se redditurum de suo, et expulsos ob hoc exilioque datos cum honore in terra sua recepturum et abundanter exhibiturum, certa sponsione concessit<sup>b</sup>. [*Opp. III.* 197.]

<sup>a</sup> See under A.D. 1252.

<sup>b</sup> "In octavis S. Hilarii" (Jan. 20), Giraldus assembled the Canons and Clerici of S. David's, in full synod, to urge them to support the claim

of metropolitanship; at which meeting the messengers were present from the Welsh princes. (*Id.*, *ib.* 196).

Claims the temporalities of S. John to Clergy and People of England.—JOHANNES, DEI

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David's and prohibits Giralduſ from intermeddling with them. GRATIA, etc., *omni clero et populo Angliæ*, etc. Univerſitatem veſtram ſcimus non latere, quod cuſtodiz Episcopatum et Abbatiarum vacantium in regno noſtro, in temporalibus, omnibus antecessoribus noſtris et nobis hactenus ex diuturna et approbata conſuetudine regni noſtri conſueverunt competere. Verum quia Geraldus, Archidiaconus de Brichunhou, qui ſe gerit electum Menevenſem, et cujus electioni non conſentimus nec unquam conſenſimus, cuſtodiam temporalium Episcopatus Menevenſis in damnum et diſpendium dignitatis coronæ noſtræ præſumit uſurpare, quod nos nulla ratione ſalva dignitate noſtra ſuſtinere poſſumus vel debemus; vobis mandamus et firmiter præcipimus, ne quis veſtrum prædicto G. in temporalibus, quæ ad jam dictam Eccleſiam ſpectant, reſpondere, vel ipſum ad ea optinenda promovere aut manuteneſe præſumat; ſicut noſtram diligit fidelitatem et coronæ noſtræ dignitatem. Sciatis enim, quod, ſi quiſquam veſtrum in contrarium pro eodem G. aliquid attemptaret, pro manifeſto habebimus ipſum dignitati noſtræ et coronæ inimicari. Teſte me ipſo apud Rothomagum, XVII. die Decembris. [*Patent Rolls 3 Feb., memb. 7, num. 32*; ed. Hardy, I. 3: and in *Prynne, Records*, II. 237; and *Append. to Gir. Camb., Opp. I.* 433.]

Sub eadem forma ſcribitur Capitulo Menevenſi. [*ib.*]

Desist from aiding Giralduſ. A.D. 1201. *After Chriſtmas. Shrewſbury* \*. *Mandate of Geoffrey FitzPeter, Juſticiary, to the Abbat of Whiſland.*—GALFRIDUS FILIUS-PETRI COMES ESSEXIE *Abbati de Alba Landa*, ſalutem. Significatum eſt nobis, quod vos, et domus veſtræ, et Abbatiæ vobis ſubjectæ in Wallia, Giralduſ Archidiaconum, inimicum domini Regis et hoſtem, et contra coronæ dignitatem manifeſte nitentem, et excitantem Walenſes contra fidelitatem domini Regis conjurare, veſtris conſiliis et auxiliis manuteneatis. Unde vobis ex parte domini Regis præcipimus, quatinus nullum cum eo habeatis conſilium vel aſſenſum, ſed eum teneatis pro inimico domini Regis et coronæ impugnatore, ſicut veſtris vultis proſpicere poſſeſſionibus et fidelitatem domino Regi conſervare. Alioquin et domus veſtras et catalla omni occupanti exponemus, et Angliæ vobis univerſis commeatum interdiciemus. Teſte me ipſo apud Slopeſberiam, etc. [*Gir. Camb., De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Diſt. III. p. 201.*]

\* The Juſticiary received the complaint of Robert of Bangor againſt Giralduſ (for Welch complicity) at Shrewſbury "parum poſt Natalem" (*Id.*, ſb. 200).

Seize all Giral- A.D. 1202. *January 20. Gloucester. Mandate of same*  
 dus' property in to (Walter Mapes) the Archdeacon of Oxford.—GALFRIDUS  
 your Archdea- FILIUS-PETRI COMES ESSEXIE *carissimo amico suo Archi-*  
 conry. diacono Oxoniae, salutem. Sciatis, quod Giralduſ Archidiaconus de Brechene inimicus est domini Regis; et ideo vobis mandamus, quatinus capiatis in manum vestram omnes redditus suos quos habet in Archidiaconatu vestro. Teste meipso apud Gloverniam, XX. die Januarii. [*Id., ib. 200, 201.*]

Your property A.D. 1202. *January 20 x 26. The same to Giralduſ a.—*  
 will be seized and GALFRIDUS FILIUS-PETRI COMES ESSEXIE *Giraldo Archi-*  
 and yourself arrested *diacono de Brechene quondam sibi dilecto, salutem. Mira-*  
 if you intermed- *mur plurimum, quod tu tam temerarie propria auctoritate*  
 dle with tempo- *contra coronam et dignitatem domini Regis præsumpsisti*  
 raries of S. Da- *te intrudere in terras et res pertinentes ad Episcopatum Menevensem.*  
 vid's. *Unde tibi consulimus et districte præcipimus, quod, sicut teipsum*  
*diligis et omnia tua, ab hac præsumptione te retrahas, et de aliquibus*  
*ad prædictum Episcopatum pertinentibus te nullatenus de cætero*  
*intromittas. Alioquin scias, quod sævius in te animadvertemus; et*  
*omnia tua, quæ in potestate domini Regis inventa fuerint, saisiemus*  
*in manu domini Regis; et corpus tuum, ubicunque inventum fuerit,*  
*in potestate domini Regis capi et salvo custodiri faciemus. Teste*  
*meipso, etc. [*Id., ib. 202, 203.*]*

<sup>a</sup> Served on him at Hereford by a messenger from R. Foliot as he was going to Worcester to the court of the 26th of January (*Id., ib. 202*).

Don't believe the A.D. 1202. *Similar date. Giralduſ to the Justiciary in*  
 Bishop of Ban- *reply to the previous letter and to Bishop Robert's accusa-*  
 gor until you *tions.—Nobili et magnifico viro G. Filio-Petri, comiti Essexie,*  
 hear my answer. *totius Anglia Justiciario, GIRALDUS ARCHIDIACONUS DE BRECHENE, tam*  
*corporis quam animæ salutem. Miror valde virum discretum et*  
*sapientem, principalem Regis consiliarium et regni Justiciarium, ver-*  
*bis inimicorum in absentia partis adversæ tam facile fidem adhibuisse,*  
*et in iram aut indignationem motum fuisse. Non enim ex unius*  
*partis assertionem altera parte absente iudicium ut nostis fieri solet.*  
*Non igitur tam Sylvester sum sicut adversarii mentiuntur; quin et*  
*campester existere loco ac tempore sciam. Unde de Wallia in*  
*Angliam ad vos Deo dante in brevi veniam, ea vobis, quæ de me*



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falsis suggestionibus cantata sunt, veris per Dei gratiam assertionibus discantare paratus; et Episcopi verba non omnia fore semper evangelica, sed ubi veritati contraria fuerint potius sacrilega, vobis ostensurus. Utinam diu et bene valere possitis. [*Id.*, *ib.* 206.]

Hold no synod or Chapter except in your own Archdeaconry. A.D. 1202. *January 26 x Feb. 2<sup>a</sup>. The Justiciary to Giraldu in reply.*—GALFRIDUS FILIUS-PETRI COMES ESSEXIE *Giraldo Archidiacono de Brechene*, salutem. Mandamus vobis, quod aliter quam incepistis, vos habeatis erga dominum Regem; et quod [nec] synodum nec capitulum aliquod teneatis in terra domini Regis, nisi in Archidiaconatu vestro; sicut omnia tua diligis et etiam corpus tuum. Si vero venire volueritis nobiscum locuturi, secure veniatis. Teste, etc. [*Id.*, *ib.* 205, 206.]

\* Sent back to Giraldu by his own messenger, the bearer of the previous letter; whom Giraldu met at Oxford on his way to the Justiciary, whom he found at Canterbury Feb. 2 (*Id.*, *ib.* 205, 206).

Do not help Giraldu in his attempt to make S. David's an Archbishopric, to which we have not consented and will not consent. A.D. 1202. *March 8. Verneuil. Letters of King John against Giraldu.*—REX, etc., *omnibus*, etc. Audivimus quod Giraldu Archidiaconus de Brechinou, in grave et manifestum dispendium dignitatis nostræ et Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, in Episcopatu Menevensi Archiepiscopatum constituere [nititur]; et super hoc faciendo dicit se nostrum impetrasse assensum. Unum scire vos volumus, quod nunquam in hoc assensum præbuimus; nec umquam ei consentiemus, sed ei in hoc penitus deficimus: mandantes vobis, et in fide qua nobis tenemini præcipientes, quatinus nullatenus ei in hoc temerario proposito suo assistatis, vel ei in hoc consilium et auxilium præstetis, sed modis omnibus quibus poteritis processum suum in hoc impediat; sicut dignitatem nostram diligitis. Teste me ipso apud Vernolium, VIII. die Marcii. [*Patent Rolls 3 Joh., memb. 4, num. 10*; ed. Hardy, I. 7: and in *Prynne, Records*, II. 236; and *Append. to Gir. Camb., Opp. I.* 431, 432.]

We have not assented to the election of Giraldu to the see of S. David's but to that of the A.D. 1202. *April 10. Roche d'Orival. Further letters of King John against Giraldu.*—REX, etc., *omnibus*, etc. Sciatis, quod Giraldu Archidiaconus de Brechinou manifeste operatur contra coronam et dignitatem nostram,

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Abbat of S. Dogmael's. Let no one assist Giral-  
 dus. qui se gerit electum Menevensem, cum nos in eum eligendum nunquam præbuimus assensum. Et inde trahit in causam W. Abbatem Sancti Dogmaelis, in cujus electionem consensimus. Temporalia etiam Episcopatus Menevensis, quæ vacante sede debent in nostra manu esse ex diuturna et appropriata regni nostri consuetudine, contra coronam et dignitatem nostram sibi committi procuravit; hæc et alia contra nos impudenter perquirendo, qualia nullus alius post coronationem nostram contra nos attemptavit. Et quoniam hæc nulla ratione sustinebimus, mandamus vobis, quod, sicut honorem nostrum et dignitatem diligitis, quam sicut fideles nostri fovere et manutenere tenemini, prædicto G. Archidiacono in nullo ad hoc consilium vel auxilium vel assensum præstetis; sed prædictum Abbatem Sancti Dogmaelis quantum poteritis adjuvando, prædicto G. Archidiacono in quantum poteritis resistatis. Quicumque aliter autem fecerit, manifestum erit ipsum nobis et dignitati nostræ adversari. Teste meipso apud Rupem Aurivallis, X. die Aprilis. [*Patent Rolls 3 Job., memb. 2, num. 2*; ed. Hardy, I. 9: and in *Prynne, Records*, II. 236, 237; and *Append. to Gir. Camb., Opp. I.* 432.]

Attach the charters, and the wives, of Giral-  
 dus' clerical adherents at S. David's.  
 A.D. 1202. About April 21. Mandate of Geoffrey FitzPeter, Justiciary, to the Sheriff of Pembroke.—GALFRIDUS FILIUS-PETRI COMES ESSEXIE Radulpho de Bendeuill, vicecomiti de Pembroch, salutem. Pro certo accepimus, quod Poncius Archidiaconus, et M. filius suus, et R. filius Jonæ, et H. filius suus, et Meiler, et Samuel, et Asser, et G. decanus de Pembroch, dicti canonici Menevenses, qui ad dedecus domini Regis et contra dignitatem coronæ et regni sui Giraldo Archidiacono assistunt et adhærent, et contra dominum Regem ei sacramenta fecerunt, ei sigillum Ecclesiæ suæ tradi permittentes ad operandum inde contra dominum Regem prout ejus voluntati placuit, laica habent tenementa et terras et exchaetas, in quibus publicas suas fornicarias contra Deum et ordinem suum habent et exhibent, et potius debent dici laici luxuriosi quam clerici ordinati vel canonici; et quod illi, dum præfato G. adhæserint, non minus manifeste hostes Regis et regni sunt quam ipse Giraldu. Tibi mandamus et firmiter præcipimus, quod, sicut teipsum et omnia tua diligis, omnia laica tenementa sua et wardas et exchaetas et catalla in ipsis inventa in

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manum domini Regis capias et retineas. Corpora etiam fornicariarum suarum capias et salvo custodiri facias, donec aliud a nobis inde habueris mandatum. Teste meipso, etc. [*Gir. Camb., De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. IV.; Opp. III. 214, 215.*]

\* "Circa clausum Pascha, per literas Regis transmarinas Archiepiscopo procurante directas" (*Id., ib. 214*).

Worcester, Jan. 26. Case deferred through absence of judges. iii. *GIR. CAMB., De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. III.*—Archidiaconus, ..... ad diem a iudicibus datum apud Wigorniam in crastino Conversionis S. Pauli tempestive satis advenit. Sed nec principalem iudicem suum Eliensem Episcopum, qui cum Archiepiscopo ad Regem transfretaverat, nec substitutum ab ipso Archidiaconum Glovernæ ibi invenit. .... Quoniam nullus principalium iudicum affuerat, et primus inter alios Eliensis Episcopus in transmarinis agebat, amplius ad hunc diem processum non fuit. [*Opp. III. 203, 205.*]

S. David's, March 2. Giraldu makes the Chapter swear to him as custos of the see. *Id., ib., Dist. IV.*—[Giraldus having preached at S. David's on S. David's day, March 1,] in crastino, collectis ..... clericis et canonicis Ecclesiæ qui tunc aderant cunctis, sacramenta fidelitatis a singulis, tanquam procuratori Menevensis Ecclesiæ a summo Pontifice constituto, suscepit. [*ib. 211, 212.*]

\* Meanwhile the Archbishop also had procured a rescript of the Pope appointing judges (the Abbat of Wigmore, the Prior of Wenlock, and A. de Bromfeld) to hear certain complaints laid against Giraldus by the Abbat

of Kemaes, Osbert Archdeacon of Caermarthen, and R. Foliot (*Id., ib. 212*), from whom Giraldus forthwith appealed to the Pope himself on a technical ground (*ib. 213*).

Newport, May 4. Cause again delayed through absence of the Bishop of Ely. *Id., ib.*—Archidiaconus ad diem præfixum partibus, scilicet in crastino Inventionis Sanctæ Crucis, apud Niweport incunctanter accessit. [But the case was put off] in crastino S. Botulfi apud Bracheleiam propter absentiam iudicis principalis, sc. Eliensis Episcopi. [*ib. 215.*]

iv. A.D. 1202. June 10. *At Brecon* \*. Synod of the diocese held by Giraldus in defiance of the Crown. Summons of Giraldus Archdeacon of Brecknock to the Abbat of S. Dogmael's.

Attend a Synod GIRALDUS ARCHIDIACONUS DE BRECHENE W. Abbati

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of the diocese at Brecon June 10, and preach there-  
*Sancti Dogmaelis*, salutem. Quoniam propter rerum et temporum vicissitudines et varietates negotia quoque nonnunquam variare necesse est, synodum nostram in octavis Pentecostes solemniter apud Brechene, Deo opitulante, celebrandam vobis denunciamus. Quapropter vobis mandamus et auctoritate domini Papæ qua fungimur districte præcipimus, quatinus tunc, sicut decet, ibidem in præsentia nostra comparentes, omnia percepta de Episcopatu infra eundem terminum juxta mandatum domini Papæ, quod inde suscepistis, nobis restituat. Præterea secundæ diei sermonem synodalem et verbum exhortationis et instructionis tanquam personæ magnæ et authenticæ, quæ se Menevensis electum gerit et nominat, vobis injungimus. Valete. [*Id.*, *ib.* 216.]

\* Giraldus tried to hold his synod successively at Caermarthen, at Pembroke, and at S. David's itself, but was hindered "semper per literas Regis ad justiciarium Archiepiscopo procurante et per literas justiciarii ad baillivum de Pembroke

synodos prohibentes" etc. (*Id.*, *ib.* 215, 216); and held it at last in his own Archdeaconry, but apparently a diocesan synod. Certainly S. Dogmael's was not in Giraldus' Archdeaconry.

*The Archbishop of Canterbury by his official to the Chapter and Clergy of S. David's.*

HUBERTUS DEI GRATIA CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMAS, *dilectis in Christo filiis capitulo et clero Menevensis Ecclesie*, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Ex conquestione dilecti nobis in Christo filii Giraldi Archidiaconi de Brechene accepimus, quod quidam sæculari potestate utentes se opponunt et impediunt quo minus curam spiritualium a domino Papa et a nobis sibi ad tempus commissam valeat exercere, vobis prohibentes ne ei in aliquo intendatis. Hinc est quod, quia jus ecclesiasticum sæcularibus legibus minime constringi debet, vobis mandamus, quatinus occasione laicæ prohibitionis nullatenus omitatis, quin ei in cura spiritualium secundum tenorem mandati Apostolici et nostri obtemperetis, salvo appellationibus ad nos vel officiales nostros rite interpositis sive interponendis. Si autem mandato nostro in hac parte obedire contempseritis, vos ad hoc, sicut justum fuerit, compellemus. Valete. [*Id.*, *ib.* 216, 217.]

\* Procured from Simon of Southwell, the Archbishop's Official, during his own absence from England (*Gér. Camb.*, *ib.* 216).

Brackley, June 18. The Chap- diem partibus datum, scilicet in crastino [S. Botulphi] v. GIR. CAMB., *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl.*, Dist. IV.—Ad

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ter of S. David's decline to prosecute the claim of metropolitanship at this time, and disavow Giraldus' election. Trial adjourned on June 19.

Adjourned to Bedford to August 1, and again to S. Alban's to Sept. 15.

At S. Alban's, however, Sept. 9 (or 16), Giraldus proposes terms.

apud Brakelegam, ... Giraldus accessit; et inveniens ibi judicem principalem, scilicet Eliensem Episcopum, ..... et alios duos substitutos, ..... processit in medium, etc. [The Chapter representatives however declare, "in causa status," that] tam arduam causam, donec caput haberent et Episcopum, suscitare, vel suscitanti assistere vel assentire, nolebant; [and further,] se nunquam Giraldum Archidiaconum elegisse. .... Secundo die soluto litigio datus est dies quartus in octavis S. Jacobi apud Bedefordiam. .... Judices autem, testes Archidiaconi super spoliatione canonicorum et violentia facta [produced by him at Bedford] suscipere differentes, quantum singulis causis apud Sanctum Albanum in octavis Nativitatis S. Mariæ diem dederunt. .... Ver-  
sus itaque S. Albanum Archidiaconus accelerans, in crastino Nativitatis S. Mariæ<sup>a</sup> coram judicibus, qui omnes in propriis personis ibi tunc aderant, ..... confidenter apparuit: ..... ipse vero<sup>b</sup> ..... talem in manus judicum demum schedulam misit. [*Id.*, *ib.* 218, 220, 221, 223, 228.]

<sup>a</sup> Probably the word "octavarum" has dropped out of the text. If so, Giraldus made his appearance in the court Sept. 16.

<sup>b</sup> In answer to a compromise proposed by the Archbishop's representatives.

Compromise proposed by Giraldus<sup>a</sup>.

*Id.*, *ib.* A.D. 1202. *Sept. S. Alban's.*—E[ustachio] Eliensi et M[augero] Wigorniensis Episcopis pro pace laborantibus G.

ARCHIDIACONUS. Quoniam Ecclesiam nostram Menevensensem constat multo tempore metropolim fuisse, et etiam in plena potestate metropolitana præter usum pallii usque ad tempora Regis Angliæ Henrici primi permansisse, per cujus potestatem ac violentiam Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ subjici cœpit cum aliis Ecclesiis Walliæ, sicut ex scripto, quod de divisionibus Anacleti Papæ et registro Gregorii necnon et Ecclesiastica Bedæ Historia fideliter extraximus, ex parte perpendi potest; iterum, si placet, metropolitana fiat, sed Ecclesiæ Cantuariensi subjecta: sicut una Ecclesia metropolis alii metropoli jure primatiæ subjici solet; quemadmodum videlicet Burdegalensis metropolis Bituricensi tanquam primatiæ sedi subjecta est. Primatiæ namque proprie sedes, ut nostis, non est nisi quæ subditum sibi archipræsulem habet. Verum cum Ecclesia Menevensis temporibus beati Davidis et XXV. successorum. ejusdem usque ad Samsonem Dolensem, qui pallium nostrum asportavit, intra Walliæ spatium,

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ut nunc est, et V. Episcopatum Angliæ, Cestrensis scilicet seu Coventrensis, Herefordensis, Wigorniensis, Bathoniensis, et Exoniensis, sicut ex antiquis historiis vel ex veterum relatione fidei et assertione colligitur, XII. suffraganeos haberet; nunc tribus illis tantum, qui intra Walliæ fines continentur, contenta foret. Sic etenim initium possidendi Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ vitiosum, quia violentum, ex parte purgari posset, cum de consensu ejusdem Ecclesiæ Menevensis pristino gauderet honore, etsi non pleno. Et quia jam aliquamdiu in subjectione fuerat, quanquam injuste (temporibus scilicet trium Episcoporum nostrorum ultimorum, qui soli de nostris a Cantuariensibus consecrationem susceperunt), subjecta remaneret. Et sic Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus plus haberet honoris, scilicet loco simplicis Episcopi suffraganei Archiepiscopum subjectum habens; et cum longe meliori conscientia multoque minus oneris, terram scilicet tam remotam, quia per XV. fere diætas, et gentem divisas ab Anglia prorsus atque diversas linguam, leges, et consuetudines, habentem, qui mores et modos patriæ non ignoraret, et qui propius residens ac diligens existeret, quasi per vicarium regens.

Cæterum ne videar personæ meæ hanc dignitatem appetiisse vel appetere, Archiepiscopus Ecclesiæ nostræ fieret quicumque, dum tamen idoneus, juxta domini Papæ et Regis et Archiepiscopi dispositionem<sup>b</sup>. Sicque perpetuo controversia tanta sopita foret.

Alius concordiæ modus, si forte domino Papæ, in cujus omnia ponimus dispositione, modus iste non sederit, vel etiam Archiepiscopo: quod testes nostros valetudinarios judices suscipiant, et attestationes sub sigillis suis domino Papæ transmissæ, et ibidem bullatæ, in scriniis ejusdem, ne tractu temporis jus depereat, reserventur; et secundæ apud Cantuariam bullatæ, et tertiæ apud Meneviam, reponantur; et toto tempore vitæ Archiepiscopi istius, quam Deus ad honorem Ecclesiæ suæ longam conservet, hæc controversia pro bono pacis sopita quiescat; nisi forte voluntate summi Pontificis vel etiam mandato principis resuscitetur. Et ut liqueat omnibus me propter cathedram Menevensi mihi obtinendam tantum nullatenus assumpsisse laborem, electionem de me factam, si qua fuit, in manu domini Papæ resignabo, et ejus providentia Ecclesiæ nostræ pauperi ac depilatæ et usque ad exterminium fere dilapidatæ pastor vividus ac validus, qui dispersa revocet et reparet, provideatur.

Sin autem neutrum concordiæ modum vel dominus Papa approbaverit vel Archiepiscopus admiserit, nihil aliud restat, nisi ut lites suo

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Marte decurrant. [*Id.*, *ib.* 229-231 : and *De Invect.* II. 4 ; *ib.* 53-55. And see also *IV.* 1, pp. 75, 76.]

\* The Archbishop "non adquevit, sed donec suffraganeos suos omnes super hoc consuleret, responsum proterminavit" (*Id.*, *ib.* 75 and 231).  
 b "constitutionem" in *Invect.* II. 4.

A.D. 1202. *Sept. S. Alban's. Mauger Bishop of Worcester to Giraldus.*—MAGISTER MALGERUS magistro G. salutem. Cum maxima diligentia et sedula attentione utrumque modum concordie et pacis inter Archiepiscopum et te, sicut in literis vestris continebatur, exposui; et de illis duobus Anglicis canonicis, quod pacem nollent sed werram desiderarent, aperte significavi. Ipse autem post secreta consilia et tractatum cum prudentibus habitum respondit, quod super hoc nihil ad præsens certum respondere poterat; quoniam causa non ipsum tantum sed omnes suffraganeos tangebatur. Sed me tibi fidejussorem constituit, quod illud faceret, si suffraganei sui consenserint, et dominus Papa modum approbaverit et confirmare voluerit. [*Id.*, *ib.* 232.]

Evidence taken about the election. All the S. David's clergy disavow electing Giraldus. And all disclaim the suit for metropolitanship. GIR. CAMB., *ib.*—Interim autem super electione lite per incuriam contestata, producti sunt ex utraque parte testes plurimi. Sed ex parte adversa clerici Menevenses, a corruptela non discedentes, ad testificandum contra Giraldum certatim accurrerunt. [Evidence taken of sick, old, and poor: all others to go to Rome to give evidence. All of them, however,] asserebant, quod Giraldum Archidiaconum nunquam elegerunt, nec aliquid quod electio dici posset unquam de ipso fecerunt. .... Ad hæc etiam cum in causa status canonici Menevenses se Archidiacono Giraldo nec assistere velle nec assentire proponerent, ..... judices ..... nec in causa status, cum nullus ei canonicorum assisteret, processuros, sententialiter pronunciarunt ..... His autem sic completis, ..... [Archidiaconus] ad summum Pontificem appellavit. In fine vero coram iudicibus in publica audientia, potestate sibi a summo Pontifice tradita et auctoritate, spoliatores suos prædictos Nicholaum Avenel et Willelmum Filium-Martini, quia præbendam suam de Martru spoliaverant, sententia excommunicationis innodavit, et terras ipsorum sub interdicto conclusit. [*ib.* 233-235\*.]

\* The judges proceeded to condemn Giraldus, who had left S. Alban's at once, in damages to the amount of "centum marcas et lxx," deferring execution until the Easter or Whitsuntide ensuing (*ib.* 236, 237). Further the judges ex-

amined the literary proficiency of the Abbat of S. Dogmael's, who (says Giraldus, *ib.* 234) could neither read the Pope's commission to the judges, nor even a Missal "cum litera legibili et grossa."

Giraldus flies to Rome, which he reaches by Jan. 4, 1203. vi. A.D. 1202. Before Oct. 19. Near Sandwich<sup>a</sup>. Giraldus to the Bishop of Ely, the Dean of London, and the Archdeacon of Bucks.—*Venerabilibus viris et in Christo dilectis, E. Dei gratia Eliensi Episcopo, Decano Londoniensi, et Archidiacono de Bakingham*, GIRALDUS ARCHIDIACONUS DE BRECHENE, salutem in Domino. Vestræ Discretionis notum facio, quod apud Sandwich, ubi publicus est transitus omnium, prohibitus fui transfretare, et die Veneris proxima post festum S. Dionysii per singulas domos ejusdem villæ, quæ propria est Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ, per ministros ejusdem quæsitus ut caperer; et me non invento, sicut Domino placuit, cum tamen procul inde non laterem, timens hominum malitiam, publice proclamatum fuit ibi et in insula de Tenetham per Archiepiscopi et Justiciarii præcones, quatinus me vel meos nemo transportaret. Sed ecce quam bene paritum est mandatis domini Papæ, qui præcepit Archiepiscopo, quod me vel meos nullatenus impediatur, vel a quoquam impediri permittatur, quo minus utramque causam, tam electionis scilicet quam dignitatis Ecclesiæ nostræ, secure prosequi possimus. Spoliati sunt autem canonici Menevenses nobis assistere volentes. Spoliati sunt clerici præbendæ nostræ, et laici abducti et compedibus constricti. Destitutus sum redditibus meis, præbenda scilicet Herefordiæ et ecclesia de Cestretune. Neque est qui corrigat; quia qui deberet esse corrector, pluries etiam requisitus, factus est oppressor, et omnium istorum auctor: sicut suo loco et tempore per Dei gratiam docebitur. Vos autem quod ad vos spectat faciatis, et istud ad injuriarum cumulum nunc tam acriter additum, relationi vestræ, si placet, super vi et metu interserere non postponatis. Valeat in Domino Paternitas vestra. [*Id., ib.* 237, 238.]

<sup>a</sup> For Giraldus' wanderings, see *Id.*, *ib.* 236-241. He got over to Gravelines with great difficulty by Nov. 2, and to Rome by the following Jan. 4, not forgetting on his way to go

to Clairvaux and obtain from the Cistercian Abbat the deposition of his foe the Cistercian Abbat of Whitland (*Id.*, *ib.* 240).



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V. A.D. 1202, October—A.D. 1203, August. *Giraldus' Third Journey to Rome. Both elections finally quashed by the Pope, and a new election ordered. The suit about Metropolitanship referred to a Commission.*

- [i. Giraldus at Rome, after a difficult journey, from October 1202 to . Jan. 4, 1203.
- ii. { Proceedings at Rome, ending with the Pope's annulling both elections; } April 15, 1203.  
 { And ordering a fresh election . . . . . } May 25 or 26, 1203.
- iii. King John confiscates property of Giraldus by grants to two of his own servants . . . . . } June 1, 1203.
- iv. Suit about the Metropolitanship referred to a fresh Commission . . . June 18, 1203.
- v. Giraldus returns, and protests, first at Rome, and then at Canterbury Aug. 24, 1203.]

Jan. 4, 1203. Giraldus at Rome again.  
 i. GIR. CAMB., *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. IV.*—  
 Biduo ante Epiphaniam [Archidiaconus] Romam per-  
 venit. [*Opp. III. 241.*]

ii. A.D. 1203. *Shortly after Jan. 6. Rome. Memorial of Giraldus to Innocent III.*—Supplico Celsitudini vestre, pie pater et domine, quatinus patienter et diligenter audire velit paginam prolixiorē plenā nostra injuria et nostra jactura. Multoties mente præsa malorum vaticinatur quis quod veretur. Sicut anno præterito, quando placuit Sanctitati vestre sic scribere iudiciis nostris super inquisitione consensus capituli nostri in quæstione status, præsenſi statim et in publica audientia dixi, hoc nihil aliud fore, nisi occasionem dare patentem parti adversæ malignandi et corrupendi capitulum nostrum: quod et antea facile corrumpi posse satis compererat tam blanditiis et beneficiis quam promissionibus; et ubi his proficere non poterat, minis et terroribus ac bonorum spoliationibus. Remedium tamen ad hæc vestra putavit adhibuisse prudentia, scribens Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi in hunc modum: *Quamdiu* [etc. as above, p. 416]. Ipse vero clericos Menevenses mecum in utraque causa stare paratos nihilominus tam beneficiis et blanditiis alliciens, quam minis et terroribus necnon et bonorum spoliationibus absterrens, quam sit obediens mandatis vestris evidenter ostendit; literis tamen omnibus vestre Celsitudini ab ipso destinatis se devotum filium vestrum vocitare præsumit. Sane sincera devotio magis in factis quam dictis vel etiam scriptis, magis in opere quam in sermone vel in ore, consistit. Probatio quippe tam devotionis quam dilectionis exhibitio est operis.

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Quod autem hæc vera sint, et quod mandati vestri sic per omnia contemptor extiterit, et coram iudicibus nostris in Anglia probare parati fuimus, et hic in præsentia vestra per testes exceptione majores probare parati sumus. Unde quoniam non solum in nos et nostros, sed etiam in clerum Angliæ fere universum, publica regni potestate, quam ad nutum habet, sic desævire non cessat; ita rigor Apostolicus ejus insolentiam atque superbiam tantam reprimere curet, ut poena unius multorum sit metus, et animadversionis hujus exemplo cæteri discant prælati a temerariis ausibus hujusmodi temperare. Quoniam, ut ait Ambrosius, qui uni indulget indigno, ad prolapsionis contagium provocat universos. Facilitas enim veniæ incentivum tribuit delinquendi. [*Id.*, *De f. et S. Menev. Eccl.*, *Dist. IV.*; *Opp. III.* 242, 243.]

*Injury to Welsh Church through English Bishops intruded there-upon by the English King and the Archbishop of Canterbury.* A.D. 1203. *Delivered at Rome in January. Welsh Princes to Innocent III.—Reverendissimo patri et domino Innocentio Dei gratia summo Pontifici,* LEWELINUS FILIUS JORVERT PRINCEPS NORWALLIÆ, WENUNWEN ET MADOCUS PRINCIPES POWISIÆ, GRIFINUS ET MAILGO, RESUS AC MAREDOCUS FILII RESI, PRINCIPES SUTWALLIÆ, salutem et debitam per omnia subjectionem. Paternitati vestræ notificamus, quanta incommoda et animarum pericula Ecclesia Walensica sustinuit, postquam Anglicæ potestati et Cantuariensi per regiam violentiam, et non de ratione vel Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate, subjecta fuit. Inprimis itaque Cantuarienses Archiepiscopi ex consuetudine nobis et genti nostræ Episcopos præficiunt Anglicos, morum patriæ et linguæ nostræ prorsus ignaros, qui nec verbum Dei populo prædicare sciunt, nec confessiones nisi per interpretem suscipere. Illos etiam non per electionem canonicam sed per intrusionem potius et violentiam in ecclesiasticis constituunt; vel si electionem quandoque sustineant, umbratilem illam et non veram faciunt, clericos nostros in Angliam vocando, et ibi in cameris regum quemcunque et quantumlibet vilem in partibus suis abjectum sibi eligere pastorem compellendo. Præterea Episcopi nostri sic nobis de Anglia præfecti, quia nec terram nostram neque nos diligunt, sed sicut innato quodam odio corpora prosequuntur, ita nec etiam animarum lucra quærent. Præesse quidem nobis et non prodesse cupientes, pastorale officium minime apud nos exercent; sed quæcunque a terra nostra, etsi non recte, quocunque modo rapiunt, in Angliam asportant; ibique in abbatiis

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et terris, eis a regibus Angliæ ad hoc concessis, ut quasi Parthicis a tergo et a longe sagittis secure nos quotiens jubentur excommunicare possint, cuncta consumunt. Terras etiam ob hoc olim Ecclesiis cathedralibus per Walliam a nostris prædecessoribus devota largitione collatas, quia patriam non diligunt, tam clericis quam laicis vendunt, donant, et alienant. Et nos ob hæc, ex parte nostra, terras Ecclesiarum, quoniam omnia quasi in direptionem data videmus, Ecclesiis auferimus et occupamus. Unde ad summam miseriam et paupertatem Ecclesiæ cathedrales in Wallia redactæ sunt; quæ si bonis et idoneis gauderent prælatis, nobiles essent et opimæ. Ad hæc etiam, quoties Anglici in terram nostram et nos insurgunt, statim Archiepiscopi Cantuarienses totam terram nostram sub interdicto concludunt; et nos, qui pro patria nostra solum et libertate tuenda pugnamus, nominatim, et gentem nostram in genere, sententia excommunicationis involvunt; et id ipsum Episcopis nostris, quos ipsi ad libitum suum nobis, ut diximus, creant, et qui eis in hoc libenter obediunt, faciendum injungunt. Unde accidit, ut quoties in bellicis conflictibus pro patria tuenda cum gente inimica congregimur, quicumque ex parte nostra ceciderint, excommunicati cadunt. Contra hæc igitur incommoda et alia multa, quæ canonici Menevenses cum electo suo, Giraldo Archidiacono, viro venerabili et discreto, vobis viva voce plenius ostendent, a vestra Sanctitate, ad quam Ecclesiæ totius regimen spectat, cum lacrimis et singultibus remedia quærimus; rogantes et communiter supplicantes, quatinus filios vestros, tantum trium Episcoporum Menevensium tempore ab Anglicana Ecclesia miserabiliter afflictos, ab indebita servitute paterna pietate relevare velitis. Quoniam ante illorum trium, qui nunc ultimo fuerunt, tempora Ecclesia Menevensis primatiæ Walliæ totius sedes fuerat, sicut et antiquitus, metropolitana, sanctæ Romanæ scilicet Ecclesiæ solum obnoxia. Unde si oculo misericordiæ vestræ nos super his respicere dignum duxeritis, quodcunque servitium, quod ferre possimus, nobis et terris nostris vobis et Ecclesiæ B. Petri faciendum injunxeritis, prompta et devota voluntate suscipiemus. Valeat in Domino cara nobis Pater-nitas vestra. [Ib. 244-246.]

A.D. 1203. *Same time. Relatio Judicum*, [presented to the Pope, *Id.*, *ib.* 246, but omitted by Giraldus.]

Maintains the priority of his own election. A.D. 1203. *Shortly before March 30. Rome. Second Memorial of Giraldus to Innocent III.*—Pater sancte, quod Abba-

tis electio non fuerit prima, sicut mentitur pars adversa, veris assertionibus et tam præsumptionibus plurimis quam etiam probationibus nonnullis sic astruimus; et figmenta falsissima certissimis tam conjecturis quam probationibus exsufflamus.

In primo adventu nostro statim e vestigio misit Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis post nos vobis per cursorem quendam literas invectionis suæ, quibus et mandato vestro respondimus, quas et adhuc in promptu habemus; in quibus omnia quæ excogitare potuit nostræ promotionis impedimenta conguessit. Nullam autem in eis mentionem fecit de electione aliqua ante nostram facta. Quæ quidem si facta fuisset, præsertim ab ipso, nec immemor fuisset nec tacuisset.

Iterum in Quadragesima sequente parum ante Pascha venit ad curiam quidam nomine Bon-Johannes, clericus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et ab ipso transmissus, qui interrogatus a vobis, utrum speciale mandatum aliquod haberet a domino suo contra me, qui diutinam jam in curia moram feceram, dixit quod non. Tantum tamen injunxerat ei dominus suus vobis dicendum, ut ait, si me forte in curia reperiret, quod quatuor erant nominati, quorum unus erat Archidiaconus, sed ipso statim a Rege recusato, canonici Menevenses abbatem quendam, cum Regis assensu, Londoniis, ipso præsentem coram domino suo, parum ante Natale tunc proximum elegerunt. Et cum quæreretis utrum dominus suus electionem illam confirmasset, quod tunc eram ego in curia ista, ille obmutuit. Et cum instaretis ut responderet, tantum dixit quod non erat ei injunctum ad hoc respondere; credebat tamen id domino suo non displicere. Vos autem illico, si tamen bene recolimus, quicquid actum fuerat contra electionem meam post iter ad vos arreptum et appellationem interpositam, in irritum revocastis. Unde, si Archiepiscopus immemor fuisset electionis ante nostram a se factæ mittendo cursorem, non immemor utique fuisset mittendo clericum.

Item in secundo adventu nostro ad curiam, cum coram auditoribus nobis datis, scilicet domino Sufredo et Petro Capuano, narrasset pars utraque præcepto ipsorum factum suum coram ipsis, per narrationem R. Folioti, qui se procuratorem gessit Abbatis S. Dogmaelis, palam fuit omnibus Abbatis ejusdem electionem per dimidium annum vel

amplius post electionem nostram factam fuisse; sicut nonnulli, quos adhuc præsentem videmus, si memores sunt, audierunt.

Ad hæc etiam in hebdomada Paschali proxima post obitum Regis Ricardi reversus est Archiepiscopus in Angliam, ubi et Comitem Johannem in die Ascensionis coronavit; et postea, Rege statim in Normanniam reverso, et regno ex toto pacificato, Archiepiscopus per totam ætatem usque in ipsum autumnum in Anglia remansit. Sed quare hoc toto intervallo Abbatem suum, si electus antea fuisset, non confirmavit aut etiam consecravit, nullo prorsus resistente obstaculo, cum nullius adhuc electio præcessisset<sup>b</sup>? Sed nec etiam Abbatem illum toto hoc tempore ad se vocavit, quod quidem potuisset per cursorem; nec eum oculis suis interim<sup>c</sup> vidit.

Item consuetudo in Anglia est, licet non approbanda, quod quam cito aliquis eligitur de assensu principis, statim administrationem suscipit temporalium, etiam ante confirmationem. Unde, si Abbas electus fuisset in Epiphania de Regis assensu, quam cito nuncius inde redire posset, administrationem proculdubio recepisset. Sed non ante Natale recepit, quia Prior Lantoniensis eam usque tunc habuit. Ergo non ante electus fuit.

Item circa festum S. Michaelis proximum post electionem Giraldi Archidiaconi Archiepiscopus iterum de Normannia in Angliam reversus, statim mandavit, ut canonici Menevenses ad ipsum veniant cum literis de rato, ut dicit Osbertus Archidiaconus, pastorale solatium suscepturi. Ipsi vero tres canonicos miserunt, sed absque literis de rato. Ad hæc enim verecundabantur et verebantur contra factum suum tam recens venire manifeste. Dicit enim<sup>d</sup> Osbertus Archidiaconus, quod quia literas de rato non habuerunt, non cantaverunt *Te Deum laudamus* in electione Abbatis apud Lambeiam, nec Archiepiscopus consuluit. Constat autem, quod si Archiepiscopus Abbatem ante elegisset, vicem in hoc capituli gerens, nec literas de rato quæsisset, quod nec eis indigeret, nec *Te Deum laudamus* cantari dissuasisset.

Item ex literis capituli nostri missis Archiepiscopo apud Gloucestriam in illa examinatione presumptuosa ad petendam confirmationem Abbatis manifeste patet, quod non contulerant vota eligendi in Archiepiscopum, sed tantum ut super assensu Regis de uno illorum quatuor inquisito eos certificaret, ei supplicaverant. Unde, ut dicunt, intellecto tandem per literas Archiepiscopi et literas Justiciarii, quod in Abbatem S. Dogmaelis Rex consensit, ipsum elegerunt in pastorem.

Verecundius itaque tunc mentiebantur quam postea. Nondum enim excogitata subtilitas illa fuerat, faciendi scilicet primum novissimum et novissimum primum *c*.

Item in ipsa electione Giraldi Archidiaconi, et etiam post *f*, Priorem Lantoniensem canonicis Menevensibus ut eligerent, Archiepiscopus tam literis suis et nunciis quam etiam Justiciarii districte mandavit. Quod si Abbatem ante elegisset, nullatenus Priorem illum tam impudenter eis tunc ingessisset. Unde timens capitulum nostrum, ne citra electionem omnem vel etiam nominationem Priorem illum Archiepiscopus ei mitteret consecratum, quia præceps esse solet in talibus, sicut patet in Bangoriensi, literas suas contra eundem Priorem ad vos destinaverunt. Unde, si aliquod obstaculum de Abbate præscripto vel alio quolibet se credidissent tunc habituros contra eundem, absque dubio pro electo suo et Ecclesiæ libertate scripsissent.

Item quod totum falsum et confictum fuerit de potestate in Archiepiscopum collata, ex hoc quoque patet evidenter; quod nunquam adeo mente capti fuissent canonici Menevenses, quod in archiadversarium Ecclesiæ suæ, qui nunquam vellet eos bono et valido pastore gaudere, potestatem eligendi sibi Episcopum contulerint. Quod etiam ex ipso Abbate, quem elegisse dicitur, sibi ipsi in philosophia simillimo, clarescere potest. Nec mirum, quoniam, ut ait Plautus, 'Ex insensibili ne credas sensibile nasci.'

Item si Archiepiscopus Abbatem illum elegisset vice capituli Menevensis in Epiphania proxima sequente post obitum Episcopi Petri, sicut mentitur pars adversa, constat quod illam electionem suam confirmasset *g*, cum nullum haberet impedimentum; quia non nisi per anni *h* dimidii spatium et amplius subsequenter elapsum, festo scilicet Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Archidiaconi electio facta fuit. Sed nec ante Archidiaconi electionem nec post Abbatis electionem confirmavit. Ergo nec ipsum elegit.

Sunt igitur argumenta, pater, ut nostis, hæc rhetorica, conjecturalia quidem et probabilia, præsumptiones scilicet magis quam probationes; quibus revera fides longe major adhiberi debet, quam testium assertionibus vilissimorum.

Veruntamen præter præsumptiones has tam validas tot et tantas, habemus ad hoc trium testium probationes, duorum scilicet de nostris et unius de adversis. Sicut enim missi fuerant sex canonici nostri ad Archiepiscopum, contra festum S. Michaelis proximum post

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mortem Episcopi, ad electionem faciendam; sic mandato Justiciarii, et hoc per præceptum Regis et Archiepiscopi, de partibus cismarinis missi fuerunt quatuor canonici nostri Londonias ad Justiciarium contra Quadragesimam ad electionem faciendam vel ad Regem et Archiepiscopum transfretandum: quibus et adhuc Justiciarius Priorem de Lantonei constanter offerebat; quem quia recipere nolebant, de assensu ipsius miserunt unum ex ipsis cum clerico quodam Ecclesiæ ad Regem Ricardum propter assensum ipsius requirendum de Giraldo Archidiacono eligendo. Hoc autem probant testes nostri duo, Nicholaus major et Hugo serviens, et O[sbertus] Archidiaconus testis contrarius. Dicit enim Nicholaus major, quod in comitatu fuit clericorum Menevensium, qui missi erant ad Regem Ricardum propter assensum ejus requirendum de Giraldo Archidiacono eligendo, et hoc usque in Normanniam; et inde ipsis Regem sequentibus, usque Pictaviam. Ipse in Franciam eundo scholas petiit; ubi paulo post audivit, quod Rege Ricardo interempto clerici Menevenses ad fratrem suum Comitem Johannem reversi sunt. Hugo vero serviens dicit, quod cum clericis Menevensibus tunc ivit, ut eis serviret; et cum ipsis fuit, quando reversi a Rege Ricardo interempto, ad Comitem Johannem apud Chinonense castrum venerunt. Osbertus autem, qui totum fere de auditu loquitur, dicit se audisse quatuor canonicos iterum missos ad Justiciarium in Angliam propter electionem faciendam; et quod inde miserunt duos clericos ad Regem Ricardum parum ante obitum suum. Et licet tempus non exprimatur missionis istius, quod nec forte interrogatum fuerat per incuriam aliquam, tamen ex verbis singulorum testium ipsorum hoc colligi potest, quod circa Quadragesimam. Dicunt enim omnes, quod quia Regem Ricardum mortuum invenerunt<sup>i</sup>, et priusquam ad ipsum pervenire possent, interemptum, conversi sunt ad fratrem suum Johannem, qui ei successit. Rex enim Ricardus quasi XV. diebus<sup>k</sup> ante Pascha interfectus fuerat. Unde patet, quod si Archiepiscopus Abbatem elegisset in Epiphania proxima præcedente, vel etiam potestatem habuisset ei collatam a canonicis ipsum eligendi, non quidem canonicos de Wallia in Angliam, de Anglia in Normanniam aut Pictaviam, propter eligendum Episcopum vocari aut vexari procuraret; nec capitulum Menevense clericos suos ad transmarinas et longinquas regiones inani labore transmisisset. Sunt autem hæ probationes apertæ, sicut et antea præsumptiones inductæ, validæ satis et manifestæ.

Quicquid igitur amodo in pronuntiatione contingat, in quam-

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cunque partem alea sententialis declinetur, propalata tam evidenter veritatis serie, æquanimiter a nobis sufferendum noverit hæc curia tota. [*Id.*, *ib.* 257-263; and *De Insect. IV.* 3; *ib.* 79-83.]

<sup>a</sup> "tandem dicit," in *Insect. IV.* 3.<sup>b</sup> So in *Insect. IV.* 3, "processisset" in *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. IV.*<sup>c</sup> Added in *Insect. IV.* 3.<sup>d</sup> "etiam," in *Insect. IV.* 3.<sup>e</sup> "scilicet electionem novissimam primam et primam novissimam," in *Insect. IV.* 3.<sup>f</sup> "paulo post," in *Insect. IV.* 3.<sup>g</sup> "consummasset," in *Insect. IV.* 3.<sup>h</sup> "et," added in *Insect. IV.* 3.<sup>i</sup> "invenerant," in *Insect. IV.* 3.<sup>k</sup> 12 days in point of fact, viz. April 6-April

18.

Pope annuls both elections.

A.D. 1203. April 15. Rome. Judgment pronounced by Innocent III.<sup>a</sup> respecting the Election.—Duo proponuntur

Ecclesiæ Menevensis electi, Abbas S. Dogmaelis, et Giraldus Archidiaconus. Proponitur enim ex parte Abbatis, quod post obitum Episcopi Petri missi sunt sex canonici Menevenses ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem cum literis capituli sui de rato ad eligendum sibi pastorem. Sed quoniam de Regis assensu, qui in transmarinis agebat, non constabat, in Archiepiscopum ad Regem transfretaturum vota eligendi contulerunt. Ipse vero in Epiphania sequente apud insulam de Andeli in Normannia, cum Regis assensu, Abbatem elegit. Sed quoniam in literis de rato continebatur, quod eligere possent illi sex, non autem quod in alium hanc potestatem conferre possent, nulla fuit electio ab Archiepiscopo sic facta. Contulerunt enim in ipsum quod conferre non potuerunt. Unde cassamus electionem illam tanquam nullam.

Item proponitur ex parte Archidiaconi, quod in festo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli post obitum Episcopi sui convenerunt canonici Ecclesiæ Menevensis apud Meneviam fere cuncti propter electionem faciendam; ibique communi et unanimi omnium assensu Giraldum Archidiaconum elegerunt, et statim ad nostram audientiam appellaverunt. Sed quoniam dubium adhuc esse poterat, utrum electio de Abbate illo ab Archiepiscopo facta teneri deberet; poterat enim de facto Archiepiscopi sui bene dubitare;—(his enim verbis ipsis ad colorandum factum suum usus est Papa;)—et in illo dubio priusquam discussum esset, ad aliam electionem faciendam processerunt; cassamus et illam. [*Id.*, *De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. IV.*; *ib.* 267, 268.]

<sup>a</sup> "In consistorio, presentibus cardinalibus et partibus assistentibus" (*Id.*, *ib.*), and in consequence of letters from King John and the Em-peror Otho to the Pope, "Archidiacono adversantes" (*ib.*).



Orders a fresh election. A.D. 1203. *May 25 or 26<sup>a</sup>. Ferentinum. Mandate of Innocent III. to Bishops of Ely and Worcester.*—INNOCENTIVS EPISCOPUS, etc., *venerabilibus fratribus Eliensi et Wigorniensis Episcopis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Causam quæ vertebatur inter dilectos filios Abbatem S. Dogmaelis et Giraldum Archidiaconum de Brechene [Brekenniauc], quorum uterque se asserebat electum in Episcopum Menevensensem, coram delegatis a nobis iudicibus aliquamdiu ventilatam, nos tandem in consistorio nostro *examinavimus diligenter*. Auditis ergo et intellectis attestationibus et allegationibus partium, de communi fratrum nostrorum consilio electionem cassavimus utriusque. Ne vero contingat Ecclesiam Menevensensem ex iterata dissensione gravius perturbari, Fraternitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus canonicos Menevenses ad electionem concordem de persona idonea, infra duos menses canonice celebrandam, monere ac inducere procuretis. Quæ si taliter facta fuerit, per metropolitanum proprium confirmetur. Alioquin vos, auctoritate nostra suffulti, sublato cujuslibet contradictionis et appellationis obstaculo, præficiatis eis personam idoneam in pastorem, et faciatis eam per metropolitanum eundem in Episcopum consecrari; attentius provisiuri, ne idem Archiepiscopus aliquam ab eo recipiat cautionem, per quam sequi nequeat causam status Ecclesiæ Menevensis. Quod si non ambo his exequendis potueritis interesse, alter vestrum ea nihilominus exsequatur. Datum Ferentini, VII. [VIII.] kal. Junii, pontificatus anno VI. [*Id., ib., Dist. V.; and De Invect. IV. 4; ib. 281, 282, and 84, 85.*]

<sup>a</sup> VIII. Cal. Jun. in one copy, VII. Cal. Jun. in the other.

Protect Giraldus against the illegal proceedings of the Abbat of Wigmore and others. A.D. 1203. [*June 4. Ferentinum<sup>a</sup>.*] *Innocent III. to Bishops of Ely and Worcester and Archdeacon of Bucks.*—INNOCENTIVS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus Eliensi et Wigorniensis Episcopis, et dilecto filio Archidiacono de Bukingebam Lincolniensis diocesis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Dilectus filius G. Archidiaconus Menevensis proposuit coram nobis, quod cum a quibusdam adversariis suis Menevensis diocesis, coram delegatis a nobis iudicibus Herefordensis diocesis, super damnis et injuriis quæ sibi ab eo asserebant illata, tractus fuisset in causam, et unus iudicum commisisset

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alii vices suas, Archidiaconus ipse, in pluribus articulis sentiens se gravari, ad nostram duxit audientiam appellandum; ipsi vero, appellationi nullatenus deferentes, in ipsius Archidiaconi præjudicium et gravamen in causa nihilominus processerunt; ideoque Discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus in irritum revocantes, siquid, post appellationem ad nos rationabiliter interpositam, temere inveneritis attemptatum audiat<sup>b</sup>, etc. [*Id.*, *De Invect.* III. 19; *Opp.* III. 72, 73.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 424, note <sup>a</sup>. The date of this letter is not given, but seems determined by its

contents and place in Giraldus' collection.  
<sup>b</sup> So in Brewer.

Confirms Giraldus' excommunication of N. Avenel and W. Fitz-Martin.

Same date and place. Same to same.—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS, etc., *Eliensi et Wigorniensis Episcopis et Archidiacono de Bukingebam Lincolnensis diocesis*, etc. Expo-

suit nobis dilectus filius G. Archidiaconus Menevensis, in nostra præsentia constitutus, quod cum N. Avenel, et W. Filius-Martini, et quidam alii Menevensis diocesis, suis vobis nominibus exprimendi, ecclesiam ipsius de Lanwadaph nequiter fuerint deprædati, et bona præbendæ ipsius de Martru rapuerunt violenter, idem Archidiaconus, propter hæc et quædam alia, in eos et quosdam alios ejusdem diocesis, qui quosdam canonicos Menevenses assistentes eidem per violentiam bonis propriis spoliarent, excommunicationis sententiam auctoritate Apostolica promulgavit. Ideoque Discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus sententiam illam, sicut rationabiliter lata est, faciatis monitione præmissa per censuram ecclesiasticam usque ad satisfactionem congruam inviolabiliter observari. Data eadem. [*Id.*, *ib.* 20; *ib.* 73.]

See Giraldus righted against P. and O. Archdeacons of S. David's.

Same date and place (?) <sup>a</sup>. Same to same.—INNOCENTIUS, etc., *Eliensi et Wigorniensis Episcopis et Archidiacono de Bukingebam*. Dilectus filius G. Menevensis Archidiaconus—[Ipsis imponit, ut P. et O. Archidiaconos Menevenses, et alios, qui Giraldum Romam petiturum in itinere spoliarent, hortarent ut ei de damnis et injuriis satisfaciant et per censuras eos coerceant. Datum ut supra.]—[*Id.*, *ib.* III. 3; *ib.* 62.]

<sup>a</sup> The words "datum ut supra," taken with the place of this letter in Giraldus' book, would take it back to the second journey of Giraldus, and to July 22, 1202. But the word "tertiz," standing there

in the heading of it—"Literæ tertiz (sic) adventus," the Commissioners to whom it is addressed, and who were those of 1203, not 1202, and the omission of the letter in the list in Giraldus *De*

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*J. & S. M. E.*, pp. 190, 191, refer it evidently to the date here given. And see also the list of letters of this period in p. 286. O. was of course Osbert, Archdeacon of Caermarthen: P.

(but not so clearly) was Pontius, another S. David's Archdeacon, who was on Giraldus' side at one time.

Exempts Giraldus from his vow of joining the Crusade.

*Same date and place. Same to same.*—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS, etc., *venerabilibus fratribus Eliensi et Wigorniensis Episcopis, et dilecto filio Archidiacono de Bakingebam*

*Lincolniensis diocesis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Dilectus filius G. Archidiaconus Menevensis proponit coram nobis, quod cum olim signaculum crucis assumpserit ad instantiam claræ memoriæ Henrici Regis Anglorum, qui spem ei dederat super subsidio expensarum, si cum eo Jerosolimam ire vellet; ipso Rege interim sublato de medio, idem Archidiaconus spe frustratus votum suum, cum competentes facultates non haberet, non potuit adimplere: unde bonæ memoriæ Johannes Episcopus Prænestinus, tunc titulo S. Marci presbyter Cardinalis, cum in partibus illis legationis officio fungeretur, ejusdem Archidiaconi compatiens paupertati, eum a labore peregrinationis absolvit, ita quod euntibus in Terræ Sanctæ subsidium subveniret, et ad reparationem ecclesiæ Menevensis impenderet operam et auxilium opportunum. Cæterum cum postmodum emanarit a sede Apostolica mandatum, ut ad recipiendum crucis signaculum per excommunicationis sententiam cogerentur, quos illud absque prosecutione itineris deposuisse constaret, nisi Apostolicæ sedis indulgentiam specialem haberent; idem Archidiaconus, ut causam liberius ageret quam pro Ecclesia Menevensi tractabat, resumere crucis signaculum est coactus. Unde humiliter postulavit a nobis, ut senectuti compatiens ipsius cum ipso misericorditer ageremus. Nos igitur attendentes senectutem ac debilitatem ipsius, et comperientes per jam dicti literas Cardinalis eum super hoc absolutionis beneficium habuisse, ipsum a labore peregrinationis denunciavimus absolutum; injungentes eidem, ut juxta proprias facultates pro expensis, quas fuisset in peregrinatione facturus, subsidium competens ad subventionem Terræ Sanctæ transmittat. Ideoque Discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus eundem Archidiaconum a labore peregrinationis denuntietis penitus absolutum; et pensatis facultatibus et redditibus ejus, congruam pecuniæ quantitatem faciatis ab eo ad subventionem Jerosolimitanæ provinciæ destinari; et eum ad hoc, si forte præsumeret contraire, per distractionem ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compellatis. Dat. Ferentini, II. non.

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Junii, Pont. anno VI. [*Id.*, *ib.* 18; and *De J. et S. Menov. Eccl.*, *Dist. V.*; *Opp. III.* 71, 72, and 284-286.]

Protects him in  
his prebend given  
him by Giraldus. *Same date and place. Same to Philip Canon of S. David's.*  
—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS, etc., *dilecto filio Philippo presbytero, canonico Menevensi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Solet annuere sedes Apostolica piis votis—[Personam ejus, cum omnibus bonis tam ecclesiasticis quam mundanis quæ nunc possidet vel in futurum, specialiter autem præbendam Ecclesiæ Menevensis per donationem custodis Ecclesiæ Menevensis G. Archidiaconi acceptam, sub beati Petri et sua protectione suscipit. Data eadem.]—[*Id.*, *De Invect. III.* 21; *ib.* 73, 74.]

Similar to previous letter. *Same date and place. Same to Ithenard the Deacon.*—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS, etc., *dilecto filio Ithenardo diacono*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum a nobis petitur—[Præbendam Menevensis ecclesiæ per donationem G. Archidiaconi Menevensis acceptam auctoritate Apostolica confirmat. Dat. eadem.]—[*Id.*, *ib.* 22; *ib.* 74.]

Similar to previous letter. *Same date and place. Same to John the Presbyter.*—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS, etc., *dilecto filio Joanni presbytero*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Justis petentium desideriis dignum est—[Ecclesiam S. Brigidæ, quam per donationem G. Archidiaconi Menevensis, administrationem Menevensis diocesis de concessione Apostolica gerentis, canonice consecutus sit Joannes, confirmat. Data eadem.]—[*Id.*, *ib.* 23; *ib.*]

\* Testifies to Giraldus' character. A.D. 1203. *June. Ferentinum. Cardinal Octavianus* Bishop of Ostia, etc., to the Bishops of Ely and Worcester and all others.—*Venerabilibus in Christo fratribus, Dei gratia Eliensi et Wigorniensis Episcopis, et aliis omnibus presentes literas inspecturis*, OCTAVIANUS EADEM GRATIA HOSTIENSIS ET VELLETRANSIS EPISCOPUS, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Ne contra famam dilecti filii magistri G. Menevensis Archidiaconi, occasione electionis factæ de ipso in Ecclesia Menevensi, opinio minus honesta possit assumi; pro eodem, quod scimus loquimur, et quod audivimus protestamur

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audacter. Ad notitiam siquidem omnium præsentibus literis volumus pervenire, electionem ipsius, non propter personæ vitium vel objectiones ab adversariis factas, sed propter inordinatum eligendi processum, fuisse cassatam. [*Id.*, *De Invect.* IV. 7; *ib.* 86.]

Similar to the previous letter. *Same date and place. Similar Testimonial of Guy Cardinal of S. Maria Trans Tiberim tit. Calixti.*—Item attestatur Guido, miseratione Divina Sanctæ Mariæ Transtiberim titulo Calixti presbyter Cardinalis et domini Papæ vicarius, etc. [*Id.*, *ib.*]

Appoint a clerk of S. David's to the see of S. David's. *Similar place and date. Cardinal Octavianus to Bishops of Ely and Worcester.*—*Venerabilibus in Christo fratribus et amicis carissimis E[ustachio] Dei gratia Eliensi et M[augero] Wigorniensis Episcopis,* OCTAVIANUS EADEM GRATIA HOSTIENSIS ET VELLETRENSIS EPISCOPUS, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Cum super provisione Menevensis Ecclesiæ committat vobis summus Pontifex vices suas, credentes quod nostrum debeatis consilium acceptare, literas nostras vobis duximus transmittendas. De vestra igitur providentia confidentes, consulimus et hortamur, quatinus in facto eodem via regia incedentes, timore et favore postpositis, soli Deo et justitiæ adhærere curetis. Et quia exquisiti juris esse dinoscitur, ut qui præfici debet de gremio assumitur Ecclesiæ, si possit in eo idoneus inveniri, cum credatur quod in Menevensi Ecclesia persona reperiri possit idonea; illum juxta mandatum Apostolicum studeatis præficere de corpore ipsius Ecclesiæ, qui in ea magis idoneus reperitur, et secundum Deum sciat, possit, et velit, in spiritualibus et temporalibus Ecclesiam gubernare: ut vos ob id possitis apud Deum et homines commendabiles apparere.

None better than Giraldus himself. Considerantes Archidiaconi tam eruditionem quam personæ favorabilem idoneitatem, et canonicorum Menevensium qui contra eundem missi fuerant per omnia modicitatem; illos quoque qui domi fuerunt ex his æstimantes, nec enim deteriores et minus habiles ad tantam curiam et contra personam tantam missos fuisse credentes: si de gremio Ecclesiæ eligeretur, non alium quam Archidiaconum G. credere poterant eligendum. Proinde et sic scribebant, tam propter personam Archidiaconi, quam dilectam habebant et acceptam, ut promoveri posset; quam propter fructum etiam maximum et emolumentum, quod

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curiam Romanam ex ejus promotione, et Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ per ipsum vexatione, pro certo noverant consecuturam. Proinde, tanquam ambidextri et velut Olivero currente, pecuniam in tanta quantitate oblatam una manu avide sumebant, et alteram nihilo minus extendere manum ad lucra futura satagebant\*. [*Id.*, *ib.* 8; *ib.* 87, 88.]

\* This paragraph is evidently not in the language of the letter itself, but in that of either Giraldus or (as Mr. Brewer seems to think) his modern transcriber for the Record Commission.

Similar to the *Similar date and place. John Bishop of Albano and Leo* previous letter. *Cardinal S. Crucis to the same.*—Sequitur alia Epistola Johannis Albanensis Episcopi, ad eosdem de eodem; et alia denique Leonis, titulo Sanctæ Crucis in Jerusalem presbyteri Cardinalis, ad eosdem, qua ipsis ad electionem commendat Giraldum; ut priores. [*Id.*, *ib.* 87.]

iii. A.D. 1203\*. *June 1. Pont de l'Arche*<sup>b</sup>. *Carta Simonis Peitevin.*—JOHANNES DEI GRATIA, etc., *omnibus, etc.* Sciatis nos, Divinæ pietatis intuitu, dedisse et concessisse Simoni Peitevin, servienti nostro de garderoba, medietatem illius liberationis quam Geraldus Archidiaconus de Brechinniho habuit, tenendam et habendam in puram et perpetuam elemosinam tota vita sua, percipiendam per manus vicecomitis Herefordiæ annuatim in suis terminis; et ut hæc nostra donatio rata permaneant in posterum, eam præsentī scripto et sigilli nostri testimonio confirmavimus. Teste, etc., J. Archidiacono Wigorniz, J. capellano nostro, magistro R. de Stokes, magistro Alano de Creton, Rogero capellano, Johanne de Plesseto, Ricardo de Mida. Datum per manum S. præpositi Beverlacensis [et Archidiaconi Wellensis<sup>c</sup>], apud Pontem Archæ, primo die Junii, anno etc. quinto. [*Charter Rolls* 5 *Job.*, *memb.* 25, *No.* 7, p. 105, ed. Hardy; also in *Prynne*; and in *Append. to Gir. Camb.*, *Opp.* I. 435.]

\* June 1, 1203, and June 1, 1204, were both in John's 5th year, owing to the shifting of Ascension Day whence that King's years are reckoned. But the document here given must have preceded John's reconciliation with Gi-

raldus on January 5, 1204.

<sup>b</sup> A little higher up the Seine than Rouen and on the opposite bank of the river.

<sup>c</sup> Added from the next document.

A.D. 1203. *June 1. Pont de l'Arche. Carta Brieni de Ely.*—JOHANNES DEI GRATIA etc. [*"Brieno de Ely clerico nostro;"* identical in terms with the preceding grant, *mutatis mutandis.*]—[*Charter Rolls ib.*, in *Hardy ib.*]

Commission to renew the enquiry respecting the metropolitan-ship and to take evidence.

iv. A.D. 1203. *June 18. Ferentinum. Innocent III. to the Bishop of Durham and the Dean and Prior of York.*—

INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri Dunelmensi Episcopo, et dilectis filiis Decano et Priori Sanctæ Trinitatis Eboracensis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum olim dilectus filius Giraldus, Archidiaconus Menevensis, adversus venerabilem fratrem nostrum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum super statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ proposuisset in nostra et fratrum nostrorum audientia quæstionem; Archiepiscopo ipsi per literas nostras dedimus in mandatis, ut per se vel procuratorem idoneum ad præsentiam nostram super hoc accederet responsurus. Verum cum ipse nec venisset nec misisset propter hoc idoneum responsalem, volentes Menevensi Ecclesiæ paterna sollicitudine providere, causam super hoc venerabili fratri nostro Episcopo Eliensi, et dilectis filiis Londoniensi Decano et Archidiacono de Bukingham, sub certa forma duximus committendam; a quibus non fuit hactenus juxta mandatum nostrum in ipsa processum. Ne igitur causa ipsa remaneat indecisa, Discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus, nisi pars adversa prædictum Archidiaconum per exceptionem legitimam repellere valeat ab agendo, partibus (si fieri poterit) vel procuratoribus earum ad locum idoneum et securum per nuncios vestros et literas convocatis, et lite legitime contestata, testes quos Archiepiscopus duxerit producendos in Anglia, et Archidiaconus producere voluerit contra eum in Wallia, recipere procuratis. Verum si Archiepiscopus, citatus legitime, coram vobis per se vel procuratorem idoneum noluerit comparere, aut litem etiam contestari, vos nihilominus senes et valetudinarios, quos Archidiaconus per se vel procuratorem suum duxerit producendos, sublato cujuslibet contradictionis et appellationis obstaculo, admittatis; et depositiones eorum conscriptas, et vestris sigillis inclusas, ad sedem curetis Apostolicam destinare; statuantes partibus peremptorium terminum competentem, quo per se vel responsales idoneos vestro se conspectui repræsentent justiciam recepturæ. Testes autem qui fuerint nominati, si se gratia, odio, vel timore, subtraxerint, per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione cessante cogatis veritati testimonium perhibere; nullis literis veritati et justitiæ præjudicantibus a sede Apostolica impetratis. Quod si non omnes his exsequendis potueritis interesse, tu ea, frater Episcopo, cum eorum altero nihilominus

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exsequaris. Datum Ferentini, XIV. cal. Julii, pontificatus nostri anno VI. [*Gir. Camb., De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. V.; Opp. III. 282-284.*]

\* Demanded by Giraldus the day after the adverse decision in his own case, i. e. upon April 16, the judges at his request being taken "de Eboracensi provincia" (ib. pp. 270, 271).

A.D. 1203. *June 20. Ferentinum. Same to same.*—IN-  
 NOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili*  
*fratri Episcopo Dunelmensi, et dilectis filiis Decano et Priori*  
*S. Trinitatis Eboracensis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedic-  
 tionem. Quantum venerabili fratri nostro Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo  
 super expensis, quas dilectus filius Archidiaconus Menevensis prima et  
 secunda vice fecisse dinoscitur, deferre curavimus, ignorare non debet  
 Prudentia vestra. Nuper enim, cum CCXL. marcas idem Archidiacono  
 se juraverit expendisse, ipseque Archiepiscopus ad solutionem me-  
 dietatis illius pecuniæ teneatur; eum nonnisi in LX. marcis duximus  
 condemnandum. Propter quod ipsi dedimus in mandatis, monentes  
 et hortantes attentius, ut in hac parte gratiam recognoscens sine  
 dilatione qualibet mandatum nostrum super hoc adimplere non  
 tardet, eidem Archidiacono LX. marcas infra XL. dies post suscep-  
 tionem præsentium pro expensis solvens. Ideoque Discretioni vestræ  
 per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus, dicto Archiepiscopo in  
 executione mandati nostri cessante, vos eum ad id per districtiorem  
 ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compellatis. Quod si non  
 omnes his exsequendis potueritis interesse, tu, frater Episcopo, cum  
 eorum altero ea nihilominus exsequaris. Datum Ferentini, XII. cal.  
 Julii, pontificatus nostri anno VI. \* [*Id., ib. 284; and De Invect. III.*  
*17; ib. 70, 71.*]

\* This decree was founded on a long memo-  
 rial presented to the Pope by Giraldus between  
 April 16 and June 20 (*De J. et S. Menev. Eccl.,*

*Dist. V.; Opp. III. 274-277*), which contains  
 nothing that need be given here.

v. A.D. 1203. *Beginning of August. Rouen. Protest of*  
*Giraldus to the Bishop of Ely*.\*—Audivimus canonicos  
 Menevenses de electione tractasse, et ad nominatio-  
 nem quoque faciendam, nobis non expectatis, immo  
 quasi captata absentia nostra, præpropere nimis et in-  
 discrete processisse; præsertim etiam cum priores electiones cas-  
 satas fuisse, priusquam ad novam faciendam prosilirent, debuisset eis

Appeals against  
 an election made  
 by the Arch-  
 bishop and the  
 Chapter on hear-  
 ing the Pope's  
 decision.



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per literas domini Papæ vel saltem literas judicum sibi directas constare. Unde, quoniam minus legitime minusque discrete actum esse dinoscitur, ne juxta nominationem sic factam procedatur ad electionem, appellamus. Item hi clerici, quos hic videmus paratos, ut dicunt, ad electionem pro capitulo Menevensi faciendam, canonici non sunt. Unus enim filio suo præbendam cessit; et alter præbendam, a nobis auctoritate Apostolica datam, per sæcularem potestatem violenter invasit. Item est etiam excommunicatus noster uterque. Quare electionem, si alia suppetere, facere non possent. Item tantum unus judicum adest, altero se non excusante nec vices suas committente. Item nullus trium illorum nominatorum est ad eligendum idoneus; quoniam unus eorum illiteratus, alter illegitimatus, tertius autem criminum multorum enormitate reprobatus. Sic ergo, ne vel isti eligant vel illi eligantur, prædictis rationibus appellamus. [*Id.*, *De f. et S. Menev. Eccl.*, *Dist. V.*; *Opp. III.* 300, 301.]

<sup>a</sup> Giraldus left Rome at the end of June; and after various perils by the way, found himself at Rouen just in time, by the aid of the Bishop of Ely (one of the Commissioners for a new election), to stop by the above protest the consum-

mation by the King of an election, recently made by the Archbishop's means in England without waiting for those Commissioners. He proceeded thence in all haste to Canterbury, to be there by August 17 (*Id.*, *ib.* 289-304).

VI. A.D. 1203, *August*—A.D. 1204, *January*. *Final defeat of Giraldus.*

- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| i. Giraldus renews his protest, 1. at Canterbury   | Aug. 24, 1203.           |
| 2. by letter to Hubert   | Aug. (after 24th), 1203. |
| ii. He foils his Welsh adversaries in Wales  | Sept. 1203.              |
| iii. Proceedings of King John and the Archbishop touching a new election   | Sept. 1203.              |
| iv. Giraldus appears and protests at Waltham Oct. 28, and at Lambeth Nov. 5, 1203, but finally consents at Westminster to the election of Geoffrey de Henelawe | Nov. 10, 1203.           |
| v. Final compromise between the Archbishop and Giraldus, and consecration of Geoffrey  | Dec. 7, 1203.            |
| vi. King John reconciled to Giraldus   | Jan. 5, 1204.            |

Protests again in Canterbury Cathedral before the suffragans <sup>b</sup> of Canterbury at the consecration of the Bishop of  
 i. GIR. CAMB., *De f. et S. Menev. Eccl.*, *Dist. VI.* [A.D. 1203. *Aug. 24<sup>a</sup>*].—Ibidem etiam priusquam ab ecclesia discederent, coram Episcopis cunctis et officialibus Archiepiscopi totoque clero Giraldus Archidiaconus appellationem suam coram Eliensi Episcopo factam in

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Lincoln, the Normannia renovavit, rationes easdem replicando, et Archbishop being absent. singulos tres nominatos singulorum criminum objectione reprobando. [Opp. III. 305.]

\* "Dominica proxima post Assumptionem Beate Mariæ," *Id.*, *ib.*; i. e. Aug. 17, that feast being in 1203 on a Friday. But the consecration actually took place Aug. 24 (*Chron. Wykes, Merton, and P. R. C.*). Giraldus had made haste

to be at Canterbury by the day, no doubt Aug. 17, when he had heard that the Bishop was "to be consecrated."

<sup>b</sup> Except the Bishops of Llandaff and S. Asaph, who sent excuses and consent.

Renews his protest by letter to the Archbishop himself. A.D. 1203. Aug. (after the 24th). (Probably at) Oxford. *Giraldus to Archbishop Hubert.*—*Venerabili domino et patri Huberto Dei gratia Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo* GIRALDUS

ARCHIDIACONUS DE BRECHENE salutem. Notum facimus vestri Paternitati, quod appellationem, quam in Normannia fecimus coram domino Eliensi Episcopo iudice nostro, et postmodum Cantuariæ coram Episcopis et suffraganeis et officialibus vestris, qui consecrationi domini Lincolnensis intererant, et nunc quoque coram vobis tam literis his præsentibus quam etiam viva voce nostrorum palam et publice renovamus; prohibentes et præsentiam domini Papæ constanter appellantes, ne ad aliquam nominationem vel electionem procedatur, priusquam literæ iudicum, quibus electionis faciendæ commissa est provisio juxta formam mandati Apostolici, capitulo Menevensi transmissæ fuerint, vel etiam citra præsentiam meam vel assensum, qui canonicus sum Ecclesiæ illius et Archidiaconus et custos etiam a domino Papa constitutus. Præcipue quidem appellamus, ne de quoquam illorum trium nunc nominatorum, cum illegitimæ personæ sint ad eligendum, electio fiat. Abbas enim S. Dogmaelis illiteratus omnino est, sicut tam per iudicum relationem quam per testes etiam suæ partis quinque vel sex Romæ probatum est; et ambitiosus, qui post electionem meam, quam non ignoravit necdum cassatam, se supereligi consensit et superintrudi. Administrationem etiam Episcopatus laica manu suscepit nondum confirmatus, sicut etiam testes suæ partis plures probaverunt; et eum, qui ipsam auctoritate domini Papæ possedit, inde spoliavit. Abbas autem Albæ Domus illegitime natus et ambitiosissimus, et ad hoc domus suæ dilapidator et destructor effectus. R. vero Foliotus, qui paulo ante puer impurus, nunc adultus in omnem libidinem pronus ac profluus, et teste prole recente et adhuc in cunis vagiente sexus utriusque creberrima incontinentissimus; ad hæc etiam perjurus Ecclesiæ suæ et hostis publicus; quare nec in ea promoveri debet ullatenus, nec

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etiam in aliquam beneficii ejusdem portionem dimitti, qui libertatem ipsius et dignitatem totis nuper impugnare nisibus non erubuit. Hæc autem singula probare parati erimus locis et temporibus suis. Unde, ne aliquis illorum eligatur, aut si eligi forte præsumeretur, ne confirmatio vestra sequatur, appellamus. Valeat in Domino Paternitas vestra. [*Id.*, *ib.* 305-307.]

We shall proceed to sentence and execution upon Sept. 20 in the church of Llanduw, in Brecknock, unless you satisfy the plaintiff's claims before.

ii. A.D. 1203. *Sept. Monition of Abbat of Wigmore, Prior of Wenlock, and A. de Bromfield, by their deputies, to Giraldu<sup>a</sup>.—Viro venerabili Giraldo Archidiacono de Brechene, G. DE LANTHONET ET I. DE BRECHENE PRIORES, salutem in Domino. Quia ad diem præfixum in capella S. Mariæ de Cruco-hel executioni faciendæ, a viris venerabilibus abbate de Wigmore et priore de Weneloch et magistro A. de Brumfelda nobis commissæ, de centum marcis, in quibus auctoritate Apostolica abbati de Sancto Domuele, et de XL. marcis O. Archidiacono de Kermerthin, et de XXX. marcis magistro R. Foliot, vos condemnauerunt, præsentiam vestram exhibere non curastis; licet non minus in executione processisse potuissemus, tamen de benignitate vos duximus commonere, quatinus quam celerius præfatis petitoribus plenius satisfaciatis; scituri, quod nisi feceritis, nos auctoritate præfatorum judicum in vigilia S. Matthæi Apostoli in ecclesia de Landu, quod nobis ab eis injunctum est, plenius exsequemur. Valete. [*Id.*, *ib.* 308.]*

<sup>a</sup> Two writs were served upon Giraldu; the first, the day after he arrived in Wales from Canterbury, which he evaded by changing his proctors: the second, given above, where he had evaded the intended execution by a pretended sale, sometime in the previous year when he was under a vow of going to the Crusade, of the farm produce which the Abbat and his colleagues intended to seize. The alleged purchasers sold it forthwith, and the officers arrived

in time to find empty barns. The monition above given followed; but immediately after, the jurisdiction of the three commissioners in the matter was quashed by receipt of the letter given above on pp. 438, 439 (*Id.*, *ib.* 307-309). At S. David's, whither Giraldu then went, he is almost entirely disowned, and retires to Pembroke, where he holds a synod of clergy at Carew on Sept. 25 (*Id.*, *ib.* 309-315).

Oppose Giraldu as our enemy. iii. A.D. 1203. *Sept. 11. Trianon (?) King John to his liege subjects in the Bishopric of S. David's.—REX, etc., omnibus baronibus et fidelibus per Episcopatum Menevensem constitutis, etc. Quot et quantis machinationibus nos et jura nostra opprimere, et dignitatem coronæ nostræ expugnare, et regni nostri consuetudines ab antiquis temporibus in electionibus Episcoporum optentas G. Archidiaconus de Brecheino pro posse laboraverit extingueri, tam*

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in curia Romana quam alibi, satis norunt universi. Per eum etiam non stetit, quin pravis suggestionibus ejus et dilationibus malitiosis et venenosis, non solum pax partium vestrarum immo totius regni nostri tranquillitas turbaretur; maxime cum inimicis nostris nequiter communicando talia confi[n]xerit, quæ nobis et regno nostro manifestum importarent dispendium, si iniquitas ejus prævaleat et pro voto processisset in actum. Unde non [im]merito ipsum inter inimicos nostros duximus numerandum; vobis et omnibus nos diligentibus mandantes et districte prohibentes, ne ejus promotioni aliquo modo consentiatis, immo ejus promotionem pro posse impediatis. Non enim justum est, quod ille a fidelibus nostris diligatur vel promoveatur, qui in damnum et dispendium dignitatis regiæ et pacis regni perturbationem an[h]elat.

Teste me ipso apud Triasnum<sup>a</sup>, XI. die Septembris. [*Patent Rolls* 5 *Job.*, memb. 7, No. 32, I. 34 Hardy; also in *Prynne, Records*, II. 237; and *App. to Gir. Camb. Opp.* I. 434.]

<sup>a</sup> This place must lie near Lisieux and Montfort, according to the dates of other documents of King John at the same period.

[A.D. 1203. *Middle of September.*]—Interim autem literæ venerunt judicum, Eliensis scilicet et Wigorniensis, capitulo Menevensi directæ, super electione de novo faciendâ, tam per nuncios Archidiaconi de partibus transmarinis, quam etiam Archiepiscopi; qui totis nisibus negotium accelerare contendit, quatinus infra duos menses post literarum susceptionem a capitulo, quod ex toto corruerat et deceperat, electio fieret; alioquin sciens a judicibus juxta mandati formam Apostolici pastorem Menevensi Ecclesiæ judicum arbitrio præficiendum. Proinde et per literas tam Justiciarii quam suas capitulo diem eligendi coram ipsis in Angliâ, brevem admodum et arctum valde, præfixit; et ut ipsos etiam animaret ad veniendum, per literas deceptorias tam Justiciarii quam suas, promissiones antea factas super electione de quolibet sive de gremio Ecclesiæ suæ sive aliunde, excepto Giraldo Archidiacono solo, renovare curavit. [*Gir. Camb., De J. et S. Menev. Eccl., Dist. VI.; Opp. III.* 315, 316.]

Renewed protest of Giraldus at Waltham and at Lambeth. iv. [A.D. 1203. *Oct. 28<sup>a</sup>.*]—Sic itaque Giraldus, contra casus adversos tali providentia præmunitus et armatus, de Wallia in Angliam usque Londonias et Exessiam

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longis dietis et continuis acceleravit; ubi et Archiepiscopum inveniens apud Waltham, et canonicos Menevenses illuc convocatos, audacter intravit; et appellationem toties literis et nunciis factam, ne citra assensum ipsius ullatenus aut de quoquam trium illorum nominatorum electio fieret, in publica audientia renovavit .....

[*Nov. 5.*]—Feria itaque quarta ante festum S. Martini mane ad Archiepiscopum accedens apud Lammeiam, primum appellationes super electione præter assensum ipsius atque præsentiam non facienda publice renovavit; postmodum ad Justiciarium apud Westmonasterium ex altera ripæ parte transnavigavit. [*Id., ib. 318, 319.*]

\* Eight days before the protest at Lambeth (*Id., ib.*).

He acquiesces,  
Nov. 10, in the  
election of Geoffrey of Henelawe,  
Abbat of Llantonny.

[A.D. 1203. *Nov. 10<sup>a</sup>.*]—Mane vero feria secunda et S. Martini vigilia cum loco præscripto convenissent, Justiciarius iterum priorem Lantonix<sup>a</sup> nominandum totis suadere nisibus non cessavit. In hunc etenim promovendum Archiepiscopi simul et Justiciarii tunc vota concurrerant. Ille namque medicum suum promovere, iste vero prioratum Lantoniz genero suo Henrico de Boum vacantem reddere contendebat. Porro quoniam Archidiaconus ad consensum induci non potuit, cæteri canonici Menevenses, spe fraudati, ad postulandum virum prædictum tam prece quam pretio, præmiis quoque tam præmissis quam promissis, sunt allecti. Quo facto, et a Justiciario, sicut moris est in Anglia, concesso, quanquam Archidiacono contradicente et appellante, cæteri vocibus altis in canticum laudis eruperunt. [*Id., ib. 321, 322.*]

\* Nov. 6-9 was employed in fruitless negotiations between the Justiciary and the Canons of S. David's on the one hand and Giraldus on the other. Upon the election of Geoffrey on the 10th, Giraldus at once appealed, but on reflection withdrew his appeal and gave in (*ib.*

319-323). The date of Geoffrey's Profession seems to shew that the Archbishop was simply leading Giraldus blindfold all the while, Geoffrey being elected and making his Profession three days before Nov. 10, unless indeed the *November* of the Profession be a mistake for *December*.

Compromise between the Archbishop and Giraldus.

v. [A.D. 1203. *Dec. 7. London.*]—Cum ergo ad hoc die statuto, scilicet in crastino sancti Nicholai, Londoniis convenirent, quo tunc non solum prænominati Episcopi duo<sup>a</sup> sed et cuncti fere suffraganei propter electum Menevensem consecrandum fuerant convocati, inprimis ad pacem formandam inter Archiepiscopum et Archidiaconum prædicti Episcopi duo sunt conversi. Post varias itaque deliberationes et consilia multa, demum, quoniam in quæstione status solus exstiterat, quia nec Ecclesia sua

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cum ipso stabat, nec curiæ Romanæ, sicut expertus jam fuerat, inniti poterat, ad supersedendum huic causæ, quamdiu vixerit Archiepiscopus iste tam pecuniosus et tam potens, Archidiaconum induxerunt. Archiepiscopum autem prætaxatam a Papa pecuniam expensarum nomine Archidiacono solvere compulerunt. Ad hæc etiam, ut obligator ei foret Archidiaconus, et ob hoc ipse de illo securior, LX. marcarum redditus ecclesiasticos ut ei conferret, in fide consuluerunt. Quorum monitis obtemperans et consiliis, partem quidem fideliter absolvit, partem vero non longe post morte præventus persolvere non potuit. [*Id., ib. 323, 324.*]

\* The two Bishops were Eustace of Ely and William of London, respectively asked by the Archdeacon and the Archbishop to act as arbi-

ters. The Archbishop also consented to transfer Giraldu's Archdeaconry and Prebend, which he forthwith resigned, to his nephew (*Id., ib. 325*).

[*Same date and place.*].—His igitur ita peractis, cum ad consecrandum electum suum Archiepiscopus accederet, primo convocatis suffraganeis et Archidiacono Giraldo a iudicibus super electione de novo facienda a domino Papa constitutis, Eliensi scilicet Eustachio et Wigorniensi Malgero, porrectæ sunt literæ, quæ superius inter alias postremo impetratas poterunt inveniri. In clausula quasi penultima per operam Giraldu apposita præcepit Papa iudicibus, quatinus provideant, ne ab electo Menevensi cautio præstetur, quo minus Ecclesiæ jura prosequi possit. Lectis autem literis ex parte domini Papæ, iudices præceperunt tam Archiepiscopo ne talem cautionem exigeret, quam etiam electo quod non exhiberet. Quibus ita completis, rite et absque impedimento celebrata est consecratio. [*Id., ib. 324.*]

\* For the consecration, see also *Gervas.* 1681, and *P. R. C.* The *Ann. Camb.* in one MS. date it on S. Nicholas' day, i. e. Dec. 6, 1203; but in another, have the right day but the wrong year, viz. Dec. 7, 1204. The 7th was a Sunday in 1203. Geoffrey's Profession is in terms almost identical with that of his predecessor Peter, save that it is not repeated; and both alike differ from that of David in 1148, and revert to the common form for all Bishops. The only peculiarity is a statement appended to Geoffrey's, to the effect, that "Hæc professio

facta est VII. idus Nov. in capella Sæe Katarine apud Westm. astantibus et cooperantibus W[illelmo] London. Ep[iscop]o, G[ilberto] Roffensi W[illelmo] Lincoln., Henr. Exon., Malg[ero] Wigorn., Mauric. Dorcacensi" [*leg.* Corracensi = Cork]. —Nov. 7 was three days before that election of Geoffrey of which Giraldu was cognizant; but Geoffrey's Profession runs nevertheless, "Ego Galfridus Menev. Eocl. electus." The witnesses to it were his consecrators, and it is not impossible that for November, in that Profession, we should read December.

[A.D. 1203. Dec.] Letter of thanks from Chapter of S. David's to Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury for confirmation of Bishop elect, and petition for consecration (in the Canterbury Archives, described in *Wharton's MSS.*, Lambeth 582, No. 95).

The King is reconciled to Giraldus.

vi. A.D. 1204. *January 5. Oxford. King John to his liege subjects of the see of S. David's.*—*REX, etc., omnibus baronibus, etc. Menevensis, etc.* Sciatis venerabilem [patrem] nostrum dominum H. Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum recepissee in gratiam et familiaritatem suam magistrum G., et nos similiter ad instantiam ejusdem Archiepiscopi; unde vobis mandamus et præcipimus, quatinus illum et suos protegatis et manuteneatis, etc. Nolumus etiam quod propter iram aliquam, aut inimicitiam præteritam, aliquid mali ei vel suis inferatur. Teste me ipso apud Oxoniam, V. die Januarii. [*Patent Rolls 5 Job., memb. 4, num. 10, I. 37 Hardy; and in App. to Gir. Camb. Opp. I. 434, 435.*]

Utter defeat of Giraldus.

GERVAS., *Actt. Pontiff. Cant.*—Controversiam, quam in odium et contemptum Archiepiscopi suscitaverat Giraldus Menevensis Archidiaconus, ipse Archiepiscopus prudentissime redegit ad nihilum; ut ipse Giraldus, qui paulo ante Menevensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopus esse volebat et Ecclesiæ Cantuariensi subjectionem debitam septem Episcoporum subtrahere moliebatur, ad pedes Archiepiscopi pronus accederet, satisfaciens humiliter de tam iniqua præsumptione; et eidem Archiepiscopo suum resignavit Archidiaconatum. Archiepiscopus autem post temporis intervallum eidem G. dedit ecclesiam XXV. marcarum, et clericus Archiepiscopi juratus factus est qui ante fuerat hostis iniquus. Et quia idem G. Menevensis Ecclesiæ in curia Romana se dicebat electum, hoc ipsum cassavit Archiepiscopus, et alium sacravit canonice electum. Dicant alii quod voluerint de operibus Huberti; ego istud maximum censeo, quod Episcopos septem in subjectione retinuit Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ, et rebellem Girardi contrivit astutiam. [*Twysd. 1682.*]

A.D. 1207. Nov. 19. *Rome. Bull of Pope Innocent III., desiring the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to promulgate his sentence of Interdict in certain Churches.*

Churches of Wales subject to Canterbury.

INNOCENTIUS, etc. .... Et quoniam in prioribus literis de Ecclesiis in Wallia constitutis non fecimus mentionem; volumus et mandamus, ut similiter in eas auctoritate præsentium, sublato cujuslibet contradictionis et appellationis obstaculo, procedatis: cum et ipsæ Cant. metropoli sunt subjectæ.

## [CONFERENCE AT NORTHAMPTON.]

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, XIII. cal. Dec., pontif. nostri anno decimo<sup>a</sup>. [*Wilk. I.* 524; and below in its place at length, under English Church.]

<sup>a</sup> The previous Bull, dated on the same day, enjoining obedience to Langton as Archbishop, is addressed "ad Episcopos Angliæ et Walliæ" (ib. 523); but in the earlier Bulls of the same series, there is no special mention of Wales. The interdict was actually imposed, and apparently in Wales also, in A.D. 1208, March 23 (*Ann. Camb.*, p. 66, ed. Williams; March 30, according to the Chronicle in *Areh. Camb.*, 3rd Series, VIII. 277). Writs were issued to the sheriffs of England, dated Aug. 31,

1213, at Northampton, to assess the damages sustained by the several Bishops during the interdict; which include one for see of Llandaff, to "Ricardus Flandrensis de Glamorgan" and "Walterus de Sulye," and one for S. David's, to "Thomas de Landa" and "Willelmus de Barry," but none for Bangor or S. Asaph (*Close Rolls 15 Joh.*, P. II. memb. 8 verso, f. 164 b Hardy; also in *Brady, App. 121; Bymer, I.* 114; *Prynne, II.* 280, 281).

A.D. 1211. August 30. Northampton. Conference of Pandulph the Papal Envoy with John King of England.

The legate's sentence to be executed in Wales by the Welsh Bishops. ANN. WAVERL., in an. 1212<sup>a</sup>.—[These Annals quote the account of the conference of Northampton, held "die Martis proxima post festum S. Bartholomæi," from the *Ann. de Burton*, but interpolate in that account as follows—] Et in Scotia Roffensi et Salesbiriensi Episcopis jam nos [Pandulfus] commisimus exequendum; et in Wallia tribus presentibus Episcopis Walensibus<sup>b</sup>. [270 Luard.]

<sup>a</sup> See also *Ann. de Margan*, in an. 1211, pp. 30, 31 Luard; and *Wilk.*, I. 531.

<sup>b</sup> These must have been S. David's, Llandaff, S. Asaph. For Robert of Bangor, who had been taken prisoner at the capture of Bangor by John in 1211, "in ecclesia Bangorensi ante altare Episcopalis indutum, . . . quod ad eum venire

noluit" (*Ann. Menov.*, in *Wharton A. S.*, II. 650), and ransomed for 200 hawks (*Brut y Tywysog.*, in an. 1210), died in 1211 (ib. in an.), 1212 (*Ann. Ecol. Wigorn.* and *Ann. de Theokesb.*). Llywelyn recovered in 1212 all he had lost in 1211 (*Ann. de Margan*).

A.D. 1212. Welsh released from the Interdict, and absolved from Oath of Allegiance to King John.

ANN. WAVERL., in an. 1212.—Hoc anno absoluta est Wallia ab interdicto<sup>a</sup>, et a iugo servitutis domini Johannis Regis Angliæ; et etiam præceptum tale accepit, ut eum non quasi filium sanctæ Ecclesiæ, sed sicut inimicum, constituta prædecessorum suorum adnihilantem, totis viribus oppugnaret. [268 Luard. And so also the *Brut y Tywysog.*, in an. 1212, p. 272 ed. Williams.]

<sup>a</sup> The interdict was not removed from England until 1214 (July 2, *Rad. Coggesh.* in an.; June 29, *M. Paris*). The Chronicle in

*Areh. Camb.*, 3rd Series, VIII. 277, calls it "interdictum septenne."



[ENGLISH NOMINEE CONSECRATED TO THE SEE OF BANGOR.]

A.D. 1214. *Oct.* Excuse of H. Llandaff for not being present at the consecration of the Bishops of Worcester and Exeter, "Dominica post festum B. Michaelis [Oct. 5] apud Cantuar., impeditus per visitationem Nic. Tusculan. Episcopi, legati, in diocesi sua" (Canterbury Archives, described in *Wharton's MSS.*, Lambeth 582, No. 100).

A.D. 1215. *January-June.* *English nominee consecrated to the see of Bangor.*

I. BRUT Y TYWYSOG., *in an.*— That year Iorwerth abbat of Y ulwydyn honno y gwnaethpwy Tal y Llycheu was made Bishop Iorwoerth abat Tal y Llycheu yn of Menevia, and Cadwgan of Escob ym Mynyw, a Chadwgawn Llandyfai abbat of Whitland<sup>a</sup> Llan Dyffei abat y Ty Gwynn<sup>a</sup> was made Bishop of Bangor. [*ib.* yn Escob ymangor. [p. 284 ed. p. 285.] Williams.]

<sup>a</sup> Another reading makes him "abbat of Llandevid."

II. P. R. C. *Feb. 26.*—Ego Ca \* \* \* humilis Ecclesiæ Bangor electus promitto tibi, reverende Pater Stephane, et successoribus tuis, atque matri Ecclesiæ Cantuar., debitam subjectionem atque obedientiam secundum instituta sanctorum patrum. ✠ Et propria manu subscribo ✠. Hæc professio facta est apud Oxenefordiam IIII. kal. Marcii in ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ de Oseneia. [*Reg. Prior. et Convent. Cant., no. I.*]

<sup>a</sup> Martin brother of the Abbat of Blanchland is repeatedly spoken of by Girald. Cambr. about the year 1200. There is nothing unlikely in the supposition that he had succeeded his brother

in the Abbacy before 1215. "Episcopus Bangorensis" was consecrated June 21, 1215, at Staines (*Ann. Southwark, Cotton MSS., Faust. A. VIII.*).

III. CONGÉ D'ESLIRE. *March 13.* REX dilecto sibi Capitulo Bangorensis Ecclesiæ etc. Litteras vestras clausas suscepimus, continentes in precibus ut licentiam eligendi pastorem vobis concederemus. Et licet hoc facere non consueverimus, tamen ad preces vestras licentiam eligendi quam postulastis vobis concedimus: rogantes, quatinus Abbatam de Alba Landa vobis eligatis in pastorem; et cum eum elegistis, mittatis nobis litteras vestras patentes et testificantes quod ipsum elegistis ad petitionem nostram, et nostram electioni vestre petetis assensum adhiberi. Et in hujus etc. vobis mittimus. Teste meipso

[FREE ELECTION TO THE SEE OF S. DAVID'S.]

apud Sutton., XIII. die Marci anno regni nostri XVI<sup>mo</sup>. [*Rot. Patent.* 16 *Joh. memb.* 5, *num.* 33, I. 130 b Hardy; and in *Prynne*, III. 30.]

IV. ROYAL CONSENT. *April 13. Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi REX* etc. Sciatis quod canonici de Bangor, invocata Spiritus Sancti gratia, unanimiter elegerunt sibi in Episcopum et pastorem laudabilem virum O. Abbatem de Alba Landa. Nos autem huic electioni regium impendentes favorem, Paternitati vestræ supplicamus, rogantes ut eidem electo munus consecrationis inpertiri velitis. Teste meipso apud Oxoniam XIII. die Aprilis. [*ib.* 132 b; and in *Prynne*, III. 30.]

V. ANNAL. ECCLES. WIGORN., *in an.* 1215. *June 21.*—Martinus<sup>a</sup> Abbas Blanch. Land. consecratur in Episcopum Bangorensem XVI.<sup>b</sup> die Junii. [*ap. Wharton*, A. S., I. 482.]

<sup>a</sup> He is called merely "Abbas de Alba Landa" in the *Congé d'Esaire* of King John (as above). But the Royal Consent (as above) calls him "O. Abbas de Alba Landa." He was taken

under the King's protection Dec. 27, 1214 (*ib.*, *memb.* 8, p. 125 b) but without mentioning his name.

<sup>b</sup> *Leg.* XXI.

A.D. 1215. *January-June. Free election to the See of S. David's.*

I. GIR. CAMBR., *De f. et S. Menev. Eccles.*, *Dist. VII.*—Præsule Gaurido rebus humanis exempto<sup>a</sup>, cum pluries canonici Menevenses in ecclesia sua super pastore sibi præficiendo tractatum habuissent, tandem ex ..... temporis occasione nacti audaciam, quoniam et publicam potestatem tunc plurimum enervatam et ecclesiasticam libertatem per Dei gratiam viderant augmentatam, licet ipsos tam literis suis<sup>b</sup> Rex pro Anglico quodam quam etiam viva voce<sup>c</sup> rogasset, necnon et Archiepiscopus illis pro Rege in justis suis petitionibus exaudiendo scripsisset, tamen in purum Walensem eligendum, abbatem scilicet pauperis cœnobii cujusdam in Menevensi diocesi<sup>d</sup>, de ordine Canonico et Prato-monstrato, consenserunt<sup>e</sup>. [*Opp.* III. 361; see also *ib.*, *Dist. I.*, *ib.* 121, and *Brut y Tywysog.*, in *an.* 1215.]

<sup>a</sup> "Galfridus Menevensis Episcopus obiit," in 1214 (*Ann. Camb.*, p. 72 ed. Williams). He had journeyed to Rome in the earlier part of the year, "cum omnibus fere Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Walliæ, Hiberniæ, etc. Episcopis" (*ib.* 71).

<sup>b</sup> See Nos. II. III. below.

<sup>c</sup> The Canons of S. David's attended to elect in presence of King John at London (*Writ for their Expenses*, Jan. 11, 1215, *Close Rolls* 16 *Joh.*, *memb.* 10 *dorso*, I. 182 b Hardy), and again at Rochester (*similar Writ*, March 15, 1215, *ib.* 191 a); the expenses to be paid in the former case by W. Marshall Earl of Pem-

broke the custodian, "de exitibus Episcopatus Menevie;" in the latter, "rationabiles expensas," by the "custodes Epātus Menev.," to be accounted for to the Exchequer.

<sup>d</sup> Tal y Llycheu or Talley, in Caermarthen-shire. The year of its foundation is not recorded (*v. Dugd. Mon.* IV. 161).

<sup>e</sup> John's consent to the election of Iorwerth or Gervasius, at Windsor, June 18, 1215, is in the *Patent Rolls* 17 *Joh.*, *memb.* 23 (p. 143 a), and he was consecrated accordingly by Archbishop Stephen with Bishop Cadwgan of Bangor.

II. *John King of England to Giles Bishop of Hereford.*

Entreat the Chapter of S. David's to elect Hugh Foliot to be their Bishop. A.D. 1215. *January 16. Guildford.*—*REX R. Hereford Episcopo*<sup>a</sup> etc. Quoniam ex fidei magnatum et fidelium nostrorum didicimus testimonio dilectum et fidelem Hugonem Foliot Archidiaconum Salop. magnæ honestatis virum esse, scientia etiam et moribus bene ornatum, necnon Ecclesiæ Menevensi, nobis et regno nostro, utilem; vos attentius rogamus, quatenus pro amore nostro ad Ecclesiam Menevensensem cum literis nostris, quas Capitulo ejusdem Ecclesiæ de memorato H. in Ecclesia promovendo destinamus, accedentes, ipsum Capitulum moneatis et modis omnibus quibus poteritis inducatis, ut huic petitioni meæ favorem præbeant benignum; ut ob meritum hujus nostræ petitionis ab eisdem exauditis<sup>b</sup>, tam in rebus Ecclesiæ suæ alienatis revocandis adjutores, quam in aliis Ecclesiæ suæ negotiis suis promovendis benigni, ipsis existere debeamus. Placeat Discretioni vestræ ita dignitati et honori nostro in promotione præfati fidelis nostri insistere, quod diligentia vestra a nobis merito debeat commendari. Apud Geudef., decimo sexto die Januarii. [*Close Rolls* 16 *Joh.*, *memb.* 10 *dorso*; *I.* 203 *Hardy*; and in *Prynne, Records*, II. 355, 356.]

<sup>a</sup> The Bishop of Hereford at the time was Giles de Braose, ob. Nov. 17, 1215.

<sup>b</sup> So in the orig.

III. *John King of England to the Chapter of S. David's.*

He entreats them to elect Hugh Foliot to be their Bishop. *Same date and place.*—*REX dilectis sibi in Christo Capitulo Menevensis Ecclesiæ* salutem. Quoniam ex fidei magnatum nostrorum didicimus testimonio dilectum et fidelem nostrum Hugonem Foliot Archidiaconum Salop. magnæ honestatis virum esse, scientia etiam et moribus ornatum, necnon Ecclesiæ vestræ et regno nostro utilem; nullis laboribus et expensis nostris parcere volentes, universitatem vestram attentius rogamus, quatenus tam Ecclesiæ vestræ quam nostrum et regni nostri honorem pensantes et utilitatem, ipsum H. in pastorem et Episcopum Ecclesiæ vestræ eligere velitis. Hanc autem petitionem nostram tam benigne exaudire velitis, ut in jure Ecclesiæ vestræ confovendo et negotiis vestris efficaciter promovendo ob meritum præsentis petitionis nostræ exaudita nos benignos et benevolos invenire debeatis. Apud Geudef. [*ib.*, and in *Prynne, ib.* 356.]

A.D. 1215. Jan. 11. London. William Earl of Pembroke to have the temporalities of S. David's "sede vacante," by grant of the Crown.

REX Engelramno de Cigoniis etc. Sciatis quod commisimus dilecto et fideli nostro Willelmo Mariscallo Comiti Penbrochiæ custodiam Episcopatus Meneviæ. Et ideo tibi mandamus, quod omnes terras quæ sunt in ballivo tuo ad prædictum Episcopatum pertinentes eidem Willelmo comiti habere faciatis. Teste ut proximo superius. (sc. "ap. Nov. Templ. London., XI. die Jan. Aº. 16º." 1215.)—[*Rot. Claus.* 16 Feb., I. 182 b. Hardy.]

A.D. 1216. Nov. 11<sup>a</sup>. Council of Bristol. Wales again placed under an Interdict.

ANN. WAVERL., in an. 1216.—Nec multo post Gualo legatus concilium celebravit apud Bristollas in festivitate Sancti Martini, in quo coegit XI. Episcopos Angliæ et Walliæ, qui præsentés erant, et alios prælatos inferioris ordinis, sed et Comites et Barones ac Milites qui convenerant, Henrico Regi fidelitatem jurare. Walliam totam interdixit quia cum Baronibus tenuit. [p. 286 Luard, and *Wilk.*, I. 546.]

<sup>a</sup> Henry III. was crowned at Gloucester Oct. 28, 1216.

A.D. 1217. BRUT Y TYWYSOG. And then there was an universal remission of the interdiction of the churches through the whole kingdom of England and Wales and Ireland. [*ib.* 303.]  
—Ac yna y bu kyffredyn ellygdawt o wahardedigaeth yr eglwysseu drwy holl deyrnas Loegyr a Chymry ac Iwerdon. [p. 302 ed. Williams<sup>a</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> The same Brut (*ib.*) has the following entry under A.D. 1218, referring apparently to the same thing:—

Y ulwydyn rac wyneb y rydhaawd y Gristonogaeth y wyr y Deheu.

The ensuing year Christianity was rendered free to the men of the South.

A.D. 1219. July 11. <sup>a</sup>Shrewsbury. Papal Provision (by Pandulph the Legate) for See of Llandaff.

We have appointed William of Goldclive to the  
*Excellentissimo Domino H. Dei gratia Regi Angliæ, Domino Hiberniæ, Duci Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, et Comiti Andegavi*

[PROVISION BY THE PAPAL LEGATE TO THE SEE OF LLANDAFF.]

see of Llandaff.  
Send your Royal  
Assent.

*via*, PANDULPHUS MISERATIONE DIVINA NORWICENSIS ELECTUS, DOMINO PAPÆ CAMERARIUS, APOSTOLICE SEDIS LEGATUS, salutem. A vestra memoria non credimus excidisse, quatinus dilecti filii canonici Ecclesie Landavensis a vobis et a nobis Ecclesie sue pastorem eligendi licentiam impetrarunt. Verum quia Ecclesia illa diu erat viduata pastore, nec eam volumus diutius pastore carere, dilectum filium Willelmum Priorem de Goldclivia, virum providum et honestum et ut credimus vobis et regno vestro utilem et fidelem, illi Ecclesie providimus et concessimus in pastorem. Ideoque Excellentiam vestram rogandam duximus et monendam, quatinus electioni ipsius regium præbentes assensum, juramentum fidelitatis sicut mos est recipiatis ab ipso. Datum Salopiæ, V. idus Julii. [Ex *bundela Brevium in Turr. Londin. anno 4 Hen. III. memb. 3*, in *Browne Willis, Llandaff, Append. 113, 114*; also in *Prynne, III. 45*.]

\* The 4th Hen. III. would make this date 1220. But William was consecrated with Hugh of Hereford Oct. 27, 1219 (*Ann. Wigorn., Theobald., and P. B. C.*). His predecessor Henry died Nov. 12, 1218. And the MS. Chronicle, 13th century (at the end of the Exchequer

Domesday Book), printed in *Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VIII. 278*, has also the years 1218, 1219, for the two events respectively. The *Additions to the Owston MS. of Lib. Landav.* also give 1218 for Henry's death.

A.D. 1220. Nov. 9. ANN. MENEV.—Nova turris Menevensis ecclesie die Lunæ ante festum Sancti Martini, nemine mortuo vel læso, statim post vespas in ruinam improvisam versa est\*. [ap. *Wharton, A. S., II. 650*.]

\* A chapel to S. Thomas Becket seems to have been built at this time (*Jones and Freeman, S. David's, 150*).

A.D. 1221. Oct. 15. Foundation of the monastery of Glannach al. S. Mary's al. S. Cyriol's al. Penmon, in Anglesey, by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. [*Dugd. Mon., IV. 531*.]

A.D. 1222. About June 11. Oxford. Council held by Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury.

Welsh vicar may receive less than English. *Can. XVI. ....* Statuimus, ut perpetuo vicario ad minus quinque marcarum redditus assignetur, qui scilicet pro quinque marcis dari possit ad firmam: nisi forte in illis partibus Walliæ sit, in quibus propter Ecclesiarum tenuitatem

[EXCOMMUNICATION AND INTERDICT ISSUED AGAINST LLYWELYN.]

minori stipendio vicarii sint contenti. [*Wilk.*, I. 587, and below in its place under the English Church.]

A.D. 1223<sup>a</sup>. *Acta et Statuta in Ecclesia Menevensi per Dominum Gervasium Meneven. Episcopum et Ejusdem Ecclesiæ Capitulum, anno Gratie millesimo CCXXIII.*—Imprimis providimus de præcentore  
 Præcentor, and  
 Use of Sarum, et præcentoria imperpetuum habendis in dicta ecclesia.  
 at S. David's. .... Servitium etiam de Sancta Maria et servitium pro  
 defunctis fiat secundum Ordinale Ecclesiæ Sarum<sup>b</sup>. [*Harl. MSS.* 1249, fol. 2.]

<sup>a</sup> 1125 (*Ann. Menev.* and *Ann. Camb.*).

<sup>b</sup> It does not appear that any other than these two services were to follow the Sarum Use.

A.D. 1223. Oct. 5<sup>a</sup>. *Anagnia. Pope Honorius III. to Walter de Gray Archbishop of York and his Suffragans.*

Excommunicate  
 Llywelyn, and  
 place an interdict  
 on his lands. HONORIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus Archiepiscopo ..... Eboracensi et suffraganeis ejus*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Frequens, sicut intelleximus, nobilis viri Lewelini dicti principis Norwalliæ prævaricatio nil ei aliud quam damnationem et confusionem adducit, cum ita levis factus sit fidei, ut credi ei sicut salutis et famæ prodigo jam non possit.

Sane inter alia carissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus, illustris Rex Angliæ, nuper nobis exposuit, quod nobilis ipse, qui ejus homo ligius esse debet, a primis diebus quibus dominari cœpit in terra prædicta, claræ memoriæ J[ohanni] Regi Angliæ patri suo non timuit rebellare. Qui ad cor tandem reversus, et majores terræ suæ juramento firmarunt, quod prædicto Regi tanquam domino obedirent<sup>b</sup>. Sed dictus nobilis, contra præstitum veniens juramentum, præfatum Regem et regnum infestavit ipsius. Demum vero, mediante dilecto filio nostro G[ualone] titulo Sancti Martini presbytero Cardinali, tunc in partibus illis Apostolicæ sedis legato, prænominatus nobilis a tanto revocatus excessu, facta præfato Regi fidelitate et homagio secundo, juravit se Regem et regnum nullatenus de cetero turbaturum<sup>c</sup>; quem idem Rex ut fortius sibi alliceret, ejus commisit custodiæ quædam castra, quæ ille se fideliter servaturum tertio juramento firmavit. Recepit etiam de manu Regis ipsius castra quædam ad heredes cujusdam nobilis pertinentia, quæ se redditurum ipsis heredibus, quarto

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præstito juramento, promisit<sup>d</sup>. Cum autem tempore legationis venerabilis fratris nostri Pandulfi, nunc Episcopi tunc vero electi Norwicensis, multa de his rursus infregerit<sup>e</sup>; ad ultimum, coram eodem et omnibus fere prælatis et principibus Angliæ, cum ipso Rege componens, quinta vice juravit se deinceps contra fidelitatem eidem Regi debitam non venturum, et per nos tandem obtinuit compositionem hujusmodi confirmari<sup>f</sup>.

Nunc vero idem, tanquam homo prævaricationis assuetus et facilis ad fallendum, se simul et famam et promissa confundens, Regi obedire recusat; et castra sibi ab eo commissa diruens, arma contra ipsum Regem erexit, et ei et ejus fidelibus, præcipue nobili viro W[illelmo] comiti Pembrocensi ballivo regio, guerram movet: a quibus et aliis nequitiis suis desistere noluit, licet ab ipso Rege fuerit, et venerabili fratre nostro Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinali, metropolitano loci, et omnibus fere prælatis et principibus vicinis, attente moni[tus] et rogatus.

Quare, tot et tantis exigentibus culpis notoriis et manifestis ejus offensis, una cum complicibus et fautoribus suis per præfatum metropolitanum et quosdam ejus suffraganeos, quibus injunxerimus ut omnes perturbatores prædicti Regis et regni sui spiritualiter et temporaliter coercerent, auctoritate Apostolica denuntiatus exstitit excommunicationis sententiæ subjacere, ac terræ ipsorum ecclesiastico fuerunt interdicto conclusæ. Unde Rex ipse humiliter postulavit, ut, juxta supplicationem ex parte sua nobis exhibitam, obviare tantæ illius insolentiæ ac sibi et regno suo super hoc consulere digneremur.

Nos igitur, Regis et regni tranquillitatem zelantes et pacem, et multiplicem transgressionem fidei nobilis supradicti merito detestantes, cum in consuetudinem duxisse noscatur fidem frangere seque ad fallendum facilem exhibere, Fraternitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus sententias, quibus præfatus nobilis et fautores sui per antedictos metropolitanum et suffraganeos ejus nuntiati sunt auctoritate Apostolica subijcere, per omnes cathedrales et alias civitatum ac diocesium vestrarum ecclesias, pulsatis campanis et accensis candelis, singulis diebus Dominicis et festivis, sublato cujuslibet appellationis et contradictionis objectu, sollemniter innovantes, terras ipsorum interdicto arctissimo concludatis; ita quod, præter baptismum, poenitentiam, et viaticum in extremis, omnia ibi sacramenta ecclesiastica denegentur; ut nec corpora decedentium

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ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ tradantur. Prælatos quoque ac clericos qui easdem sententias non servaverint, ad nostram faciatis præsentiam, officiis et beneficiis, cum vestris testimonialibus literis venire, suspensos.

Quod si vexatio adhuc eidem non tribuerit intellectum, ut Regi super his satisfactionem congruam non impendat, vos post sex menses a tempore talis interdicti et innovatione sententiarum ipsarum ab homagio et fidelitate ipsius denunciatis ejus subditos absolutos, exponendis bonis suis et suorum, et tantæ iniquitatis auctoribus non nisi personaliter ad sedem Apostolicam veniant absolvendis. Datum Anagninæ, III. nonas Octobris, pontificatus nostri anno octavo. [*Royal Letters, Henry III.*, No. CXCI. ed. Shirley, from *Papal Bulls in Record Office*. Also in *Rymer* (new edit.), I. 180, misdated 1225.]

\* Llywelyn was excommunicated, "quia regnum Angliæ contra protectionem domini Papæ temere perturbavit" (*Ann. de Dunstapli*. in an. 1223, Luard 83). 1223, June 22, a safe-conduct had been sent to Llywelyn to come to Worcester by June 26 (*Rymer*, I. 168): 1223, July 11, open war had broken out (*ib.* 169); 1223, Oct. 8, and again Nov. 8, Llywelyn had yielded (*ib.* 170).

<sup>b</sup> Sc. A.D. 1209. See above on p. 389.

<sup>c</sup> Sc. A.D. 1218. See *ib.*

<sup>d</sup> Sc. A.D. 1218, Oct. 10, by grant dated at Westminster (*Rymer*, I. 152).

\* Two letters of Llywelyn to Pandulf, elect of Norwich and legate, and therefore between November 1218 and May 29, 1222, complaining of English infringements of the peace against himself, are calendared by the Deputy Keeper of the Records, *5th Report*, 1844, p. 78, Nos. 752, 753.

<sup>f</sup> Apparently in A.D. 1221.

A.D. 1224. Sept. 15 and 25. *Shrewsbury*. No other Writs than the King's (Henry III.) to be allowed to run in the lands of the see of S. David's.

REX *Baillivo de Kaermerdin* salutem. Datum est nobis intelligi, quod temporibus H. Regis avi nostri, R. Regis avunculi nostri, et domini J. Regis patris nostri, non solebant alia brevia de cursu de placito terræ currere in terram venerabilis patris Episcopi Menevensis et aliorum infra bailliam vestram nisi brevia ipsorum Regum. Et quia audivimus quod alia brevia de cursu de placito terræ quam nostra de novo currebant ibidem, postquam bailliam illam habuistis, vobis prohibemus quod non permittatis alia brevia de cursu de placito terræ currere ibidem quam nostra. Et si quid per hujusmodi brevia [aliter] quam per nostra ibidem actum fuerit, id stabile esse non permittatis. T. ut supra [sc. apud Salopiam, XV., and repeated XXV., die Sept.].—[*Rot. Claus. anno 8 Hen. III.*, I. 622 a, 647 a Hardy.]



[LLYWELYN AGAIN EXCOMMUNICATED.]

A.D. 1224. BRUT Y TYWYSOG. The ensuing year a convent  
 —Y vlywydyn rac wyneb yd aeth went from the White House to  
 kofeint or Ty Gwyn y bresswy- dwell on the Hill of Lamentation  
 lau [yr brynn wylovus] y Gwyn- at Whitland in Ireland<sup>a</sup>. [*ib.*  
 dir yn Iwerdon<sup>a</sup>. [p. 314, ed. 315.]  
 Williams.]

<sup>a</sup> Mentioned in Ware's list of "Coenobia Cisterciensis" in Ireland, and in *Arohdall, Mon. Hibern.* 79, as Tracton or "De Albo Tractu,"

in co. Cork, founded 1224; which appears under the name of "Alblanda" in a document of Urban V. in 1363 (*Theiner*, p. 326).

A.D. 1229. April 29. Council of Westminster.

Tenth<sup>s</sup> exacted MATT. PARIS., *Hist. Minor*.—Exigebat [Papa Gregorius  
 by the Pope. IX.] decimas omnium rerum mobilium de tota Anglia,  
 Hybernia, et Wallia, ab universis laicis et clericis, ad guerram suam  
 sustinendam quam contra Romanorum Imperatorem susceperat Fre-  
 thericum. [*II.* 315 Madden, and *Wilk.*, I. 622.]

A.D. 1231. June 20. Windsor. Henry III. King of England to Roger  
 Bishop of London.

Meet me at Ox-  
 ford July 13, to  
 consider the pro-  
 priety of excom-  
 municating Llyw-  
 elyn.

REX *Episcopo Londoniensi* salutem. Cum nuper perve-  
 nisset ad nos certa relatio de facto Lewelini, qui in  
 ecclesias de terra nostra irreverenter irruere et eas  
 spoliaré non formidans, per cædes et incendia et depræ-  
 dationes, quæ nequiter commisit in terra nostra, damna non modica  
 nobis et nostris irrogavit; signavimus magistro W. de Herbaldon,  
 Archidiacono de Stowe, officario domini Cantuariensis, et quibus-  
 dam Episcopis de terra nostra, quod essent in occursum nostrum  
 apud Londoniam die Dominica proxima ante festum S. Johannis  
 Baptistæ, ad tractandum ibidem nobiscum de facto prædicto, et  
 providendum qualiter excessus tam enormis per censuram eccle-  
 siasticam condigne puniretur. Postea vero advertentes, quod nego-  
 tium memoratum præsentiam exigebat singulorum et universorum  
 Episcoporum de provincia Cantuariensi, necnon et Landavensis et  
 Menevensis de Episcopis Walliæ, et etiam Justiciarii nostri, et  
 quorundam aliorum fidelium nostrorum, qui tunc præsentés esse non  
 possent ad consilium nobis super prædictis impendendum; diem illum  
 suspendimus, illum prorogantes usque in tres septimanas a Domi-  
 nica prædicta proxima ante festum S. Johannis Baptistæ: ad quem

[LLYWELYN AGAIN RECOMMUNICATED.]

diem mandavimus universis et singulis Episcopis de provincia Cantuariensi, et prædictis Landavensi et Menevensi Episcopis, et officario domini Cantuariensis, quod occurrant nobis apud Oxoniam, et similiter Justiciario nostro, et quibusdam aliis fidelibus nostris, super prædictis nobiscum tractaturi. Paternitatem igitur vestram rogamus attentius, quatenus, sicut nos et honorem nostrum diligitis, nullo modo omittatis quin ad prædictum diem apud Oxoniam nobis occurratis, sufficienter præmuniti qualiter de consilio vestro sit in prædictum L[euelinum] et complices suos pro prædictis excessibus procedendum; ita quod inde Paternitati vestræ grates referre possimus speciales<sup>a</sup>. Teste rege apud Windelsoram XX<sup>o</sup>. die Junii.

Eodem modo scribitur aliis Episcopis de provincia Cantuariensi, et Menevensi et Landavensi Episcopis<sup>b</sup>, et officario Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, et officario Wintoniensis Episcopi. [*Rot. Claus.* 15 Hen. III., memb. 10 dorso; in *Wilk.*, I. 629; and *Shirley's Royal Letters*, no. CCCXXVIII. pp. 400, 401.]

<sup>a</sup> "Apud Oxoniam III. id. Julii [July 13, 1231] ..... Episcopi omnes et alii Ecclesiarum prelati in Regis presentia ipsum Leolinum cum suis fautoribus, ecclesiarum violatorem, sub anathemate concluderunt" (*M. Paris., Hist. Minor.*, p. 332, ed. Madden). Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, who died Aug. 3, 1231, was at Rome at the time of this Council at Oxford; and Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, was in the Holy Land.

<sup>b</sup> These two Bishops had been consecrated just before, both from Wales itself: Elias de Radnor to Llandaff, Dec. 1, 1230 (*Add. to Ouston*

*MS. of Lib. Landav., and Chron. at end of Ezech. Domead., in Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VIII. 278, for the year; and for the day, Ann. de Theokesb. 77 Luard); and Anselm le Gras, a nephew of W. Marshal Earl of Pembroke (Ann. Ecol. Wigorn.), to S. David's, Feb. 9, 1231 (Contin. Gervas., ap. C. C. C. Cantab. 438). Anselm's Profession is of the ordinary type, and contains no special clause. Elias was consecrated at Merton, "monachis Cantuarie reclamantibus et dicentibus quod apud Cantuariam debuit consecrari" (Ann. de Theokesb.). See under A.D. 1240, note <sup>a</sup>.*

A.D. 1236. *Constitutions of Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury*<sup>a</sup>. § XI. —Cum (laicus) in necessitate baptizaverit puerum, ..... si, diligenti præcedente inquisitione, facta sibi fide plena, invenerit (sacerdos) laicum distincte et in forma ecclesiastica baptizasse, sive in Latino sive in Gallico [sive in Wallico<sup>b</sup>] sive in Anglico, approbet factum; sin autem, baptizet puerum dicendo ut supra. [*Wilk.*, I. 636.]

<sup>a</sup> Edmund (with, in the first instance, the Bishops of Coventry and of Rochester) was employed by Henry III. to negotiate a truce with Llywelyn of Gwynedd, June 30, 1234 (in *Rymer*, I. 213, and in *Brady, App.*, pp. 179 sq., and in *Append. to Warrington's Wales*, 586, 587), for two years from July 25 of that year; and again, at Tewkesbury, a truce for one year

from July 25 following, upon July 11 and 12, 1236 (*Letters in Rymer*, 229, 230; *Brady, ib.*; and *Warrington, ib.*, 587, 588).

<sup>b</sup> These words are added in only one MS. Latin, English, and French are alone recognized by W. of Blois Bishop of Worcester in 1229 (*Wilk.*, I. 627), and by Alexander Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1237 (*ib.* 642).

[RESIGNATION OF THE BISHOP OF BANGOR.]

A.D. 1236. ANN. CAMB., in an.—Frater Anianus prædicavit de Cruce in West-Wallia. [p. 82, ed. Williams.]

A.D. 1236. *Resignation of Cadwgan or Martin Bishop of Bangor.*

BRUT Y TYWYSOG., in an.—Y That year Pope Gregory the  
ulwydyn honno y gellygawd y Ninth released Cadwgan the Bi-  
nawvet Gregori Bap Gadwgawn shop of Bangor from his diocese,  
Escob Bangor oe Escobawt, ac y and he was honourably received  
kymerwyt yn enrydedus yny cre- into the white religious society in  
fyd gwynn ymanachlawc Dor, ac the monastery of Dor; and there  
yno y bu varw ac y cladwyt. [p. he died and was buried. [*ib.*, p.  
324, ed. Williams.] 325.]

MADOX, *Formul.*—Notum sit omnibus sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis præsentibus et futuris, quod ego Caducanus Dei gratia Episcopus, minister quondam Bangornensis, in ultima et libera voluntate mea professionem meam feci domino Stephano de Wygornia abbati de Dora, omni propter Deum renuncians proprietati. Dedi insuper et bona voluntate mea contuli, pro salute animæ meæ, dicto monasterio de Dora omnia quæcunque habui, sive in libris sive in equis sive omnino in aliqua re, sine omni reclamacione aliquorum aliorum, in perpetuum. In hujus rei testimonium hiis litteris nostris patentibus sigillum nostrum apposuimus. [pp. 302, 303; and in *Br. Willis, Bangor, Append. IV.* pp. 186, 187.]

A.D. 1236. *March 15. Viterbo. Gregory IX. to the Bishop, Archdeacon, and Dean\*, of Worcester.*

Determine the boundaries of the Welsh sees and those of Hereford diocese. Venerabilis frater noster Herefordensis Episcopus nobis humiliter supplicavit, ut cum inter eum ex parte una, et venerabiles fratres nostros Menevensensem, Landavensem, et de Sancto Asaph Episcopos ex altera, super finibus suorum Episcopatum, quos certi limites non distinguunt, aliquando altercatio sit exorta, remedio super hoc dignaremur occurrere salutari, ut hac occasione suboriri de cætero inter eos dissensionis materiam<sup>b</sup> contingat. Illius ergo exemplo, Qui pacis et non afflictionis consilia cogitat, super hoc providere volentes, Discretioni vestræ mandamus, quatinus, prædictis Episcopis convocatis, et deliberatione cum viris providis et discretis præhabita diligenti, eosdem

[WELSH BISHOP CONSECRATED ELSEWHERE THAN AT CANTERBURY.]

Episcopatus studeatis auctoritate nostra discretione prævia limitare. Quod si non omnes, tu frater Episcopo, etc. Datum Viterbii, idibus Martii anno nono. [*Vatican papers, Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS. 15353, p. 345.*]

\* Possibly the rural Dean, possibly a mistake of the copyist. There was no Dean of Worcester at this time in the later sense of the word. Another letter in the same volume, from Gregory IX. to the Archbishop and the Archdeacon

of Canterbury, bids them warn Llywelyn to keep the peace under pain of excommunication (*anno X. Epist. 62, i. e. between March 1236 and March 1237*).

<sup>b</sup> So in MS. *Leg. "nullo modo contingat."*

A.D. 1237. BRUT Y TYWYSOG. —Ac y henryded hi a ydadeilawd Llywelyn ab Iorwoerth yno vachlawg troetnoeth aelwis Llan Vaes ym Mon. [pp. 324, 326, ed. Williams.]

And in honour of her<sup>a</sup>, Llywelyn, son of Jorwerth, built there a monastery of barefooted monks, which is called Llanvaes in Mona. [*ib. 327.*]

<sup>a</sup> Viz. of Llywelyn's wife Joan, daughter of John of England, who died at Aberfrau, and "was buried in a new cemetery" (al. "consecrated

garden") "on the side of the strand, which Howel Bishop of Llanelwy" (the see of Bangor being vacant) had consecrated (*Brut, B.*).

Before A.D. 1239. Nunnery of Llanllugan in Montgomery founded. [Grant thereto by Hugh or Howel Bishop of S. Asaph, Llanelwy Oct. 10, 1239, in *Br. Willis, S. Asaph, Append. III.*, from *Lib. Rub. Assav.*; and see *Dugd. Mon. V. 735.*]

[A.D. 1240. *Boxgrave or Canterbury.*] *Security given by Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury to the Convent of Canterbury respecting the Consecration of Howel II., Bishop of S. Asaph<sup>a</sup>.*

Right of Chapter of Canterbury, that suffragan Bishops should be consecrated at Canterbury and not elsewhere, not to be prejudiced by consecration of H. of S. Asaph at Boxgrave.

*Universis sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, EDMUNDUS CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS, etc. Cum per libertatem Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis suffraganei ejusdem sine consensu Capituli Cantuariensis alibi quam in ecclesia Cantuariensi nullatenus debeant consecrari: ne consecratio venerabilis fratris H. de Sancto Assaph Episcopi in ecclesia de Boxgrave a nobis celebrata dictæ Ecclesiæ in posterum possit vel debeat præjudicare, consecrationem ipsam in eodem loco de consensu Capituli Cantuariensis fuisse celebratam præsentibus literis nostris protestamur. [Wharton, De Episc. Assav. Append. I., and Br. Willis, S. Asaph, Append. IV.; from Reg. Cant.]*

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\* A like "Cautio" from Edmund, for consecrating the first Howel or Hugo at Reading in 1235, with one to the same effect from that Howel himself, are in the Canterbury archives, according to *Wharton, De Episc. Anav.* And one from Richard of Canterbury A.D. 1230, "de consecrat. Eliæ Landav. Episcopi extra eccles. Cantuar." (sc. Dec. 1, 1230, at Merton), is mentioned in *Wharton's MSS., Lambeth* 582, no. 97: and another from John of Canterbury A.D. 1280 for consecrating Thomas Beck of S. David's (at Lincoln upon

October 6), dated Aug. 1, 1280, *ib.*, no. 96: and two to the same effect and of A.D. 1256, respectively from Dean and Chapter of Llandaff, thanking the Canterbury Chapter for a like licence in the case of William of Radnor, elect of Llandaff, consecrated at S. Paul's Jan. 7, 1257, and from William of Radnor himself, *ib.*, nos. 98, 99; and another from Griffin, elect of Bangor A.D. 1306, consecrated actually upon March 26, 1307, at Cartisle, but described in this document as to be consecrated in the church of S. Mary "in prato" at Leicester, *ib.*, no. 101.

A.D. 1240. *May 15. Gloucester.* [Treaty of peace and homage between Henry III. and David "Princeps Norwalliæ et dominus de Aberfrau," on the Tuesday before S. Dunstan, 24 Henry III., at Gloucester; who] "se submiserunt arbitrio venerabilium patrum O. Sancti Nicholai in carcere Tulliano diaconi Cardinalis Apostolicæ sedis legati, Wigorn. et Norwich. Episcoporum, et nobilis viri R. Comitis Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ fratris ipsius domini Regis, et Johannis de Monemue, ex parte ipsius domini Regis; et venerabilis patris Episcopi de Sancto Asaph, Idenenet Vaghan, et Eynguan Vaghan, ex parte præfati David," etc. [*Rymer, I.* 239, 240; *Warrington, App.* 588, 589.]

A.D. 1241. *Claim by the Crown to the Temporalities of Llandaff, "sede vacante," as against the Lords of Glamorgan.*

I. ABBREV. PLACIT. — Idem [sc. G. Marescall Com. Penbrok.] summonitus fuit eodem die et loco, ad ostendendum, si quod jus habet in custodia Landavensis Ecclesiæ vacantis\*; et ad illud prosequendum si voluerit. Et Comes venit, et dicit quod nichil juris clamat in prædicta custodia nomine suo, nisi ratione terrarum Ricardi de Clare in Glamorgan; quarum custodiam dominus Rex ei vendidit usque ad plenam etatem prædicti Ricardi, unde ipse habet cartam domini Regis. Et unde dicit, quod prædictus Ricardus et alii Barones in provincia illa, vacante sede illius Episcopatus et cujuslibet alterius, debent singuli ipsorum habere custodiam terrarum quæ de ipsis tenentur, salva solummodo domino Regi dignitate Crocie. Et ideo provisum est, quod rotuli cancellariæ queruntur: et si inveniatur quod dominus Rex vendidit Comiti prædictam custodiam, habeat eam secundum quod ei illam vendidit; et si Comes plus sibi attraxerit quam dominus Rex ei vendidit, dominus

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Rex perquiret se versus eum. Præterea provisum fuit, quod, si domino Regi placuerit, fiat inquisicio in partibus Marchiæ per vicarios et ballivos ipsius domini Regis, si Barones Marchiæ, vacantibus sedibus Episcopatum, debeant habere custodiam terrarum Episcopatus que de ipsis tenentur, ita quod domino Regi nichil accrescat nisi solummodo dignitas Crocie<sup>b</sup>. [25 H. III. Rot. 17 *in verso*, p. 109 a. ed. 1811.]

\* Bishop Elias died May 6, 1240 (*Ann. Theob.*), but his actual successor was not consecrated until 1245. "Gulielmus de Christi Ecclesia," elected Bishop of Llandaff after the death of Elias de Radnor (3 id. Maii 1240), resigned sometime before 1244; in which year a Congé d'Êlire issued for the see as vacant "per resignationem Gul. de Christi Ecclesia" (*Pat. 28 Hæc. III. memb. 3*), and his successor W. de Burgo had the Royal Assent July 17, 1244. There is no record of the consecration of Will. of Christ Church. The Excheq. Domesday Chron. (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VIII. 279*) omits the important word, but states that De Burgo was elected, "cassata W. de Christi Ecclesia" [sc. electione], and in mentioning E. de Radnor's death, adds, "cui successit Will. de Burgo." There are three letters of Will. of Christ Church to Ralph Bishop of Chichester, calendared in the 5th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 1844 (p. 79, nos. 775-777), which shew him to have been employed upon the King's business in Wales.

<sup>b</sup> In the additions to the Owston Lib. Landav., there is an account, in Norman French, of the successive Lords of Glamorgan, who held the temporalities of Llandaff, "sede vacante:" drawn up in the 15th century, and already quoted above on A.D. 1126. It is there asserted, after the passage there quoted, that Robert of Gloucester held them between Urban and Uchtred (1134-1140); and William his son, between Uchtred and Nicolas (1148), and again on the death of Nicolas in 1183, in which year William also died himself. It is not stated

to whom they then devolved, from 1183 to the consecration of William of Saltmarsh in 1186: but between William of Saltmarsh and Henry of Abergavenny (1191-1193), they were held by John "de Morteyn" (i. e. [afterwards] King John), in right of his wife Isabella youngest daughter of William of Gloucester; between Henry (who "fist les XIIIJ. prouendres," i. e. prebends) and William of Goldclive (1218, 1219), and again on the death of William in Feb. 1230, by Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester, who had inherited the Earldom and Lordship through the second daughter of William, and who himself died in 1230: and then by Richard de Clare, Gilbert's son, a minor and ward of Henry III., until the consecration of Elias de Radnor in December 1230: by Gilbert le Mareschal Earl of Pembroke as guardian of Earl Richard, between Elias and William de Burgo (1240-1245): and by Richard de Clare in his own right, between W. de Burgo and John de la Ware (1253, 1254), and again between John de la Ware and William de Radnor (1256, 1257): lastly, by Gilbert de Clare, Richard's son and heir, between Will. de Radnor and Will. de Breuse (1265, 1266), and between Will. de Breuse and John of Monmouth (1287-1297).

If this statement be correct, the King must have conceded, not only his particular right of wardship sold to Gilbert Earl of Pembroke, but his general right. But at any rate, Edward I. certainly claimed and vindicated the right of the Crown, in the interval before Bishop John of Monmouth: see below under A.D. 1290, 1295.

II. ANNAL. DE THEOKESB., *in an.* 1243.—Vacante sede Landavensi, et mortuo Mauricio Archidiacono ejusdem loci, agente etiam domino Rege in transmarinis, Ricardus de Clare dominus de Glamorgan auctoritate dominationis suæ dedit Archidiaconatum dicti loci Radulfo de Novo Castro, quibusdam canonicis consentientibus, quibusdam non; qui aliquandiu illum tenuit et proventibus gaudebat. Sed processu temporis per Regios procuratores in Angliâ substitutus est alius et installatus, quod prædictus Radulfus patienter sustinuit,

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nolens aliquam movere controversiam propter dominum suum dictum Ricardum de Clare, qui nondum suscepit saisinam terræ suæ in Anglia. Dictus vero Archidiaconus ordinavit quemdam vicarium in Capella Sancti Johannis de Kardif, ob cujus gravamen R. de Derby, tunc Prior dicti loci, præsentiam domini Papæ appellavit, et ad tuitionem appellationis suæ Capitulum Cantuariæ. Et Henricus Prior noster dictum locum adivit, ut dictam tuitionem ad iudices impetraret, circa festum Sancti Michaelis. [131 Luard.]

A.D. 1241. *Excommunication of David Prince of North Wales by Richard Bishop of Bangor.*

MATT. PARIS., *Hist. Angl.* (in an. 1241).—[David broke faith with the Bishop by keeping his brother Gryffydd in prison,] propter quod facinus Episcopus iste recessit a Wallia, ipso David excommunicato <sup>a</sup>. [p. 569, Wats 1640.]

<sup>a</sup> David surrendered Gryffydd to King Henry III. before Michaelmas 1241 (*M. Paris*, *ib.*).

A.D. 1241. *Aug. 29. Bishops of Bangor and S. Asaph guarantee the submission of David to Henry III.*

I. MATT. PARIS., *Hist. Angl.* (in an. 1244).—[David, Prince of North Wales, binds himself to set free his brother Gryffydd, and also to other terms of submission to Henry III., and that he will render to Henry "omnia homagia quæ dominus Johannes Rex pater suus habuit et quæ dominus Rex de jure habere debet, et specialiter omnium nobilium Wallensium," etc. etc., "apud Alnetum juxta fluvium Elvey de Sancto Asapho in festo Decollationis S. Johannis Baptistæ anno prædicti domini Regis Henrici vigesimo quinto.] ..... Et ad omnia firmiter tenenda ego David juravi super crucem sanctam quam coram me feci deportari. Venerabilis etiam pater Howelus<sup>a</sup>, Episcopus de Sancto Asapho, ad petitionem meam firmiter promisit, in ordine suo, quod hæc omnia prædicta faciet et procurabit modis quibus poterit observari. Edenevet siquidem Wangan [Vaughan] per præceptum meum illud idem juravit super crucem prædictam. Actum ut supra <sup>b</sup>. Præterea concessi pro me et hæredibus meis, quod si ego vel hæredes mei contra pacem domini Regis vel hæredum suorum vel contra articulos prædictos aliquid attentaverimus, tota hæreditas nostra domino Regi et hæredibus suis incurratur. De quibus omnibus et singulis supposui me et hæredes meos

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jurisdictioni Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et Episcoporum Londinensis<sup>c</sup>, Herefordensis, et Coventrensis, qui pro tempore præerunt; quod omnes, vel unus eorum quem dominus Rex ad hoc elegerit, possit nos excommunicare, et terram nostram interdicere, si aliquid contra prædicta attentaverimus. Et procuravi, quod Episcopi de Bangor et de Sancto Asaph chartas suas domino Regi fecerunt, per quas concesserunt quod omnes sententias tam excommunicationis quam interdicti, a prædictis Archiepiscopo, Episcopis, vel aliquo eorum ferendas, ad mandatum eorum exequentur<sup>d</sup>." [pp. 625, 626, Wats. See also p. 570.]

<sup>a</sup> In *Bymer* "Hugo." But both Howels are latinised into "Hugo."

<sup>b</sup> i. e. "apud Alnetum juxta fluvium Elwey de Sancto Asaph, in festo Decollationis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, et crastina die renovatum apud Rothelan. in tentorio domini Regis, anno regni prædicti domini Regis Henrici vicesimo

quinto" (*Bymer*, I. 242, who has the document at length).

<sup>c</sup> *Bymer* adds "Elyensis."

<sup>d</sup> The documents are at length in *Bymer*, I. 242, 243, dated at "Rothelan. in tentorio ipsius domini Regis," Aug. 31.

II. A.D. 1241. *Aug. 31. Rbuddlan*.—DAVID FILIUS LEWELINI QUONDAM PRINCIPIS NORWALLIÆ, salutem. Noverint universitas vestra me spontanea voluntate mea pepigisse domino meo Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ [Regi], quod ego et hæredes mei eidem domino Regi et hæredibus suis omnibus diebus vitæ nostræ constanter et fideliter serviemus etc. Hanc autem pactionem et concessionem sigilli mei appositione roboravi, et ad majorem hujus rei declarationem venerabiles patres Bangorensem<sup>a</sup> et de S. Asaph Episcopi ad petitionem meam præsentī scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt. Actum apud Rothelan. tricesimo primo die Augusti<sup>b</sup>. [*Warrington, Wales, App. p. 594*.]

<sup>a</sup> So in *Warrington*.

<sup>b</sup> The Welsh nobles signed similar "charters," given in *Matt. Paris*, pp. 624, 625, dated either "die Lunæ ante Assumptionem," or "crastino Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ, anno regni

Regis Henrici XXV.," and subjecting themselves "jurisdictioni domini Herefordensis Episcopi et domini Coventrensis et Lath. [leg. Lich.] Episcopi, vel alterius eorum," in case of violation of truce or compact.

A.D. 1244. *David Prince of North Wales intrigues (unsuccessfully) with Pope Innocent IV. to hold his principality of him.*

I. MATT. PARIS., *Hist. Angl.*—Eorum temporum curriculo David princeps North-Walliæ, ..... timens vehementissime impetus Regis Anglorum, contra eum merito commotos, misit ad dominum Papam nuncios solennes; per quos ei significavit, quod se suamque terram



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totam contra Regis Anglorum jus contuendam Ecclesiæ Romanæ resignavit, ipsi tamen David tenendam suisque hæredibus, reddendam inde annuatim quingentas marcas. Et literas super hoc, nacta occasione justitiæ, non sine maximæ pecuniæ effusione, meruit obtinere, sub hac forma:—

*Illustri viro domino Henrico Dei gratia Regi Anglorum etc., ABBATES HABERCONMIÆ ET DE KEMERE CISTERCIENSIS ORDINIS, INQUISITORES DATI A DOMINO PAPA, salutem in Domino. Mandatum domini Papæ recepimus in hæc verba:—*

[A.D. 1244. *July 26. Genoa.*].—INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI *dilectis filiis Abbatibus de Haberkonmia et de Kemere<sup>a</sup>, Cisterciensis Ordinis, Bangorum diocesis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte dilecti filii nostri, nobilis viri David, Principis North-Walliæ, fuit propositum coram nobis, quod cum inter ipsum, quem parentes ejus in alumnum Romanæ Ecclesiæ donaverunt, et charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Regem Anglorum illustrem, bellum longo tempore perdurasset; tandem, postquam fuit in venerabilem fratrem nostrum Episcopum de Sancto Asaph et collegas ipsius de stando hinc inde eorum arbitrio super omnibus querelis, juramento a partibus præstito, concorditer bonis viris mediantibus compromissum, idem Rex, non attendens quod pendente illorum arbitrio sibi super hoc aliquid attentare non licebat, in prædictum Principem ex insperato hostiliter irruit; [et] ad præstandum quod super prædictis, de quibus compromissum fuit et juratum, ac aliis ipsius Regis, mandare per vim compulit, et metum, qui cadere poterat in constantem. Cum igitur ea, quæ vi et metu fiant, carere debeant robore firmitatis, Discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus, inquisita super hoc diligentius veritate, si rem inveneritis ita esse, auctoritate nostra prædictum Principem ab observatione sic extorti juramenti penitus absolventes, sententia, si qua occasione hujusmodi in ejus personam vel terram ab aliquo forsan lata fuerit, juxta formam Ecclesiæ sine difficultate qualibet, sicut justum fuerit, relaxetis. Testes vero, etc. Datum Januæ, septimo calend. Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Hujus igitur auctoritate muniti, vobis mandamus, quatenus in Vigilia Sanctæ Agnetis Virginis<sup>b</sup> apud Keyrus<sup>c</sup> in ecclesia<sup>d</sup> Gustefend coram nobis compareatis, super contentis in autentico dicto Principi responsuri, si vobis videritis expedire.—

Hæc cum ad audientiam domini Regis et suorum magnatum perve-

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nerunt et cito post ad notitiam aliorum principum fama referente pervolarunt, indignati vehementer, ipsum Regem non attendere huiusmodi mandata persuadentes, ad hostile certamen animabant; et ut ipsum David sine dilatione impeteret, accelerabant. Quod cum cognovisset dominus Papa, conniventer hæc omnia dissimulabat, præmio tamen quod acceperat ab ipso David non restituto. [pp. 651, 652, Wats.]

<sup>a</sup> Aberconway and Cymer.

<sup>b</sup> Jan. 20, 1245.

<sup>c</sup> Caerwys, in Flintshire.

<sup>d</sup> Maesmynan near Caerwys was the residence of Owen, David's son. The name in the text rather suggests Llangustenin.

<sup>e</sup> "David volens collum suum de sub iugo fidelitatis domini Regis excutere, ad alas Papalis pro-

tectionis confugit, spondens se tenere Walliæ partem eam contingentem ab ipso Papa" (viz at 500 marks' annual rent). "Cui favit Papa" (*Id.*, *ib.* p. 626). "David, decepta curia domini Papæ, Regem Angliæ fecit ante Snowedone citari, ut sic a subiectione sua possit erui" (*Ann. de Dunstapl.*, in an. 1245; ap. *Ann. Monast.* III. 168).

## II. A.D. 1244. April 8. Lyons. Innocent IV, to the Bishops of Ely and Carlisle.

INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus* [Hugoni] Elien. et [Waltero] Karleolen. Episcopis, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Exposuit nobis dilectus filius magister Laurentius de Sancto Martino, nuncius carissimi in Christo filii nostri [Henrici,] Angliæ Regis illustris, quod nobilis vir David, qui se pro principe Norwalliæ gerit, cujusque progenitores vassalli Regum Angliæ, prædecessorum Regis ipsius, a tempore cujus non extat memoria, extiterunt, nobis falso suggerens quod Romanæ Ecclesiæ a suis parentibus datus fuerat in alumpnum, dictusque Rex eum, quod suis pareret mandatis, jurare compulerat per vim et metum, qui cadere poterat in constantem, ad ..... de Haberonnum et ..... de Keni', abbates Cisterciensis Ordinis, Bangoren. diocæsis, nostras obtinuit litteras destinari, ut eum ab huiusmodi juramento penitus absolventes, interdicti et excommunicationis sententias, siquæ hac occasione in ejus personam vel terram forsitan essent latæ, absque difficultate relaxare curarent. Unde, cum ex hoc ipsi Regi dispendium et eidem regno scandalum possint gravia generari, petiit idem magister super hiis a nobis paterna sollicitudine provideri. Volentes igitur tot imminentibus periculis obviare, Fraternitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus, quicquid per præfatos abbates in huiusmodi negotio dictarum auctoritate litterarum est actum, in irritum revocantes, siquid ulterius per eosdem in negotio ipso attemptari contigerit, denuntietis illud penitus non

Reverse all that the Abbats may have done.

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tenere. Siquid vero juris præfatus David super hiis habere se putat, nos eidem justitiam non negabimus, cum fuerimus requisiti. Quod si non ambo hiis exequendis potueritis interesse, alter vestrum ea nichilominus exequatur. Dat. Lugdun., sexto id. Aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno secundo. (*Sigillo plumbeo a filo canabæ.*)—[*Rymer*, I. 255.]

A.D. 1244. Nov. 29. *Marlborough. Henry III. King of England to Walter Bishop of Worcester.*

Excommunicate David Prince of North Wales, according to compact, for breach of faith. REX, etc., *W[altero] eadem gratia Wigorn. Episcopo,* salutem. Cum David filius Lewelini quondam Principis Norwalliæ submiserit se et omnes alios Walenses qui sibi adhærent et eorum terras jurisdictioni venerabilium patrum Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et quorundam suffraganeorum ipsius, vel aliquorum ex ipsis in solidum, quorum nos ipsi examen eligere vellemus; quod, si a forma pacis inter nos et ipsum initæ aliquando resiliret, liceret eisdem Archiepiscopo et Episcopis, vel quibusdam eorum, quos nos eligeremus, per sententias excommunicationis et interdicti ipsum David et alios Walenses sibi adhærentes coercere, donec ad condignam satisfactionem venirent; et super hoc corporale præstitisset sacramentum: nos, quia prædictus David cum quibusdam complicitibus suis terram nostram et baronum nostrorum, spreta sacramenti sui religione, hostiliter invasit, coercionem super hoc invocavimus venerabilium patrum B[onifacii] Cantuar. electi et P[etri] Hereford. Episcopi. Qui cum profecti sunt ad curiam Romanam, suam vobis jurisdictionem in hac parte, per litteras suas patentes, quas vobis mittimus simul cum transcripto litterarum ipsius David, demandaverunt exequendam. Super quo Paternitatem vestram rogamus, quatinus prædictum David et complices suos et fautores debita feriat, auctoritate prædicta, coercionem; ut super eo, quod contra formam pacis prædictæ inter nos et nostros attemptavit, debitam non effugiat vindictam. Teste apud Marleberg., vicesimo nono die Novembris. [*Close Rolls 29 Hen. III., memb. 18, num. 19 dorso; in Rymer, I. 258; and Prynn, Records, II. 621\*.*]

\* The Welsh Barons also were summoned the morrow of Ash-Wednesday to answer "de homicidiis, incendiis," etc. etc. (*Rymer, ib.*)

[BISHOP OF LLANDAFF EXCUSED FROM ATTENDING THE COUNCIL OF LYONS.]

A.D. 1245. May 20. *Lyons. Bull of Innocent IV. excusing various English and Welsh Prelates from attendance at the Council of Lyons.*

INNOCENTIVS EPISCOPVS etc. *charissimo in Christi filio Regi Anglorum illustri*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Erga personam tuam etc. Sane per dilectum magistrum Laurentium, nuncium tuum apud sedem Apostolicam constitutum, et per litteras regias, a nobis humiliter postulasti, ut ..... Carleolensem Episcopum etc., et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Episcopum Landavensem<sup>a</sup> omnibus bonis Episcopatus sui per inimicos regios denudatum, et dilectos filios etc., ne ad concilium veniant, quod in instanti festo Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptistæ Deo dante celebrabimus, haberemus benigne ac misericorditer excusatos. Nos itaque Celsitudinis regis regnique tui propensius affectantes commodum et quietem, ..... devotioni tuæ præsentium auctoritate concedimus benignitate postulata etc. Datum Lugduni, XIII. cal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo. [Rymer, I. 259.]

<sup>a</sup> William de Burgh, who became blind in 1246 (*Math. Paris*, 868). See also below, p. 474.

A.D. 1246. Nov. 15. *Marlborough. Adwuwsons in Wales formerly belonging to the Welsh Princes, claimed by right of conquest by the Kings of England.*

Henricus de Bretun habet literas de præsentatione ad ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis de Kery vacantem, et ad donationem Regis spectantem ratione conquestus Regis de terris quæ fuerunt L. quondam principis Norwalliæ in Sutwallia, et diriguntur Episcopo Menevensi. Teste Rege apud Merleberg, decimo quinto die Novembris. [*Prynne, Records*, III. 104; from *Rot. Pat.* 31 *Hen. III. memb. 9 intus.*]

A.D. 1247. January 11. *Lyons. Privilege granted by Innocent IV. to the Bishop of S. David's.*

INNOCENTIVS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI *venerabili fratri Episcopo Menevensi* salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Tuæ pacis querentes commodum et quietis, libenter illa tibi concedimus per quæ materia submota gravaminis tui status tranquillitas procuretur. Hinc est, quod nos, tuis gravaminibus occurrere cupientes remedio

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gratiæ spiritualis, auctoritate tibi præsentium indulgemus, ut ultra duas dietas a civitate Menevensi non possis de cætero per literas Apostolicas in causam trahi quæ de hac indulgentia plenam non fecerint mentionem. Nulli ergo omnino homini liceat hanc paginam nostræ concessionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Ejus se noverit incursurum. Dat. Lugdun., tertio idus Januarii, pont. nostri anno quarto. [*Harl. MSS.* 1249, p. 167.]

A.D. 1247. *Miserable condition of the Welsh Church.*

MATT. PARIS., *Hist. Angl.*—Arctabatur Wallia eisdem diebus, cessante eorum cultura, commercio, et pecudum custodia pastoralis; et coeperunt consumi inedia, Anglorum (et inviti) legibus incurvati. Emarcuit antiqua eorum superba nobilitas, et etiam virorum ecclesiasticorum cythara conversa est in luctum et lamenta. Obiit ergo quasi præ dolore contabescens Episcopus Menevensis, id est, Sancti David<sup>a</sup>. Episcopus vero de Landaf, Willelmus<sup>b</sup>, cæcitate percutitur. Episcopus de Sancto Asaf<sup>c</sup>, et Episcopus de Bangor<sup>d</sup>, destructis Episcopatibus cæde ac incendio, mendicare ut de alieno viverent cogeantur. [p. 739.]

<sup>a</sup> Anselmus Crassus died 1247, "tabefactus a tribulatione," etc. (*Matt. Paris.*, *ib.* p. 742).

<sup>b</sup> W. de Burgo died 1253, having suffered under a "septennis cæcitas" (*Matt. Paris.*, *ib.*

868). He was only consecrated Feb. 19, 1245.

<sup>c</sup> Howel ap Ednoevet died 1247.

<sup>d</sup> Richard, who deserted his see in 1248: see below.

A.D. 1247. *A Welsh Bishop again at S. David's.*

MATT. PARIS., *ib.*—Electus est in eundem [Menevensem] Episcopatum magister Thomas cognomento Wallensis, eo quod in Wallia fuerat oriundus, Lincolnensis Ecclesiæ Archidiaconus. .... Cui etiam electioni dominus Rex gratanter consensit et electum accepit, non multum constituens super hoc difficultatis, cum exilis fuerit Episcopatus<sup>a</sup>. [pp. 739, 740.]

<sup>a</sup> Worth only 20 marks annually in the year 1200, acc. to *Gir. Camb.*, *De J. et S. Menev. Ecol.*, *Dist.* VII.; *Opp.* III. 344. In A.D. 1259, the Statutes of Richard de Carron (Rich. de Carew) appoint, that "constituatur etiam aliquis discretus procurator Capituli Menevensis, in Hyberniam mittendus pro recuperandis terris Capituli Menevensis ibidem alienatis cum arrea-

ragiis" etc. (*Harl. MSS.* 1249, p. 8). Thomas's Profession, when consecrated in 1248, was of the ordinary form, containing no unusual clause. He was at Westminster May 12, 1252, when the solemn sentence of excommunication was pronounced against violators of the Great Charter (*Willel.*, I. 703).

[CONSENT OF THE CROWN NECESSARY TO THE ELECTION OF A BISHOP.]

A.D. 1248. *Welsh Bishop a refugee in S. Alban's Abbey.*

MATT. PARIS, *ib.*—Eodemque tempore venit ad Sanctum Albanum dominus Episcopus de Bangor Richardus, ut eidem depauperato sinus pateret misericordiæ; et ibidem cum domino Abbate, donec Episcopatus ejus, qui per bellum destructus erat, aliquantulum restauraretur, habitaret<sup>a</sup>; et ipse cum clericis suis a pressuris, quæ circumdederant eos (sicut quondam Hertfertensis Episcopus [John, Bishop of Ardfert], qui et ibidem per circiter viginti annos commorans honorifice sustentabatur), respiraret. [p. 742.]

<sup>a</sup> Richard was still at S. Alban's in 1254 (*Matt. Paris*, *ib.* p. 884). He was at London on Christmas Day 1257, when Richard the King's brother was elected King of the Romans (*Id.*, *ib.* p. 940) and at S. Alban's again on the octave of S. Stephen of the same year (Jan. 2, 1258) at the "invento manacoli S. Albani"

(*Id.*, *ib.* p. 942), but he had returned to his diocese by 1265 (see below under that year). John of Ardfert died in 1245 (*Matt. Paris*). The whole of Perfeddwlad, from Dee to Conway, was surrendered absolutely by the Welsh princes to Henry April 30, 1247 (*Rymor*, I. 267).

A.D. 1248<sup>a</sup>. Feb. 19. ANN. MENEV.—Terræ motus magnus fuit in Britannia et Hybernia, quo terræ motu magna pars ecclesiæ Menevensis corruit, et plura ædificia in patria, et rupes scissæ sunt, XI. cal. Marci. [*Wharton*, A. S. II. 650. And so also the *Brut y Tywy-sog.* and *Ann. Camb.*]

<sup>a</sup> About the same time, or just before, the first Lady Chapel was elected in the Cathedral, with a foundation (by Bishop Anselm, who died in 1247) for a chaplain who should daily

say a mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin (*Jones and Freeman*, *S. David's*, 100, 155, from the *Lib. Statut.* [*Harl. MSS.* 1249] of S. David's Cathedral).

A.D. 1249. Sept. 15. *Bishop Anian elect of S. Asaph<sup>a</sup> and the Dean and Chapter of S. Asaph recognize the right of the Crown to licence, and to consent to, the election of a Bishop.*

I. *Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos etc.*, E[INIAN] DEI GRATIA ELECTUS DE S. ASAPH ET EJUSDEM LOCI CAPITULUM, salutem in Domino. Consuetudini antiquæ et dignitati quas illustris Rex [Angliæ] habet et progenitores sui habuerunt in Ecclesia Anglicana, de petenda licentia eligendi vacantibus Episcopatum sedibus, et de requirendo assensu regio post factam electionem, obviare nolentes, protestamur et recognoscimus, quociens Ecclesia nostra pastore vacaverit, ab illustri domino Rege Angliæ et heredibus suis debere reverenter petere

[INDULGENCE GRANTED BY THE BISHOP OF S. ASAPH IN OXFORDSHIRE.]

licentiam eligendi, et post electionem factam assensum eorum require; et ne super hoc futuris temporibus dubitetur, presenti scripto sigilla nostra fecimus apponi. Actum etc. apud S. Asaph, in crastino Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis, 1249. [*Close Rolls* 33 Hen. III., memb. 12 dorso; in *Prynne, Records*, II. 727; and *Br. Willis, S. Asaph, App. V.*]

\* He was consecrated before Dec. 1 (*Wharton, De Episc. Assen.*, from the *Llyfr Coch Assen*).

II. *The same executed by the Dean and Chapter separately from the Bishop in a distinct deed.*—*Omnibus etc.* DECANUS ET CAPITULUM DE SANCTO ASAPH [verbatim as the preceding, and with same date.]—[*Patent Rolls* 33 Hen. III., memb. 3; in *Prynne, Records*, II. 726, 727.]

A.D. 1250. *July 10. Indulgence granted by the Bishop of S. Asaph.*

MADOX, *Formul.*, *Grants no. DXLII.*—*Universis Christi fidelibus his litteras inspecturis vel audituris*, A[nianus] DIVINA MISERACIONE DE SANCTO ASAPH EPISCOPUS, salutem in Domino sempiternam. De omnipotentis Dei misericordia, et beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli omniumque Sanctorum meritis, confidentes, omnibus vere contritis et bene confessis, qui causa orandi vel offerendi devote accesserint ad altare capellæ de Brueria<sup>a</sup>, quod in honorem beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis et gloriosissimi Edmundi Confessoris consecravimus, tresdecim dies de injuncta sibi poenitentia misericorditer relaxamus. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum nostrum fecimus apponi, anno Domini M.CC. quinquagesimo, die Dominica proxima post festum Translationis Sancti Thomæ Martyris. [p. 309.]

\* Bruerne in Oxfordshire.

A.D. 1250. *Michaelmas. Suits respecting Adwossons etc. claimed for the King's Court as against the Bishop's; the Bishop however being judge of the fitness of the clerk presented.*

KERMERD.—Thomas Episcopus de Sancto David attach. fuit ad respondendum Mereduk fil. Ros de placito, quare tenuit placitum in curia Christianitatis de furcis levat. in terra ipsius Mereduk in Keytheynoc, quod spectat ad coronam et dignitatem domini Regis, etc. Et unde

[SUITS RESPECTING ADVOWNS CLAIMED FOR THE KING'S COURTS.]

queritur, quod cum detulisset ei litteras prohibitionis apud Kermerd., ubi fecit ordines suos, dictus Episcopus nichilominus tenuit dictum placitum postea in curia Christianitatis; unde dampnum habet ad valenc. etc. Et inde producit sectam, etc. Et Episcopus venit et defendit vim, etc. Et dicit defend. quod nunquam tenuit placitum de furcis levatis in curia Christianitatis etc. Et hoc bene defend. contra ipsum et sectam suam. Et ideo cons. est, quod vad. legem suam se 12 manu. Et veniat cum lege die Pasch. in 15 dies: pleg. de lege Willielmus Hay et Willielmus de Wilton. Et ad diem illum venit dictus Episcopus et sufficien. fecit legem suam. Et ideo consideratum est, quod Episcopus inde sine die. Et Mereduk in misericordia.

IBIDEM.—Idem Episcopus attach. fuit ad respondend. prædict. Mereduc de placito, quare ad præsent. ipsius Mereduc non admisit idoneam personam ad ecclesiam de Landeveny, cujus ecclesiæ advocationem idem Mereduc disrationavit versus ipsum Episcopum per assisam ultimæ præsentacionis inter eos captam, coram ballivo de Kermerd., sicut ei dominus Rex alias mand. etc. Et unde queritur, quod cum secutus fuit breve domini Regis ultimæ præsentacionis in curia de Kermerd. versus ipsum Episcopum de advocatione prædictæ ecclesiæ, et dicta assisa ibidem capt. fuit; ita quod per assisam illam recuperaverit seisinam suam, et habuit breve domini Regis ad ipsum Episcopum, quod ipse admitteret idoneam personam ad præsentacionem suam; dictus Episcopus recusavit idoneam personam admittere, in præjudicium et destructionem coronæ et dignitatis domini Regis, et ad dampnum ipsius Mereduc. C. libr. etc. Et Episcopus venit et defendit vim etc., et dicit, quod non debet hic in curia laicali respondere. Quia dicit, quod examinatio personæ utrum sit idonea vel non, mere spirituale est, et ad forum suum spectat; nec vult, nec debet, inde hic respondere. Præterea dicit, quod placitum de advocationibus ecclesiarum in partibus suis est mere spirituale, et ipse et prædecessores sui semper placitaverunt prædictum placitum; unde non vult, nec debet, de illo placito hic respondere nec parere nec facere inde ad mandatum domini Regis, licet placitum illud deducatur in curiam domini Regis. Et quia dominus Rex est in seiseina de placitis advocationum ecclesiarum in curia sua per totum regnum suum, ita quod omnes Episcopi postquam loquela inde deducta sit in curia domini Regis debent ad mandatum Regis idoneam personam admittere; et dominus Rex non petit quod ipse Episcopus



[SUITS RESPECTING ADVOWNS CLAIMED FOR THE KING'S COURT.]

respondeat de examinatione idoneitatis; quia, si unus non idoneus præsentatus sit, admittat alium qui sit idoneus; set tamen<sup>a</sup> quod ad mandatum suum de loquelis deductis in curia sua idoneum clericum admittat, etc. Et ipse Episcopus dicit, quod non vult hic inde respondere, nec mandato Regis parere, set dicit, quod ipse vult habere dictum placitum in curia sua; quod est manifeste contra coronam et dignitatem domini Regis, et ad exheredationem domini Regis; et Episcopus non vult aliud dicere: consideratum est, quod prædictus Episcopus est indefensus in curia domini sui; et prædictus Mereduc recuperet dampna sua, et Episcopus in misericordia: et dominus Rex provideat sibi de jure suo, etc.

(Postea præceptum est ballivo de Kermerden,) quod distringat Episcopum per baroniam, quod admittat idoneam personam, etc. Et dampna taxata sunt ad XX. marc., et mandatum est dicto ballivo quod fac. denar. levari etc.

WALL. §. Idem Mereduc per eundem atturn. opt. se 4 die versus eundem Episcopum de placito, quare tenuit placitum in curia Christianitatis de furcis levatis in terra ipsius Mereduc in Keytheynot, quod spectat ad coronam et dignitatem domini Regis, etc. Et quare tenuit placitum in eadem curia de laico feodo ejusdem Mereduc in eadem villa, contra prohibitionem, etc. Et ipse non venit etc. Et Vic. mand., quod Episcopus attach. fuit per Tankard. de Hosp. et Johannem Dumeit. Ideo ponatur per mel. pleg. et quod sit ad eundem terminum. Et primi, etc.

KERMERD. §. Dies datus est Mereduc filio Ros, per atturn. suum quer., et Episcopo Menevensi, de placito, quare secutus est placitum in curia Christianitatis de advocatione ecclesiæ etc.; et de placito, quare non admisit, etc.; a die Sancti Michaelis in 15 dies. Et prohibitum est prædicto Episcopo, ne sequatur dictum placitum infra dictum tempus. Et si occasione prædictorum placitorum promulgavit sententiam in ipsum et homines suos, quod interim absolvet eos, etc. [*Placit. Term. S. Mich. a. 34 Hen. III.; in Prynn, III. 106 b, 107 a.*]

<sup>a</sup> *Leg. "tantum."*

A.D. 1251. *Bishop to signify to the Crown in a case of bastardy, whether the person was legitimate or not.*

Question of Bastardy referred to the Bishop to determine.

I. Mandatum est magistro E. de Len. Offic. Cantuar., quod, quia R.<sup>a</sup> Landavensis Episcopus significavit Regi, quod Mereduc filius Griffini de legitimo matri-

[BISHOP TO DECIDE QUESTIONS OF BASTARDY.]

monio coepit originem, in causa quæ vertitur coram ipso super bastardia ipsius Mereduc, non procedat; quia, si ulterius procederet, hoc esset contra legem terræ et ad exhæredationem ipsius Mereduc. Teste etc. [*Prynne, Records, II. 782, from Rot. Claus. 36 Hen. III., memb. 23 dorso.*]

\* So in *Prynne*. It should be W., viz. William de Burgh.

II. A.D. 1251. Nov. 14. *Henry III. King of England to William de Burgh Bishop of Llandaff.*

REX, *W. Landavensi Episcopo*, salutem. Quod justiciarii nostri de Banco nomine nostro Paternitati vestræ demandaverunt, inquisitionem facere de legitimatione Mereduc filii Griffini, ex nostra conscientia non emanavit; cum alias nobis ad mandatum nostrum significastis ipsum legitimum esse et de legitimo matrimonio natum; unde non est necesse quod super hoc iteratam facias inquisitionem. Teste Rege apud Evesham, XIV. die Novembris. [*Prynne, ib., from Rot. Claus. 36 Hen. III., memb. 32 dorso.*]

A.D. 1252. July 9. *Perugia. Pope Innocent IV. to Henry III. King of England, on behalf of the Bishop of S. David's, respecting jurisdiction in questions of Patronage.*

INNOCENTIVS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *carissimo*  
 Leave the Bishop of S. David's to decide questions of patronage in his diocese in his own court. *in Christo filio [Henrico] Regi Anglia illustri*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Late patet, quod ad extol-  
 lenda justorum præconia, prospiciens e cœlo, justitia  
 erexit in populis regnantium solia et aliorum principum  
 potestates; nec etiam latet, si diligenter inspicitur, quod potissime  
 ad laudem bonorum terrenæ jurisdictionis recipiunt gladium regalis  
 fortunæ fastigio præsigniti. Quæ utique antiqui Reges et principes  
 diligentius attendentes, ac considerantes provide quod viri eccle-  
 siastici præ aliis sunt pietatis operibus et Divinis obsequiis deputati,  
 ipsos et Ecclesiam multis libertatum privilegiis munierunt; quam-  
 quam a Domino, dicente Apostolis et in personis eorum aliis  
 assumptis in sortem Dominicam, Qui vos tangit Me tangit, specialis  
 privilegii receperint munimenta.

Sane venerabili fratre nostro Episcopo Menevensi accepimus, con-  
 querente quod, cum usque ad hæc tempora ipse ac prædecessores ejus

[JURISDICTION RESPECTING ADVOWSONS CLAIMED FOR WELSH BISHOPS BY THE POPE.]

super cognoscendis et dirimendis quæstionibus juris patronatus ecclesiarum suæ civitatis et diocesis, quæ inter quoscumque pro tempore vertebantur, plenam jurisdictionem habuerint, fuerintque in plena quasi possessione jurisdictionis hujusmodi a tempore cujus memoria non existit: tu, prætextu consuetudinis, vel corruptelæ potius, in Anglia ut dicitur observatæ, ubi de facto quæstiones hujusmodi in foro regio deciduntur, consuetudinem ipsam ad partes Walliæ extendere volens, causas easdem in diocese Menëvensi de novo subortas in foro regio decidi et discuti mandavisti; faciens eidem Episcopo inhiberi, ne de hujusmodi quæstionibus se intromitteret, ac si ad forum ecclesiasticum non spectarent. Nec hiis contentus, ipsum coram tuis justiciariis vocari præcipiens, fecisti eum per terras et maneria sua cogi, ut ad eorum veniret præsentiam, responsurus quare in foro ecclesiastico quæstiones prædictas auderet discutere contra consuetudinem regni tui. Et licet idem Episcopus, apud Celsitudinem tuam multipliciter se excusans, protectioni sedis Apostolicæ summisserit se et sua, nichilominus tamen tu, reputans ipsum pro tuo libito contumacem, bona ejus mobilia et immobilia capi et sequestrari, ac famulos et servientes ipsius ab eorum administrationibus amoveri, et alios tuo nomine in locum eorum induci, pro tua voluntate mandasti; in ipsius Episcopi et Ecclesiæ Menevensis injuriam non modicam et gravamen.

Quocirca Serenitatem Regiam rogamus attentius et hortamur, quatinus, considerato clementer quod suam decet mansuetudinem jura ecclesiastica non elidere, sed potius defensare, hujusmodi gravamina revocare faciens, et eidem Episcopo super præmissis, quorum occasione dampna incurrit gravia et expensas, satisfactionem plenariam exhiberi; eum in suis juribus, pro Apostolicæ sedis et nostra reverentia, taliter prosequaris, quod magnificentiam tuam proinde dignis in Domino laudibus extollamus.

Dat. Perugii, VII. idus Julii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo. (*Plumbeo sigil' pend' a filo canabeo.*)—[*Rymer, I. 283.*]

A.D. 1252. *July 11.* Deed in favour of the Benedictine priory in Bardsey Island (*Dugd. Mon. IV. 659*): but the foundation existed before A.D. 1202 (see above, p. 419).

A.D. 1253. *Oct. 10.* A Treasurer appointed in the Chapter of S. David's: see below under A.D. 1260 and 1287.

A.D. 1254. *May 17. Windsor. Letters Patent of Henry III. appointing Commissioners to collect Tenths granted towards relief of the Holy Land.*

[The Abbat of Westminster to collect, beside other dioceses,] per Menevens., Landavens., Bangor., et Sancti Asaph civitates et dioceses. [*Patent Rolls* 38 Hen. III. memb. 3; in *Frynne, Records*, II. 814.]

A.D. 1254. *June 9. Vicars in Llandaff Diocese to pay ordinary charges of their Churches.*

MADOX, *Formul. Certif. XIII.*—*Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, FRATER J[OHANNES] MISERATIONE DIVINA LANDAVENSIS ECCLESIE MINISTER HUMILIS, æternam in Domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra, quod cum esset hæsitatum, an Prior et Conventus de Monemuta honera ordinaria consueta, ecclesias quas in diocesi Landavensi tenent in proprios usus contingentia, sustinere tenerentur, vel vicarii earundem ecclesiarum; tandem nobis constitit legitime, tam per confessionem dictorum vicariorum, quam per testimonium fide dignorum, eosdem vicarios et eorundem successores omnia honera prædicta agnoscere debere, et pro dictis religiosis omnibus ordinariis super præmissis respondere. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras eisdem religiosis fecimus et concessimus patentes: datas apud Bergaveny die Martis proxima post festum Beatæ Trinitatis, anno Gratiz M.CC.L. quarto. [p. 7.]*

A.D. 1256. *Feb. and March. Consecration of Richard of Carew to the See of S. David's by Pope Alexander IV., independently of the Crown.*

*I. Feb. 11. Lateran. Pope Alexander IV. to the Bishops Protect Richard Bishop elect of London and Worcester and the Dean of Lincoln.—ALEX-S. David's. ANDER etc. Londoniensi et Wigorniensi Episcopis et Decano Lincolnensi. Menevensis Ecclesia pastoris solatio destituta, Capitulum ipsius dilectum filium Riccardum Meneven. electum, tunc eiusdem Ecclesie canonicum, in eorum Episcopum concorditer postularunt, postulationem suam nobis per communes nuncios presentantes. Cum igitur postulationem ipsam duxerimus de fratrum*

[CONSECRATION OF BISHOP OF S. DAVID'S BY THE POPE.]

nostrorum consilio et liberalitate benignitatis Apostolice admittendum, preficiendo eum ipsi Ecclesie in pastorem; mandamus, quatinus eidem electo possessiones, jura, et alia bona Episcopatus Menevensis, faciatis per vos vel alium integre assignari sibi que de ipsis plenarie responderi; detentores hujusmodi bonorum, in quorum possessione bone memorie T. Episcopus Meneven., ipsius electi predecessor, fuisse dinoscitur, ad id, et contradictores si qui fuerint, per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compellendo: non obstante constitutione de duabus dietis edicta in concilio generali, si causam<sup>a</sup> ex aliqua rationabili causa negotium comode terminari nequiverit infra illas. Quod si non omnes etc. Datum Laterani, III. idus Februarij anno secundo. [*Vatican MSS., Brit. Mus. Addit. 15358, pp. 259-261.*]

<sup>a</sup> So in the MS.

II. *March 15. Lateran. Pope Alexander IV. to the Chapter of S. David's.*—ALEXANDER etc. *Capitulo Meneven. etc.* Ec-  
 I have conse-  
 crated Richard  
 (of Carew) to  
 the see of S.  
 David's.  
 clesia Meneven. pastoris solatio destituta, vos convenientes in unum, Spiritus Sancti gratia invocata, venerabilem fratrem nostrum Riccardum Meneven. Episcopum, tunc canonicum ejusdem Ecclesie, in vestrum Episcopum concorditer postulastis; et postulationem suam nobis per communes nuncios presentantes, ut cum eo, qui de clerico in ordinibus constituto minoribus, et soluta, genitus fuerat, misericorditer agere dignaremur, humiliter supplicastis. Nos igitur, attendentes honestatem morum, vite meritum, donum scientie, famam persone sue a pluribus approbate, nec non et commune votum vestrum ei ad postulatum gratiam suffragari, et sperantes ex bonis, que de sue circumspectionis industria predicantur, quod eadem Ecclesia sub ejus regimine grata suscipiet Deo propitio in spiritualibus et temporalibus incrementa, postulationem predictam de fratrum nostrorum consilio et liberalitate Apostolice benignitatis admisimus, ipsum preficiendo eidem Ecclesie in pastorem; ac demum sibi de nostris manibus munere consecrationis impenso, eum ad prefatam Ecclesiam cum gratie nostre plenitudine duximus remittendum. Quocirca universitatem vestram rogamus, monemus, et hortamur, attentius mandantes, quatenus eundem Episcopum tamquam patrem et pastorem animarum vestrarum devote suscipientes obedientiam sibi et reverentiam debitam impendatis, ipsius salubribus monitis et mandatis humiliter intendendo. Alio-

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quin sententiam (\**usque*) observari. Datum Laterani, idibus Martii anno secundo. [*ib.* pp. 285-291.]

\* The copyist has omitted certain words of course, or else repetitions, here and in subsequent letters, and has so marked the reference.

Same as previous letter. III. *Same date. Pope Alexander IV. to the Clergy of S. David's.*—In eundem modum *Clero Civitatis et Diocesis Meneven.* [Datum ut supra.]—[*ib.*]

Same as previous letter. IV. *And to the Laity of the same.*—In eundem modum *Populo Civitatis et Diocesis Meneven.* (*usque*) suscipientes ejus salubribus monitis et mandatis humiliter intendatis. Datum ut supra. [*ib.*]

Same as previous letters. V. *Same date. Pope Alexander IV. to Henry III. King of England.*—In eundem modum *Carissimo in Christo filio Regi Anglie* (*usque*) remittendum. Quocirca Serenitatem tuam rogamus, monemus, et hortamur attente, quatenus prefatum Episcopum et commissam sibi Ecclesiam habens pro nostra et Apostolicæ sedis reverentia propensius commendatos, eum tamquam acceptum nobis tibi que devotum et fidum favore regio in assignatione regali et aliorum que a tua expectantur magnificentia prosequare; ac ipsum et predictam Ecclesiam molestari ab aliquibus tue dictioni \* subjectis, quantum in te fuerit, non permittas; molestatores, si qui fuerint, clementi potestate tibi celitus tradita compescendo. Ita quod ipsum Episcopum tuo nomine devotiorem constituas ex devoto, nosque redamur ad tua beneplacita promptiores. Datum ut supra. [*ib.*]

\* So in the MS.

Same as previous letters. VI. *Same date. Pope Alexander IV. to Richard of Carew, Bishop of S. David's.*—In eundem modum *Riccardo Episcopo Meneven.* (*usque*) demum tibi consecrationis munus de nostris manibus impendendum (*mutatis mutandis*). Ad eandem igitur Ecclesiam, quam Dei et Apostolica tibi conjunxit dispensatio, cum gratie nostre plenitudine proficiscens, in caritate Christi pascendum suscipe gregem Ejus; et sic fideliter et prudenter regere studeas domum Dei, quod tibi per vite meritum et aliis proficias per exemplum,

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nosque devotionis tue studium non immerito commendemus. Datum ut supra <sup>a</sup>. [*ib.*]

<sup>a</sup> The above letters, from II. to VI., are also printed in *Arch. Camb., New Series*, V. 143, 144.

VII. P. R. C.—Ego Ricardus Menevensis Episcopus, Pater reverende Bonefaci, Sanctæ Cant. Eccl. Archiepiscopo et totius Angliæ primas, tibi et sanctæ Cant. Ecclesiæ et successoribus tuis canonicè substituendis debitam et canonicam obedientiam et subjectionem me per omnia exhibiturum profiteor et promitto secundum decreta Romanorum Pontificum, tuorumque et Cant. Ecclesiæ jurum adjutor ero ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo ordine meo; sic me Deus adjuvet. Et prædicta omnia propria manu subscribendo confirmo ✠. Iste consecratus fuit in curia Romana; tunc illam professionem fecit in ecclesia Christi Cantuar. ad majus altare, Magistro W. de Mor-tuo Mari tunc vices domini Bonefacii Cant. Archiepiscopi gerente. [*Reg. Prior. et Conrv. Cant. I. a*]

<sup>a</sup> Rhys of Caer Rhiw (*Brut y Tywysog.*, in an. 1255, p. 342) was consecrated by the Pope at Rome in 1256 (*Ann. Menev.* ap. Wharton,

A. S., II. 650; and P. R. C.), between Feb. 11 and March 15, as is evident by the above letters. His predecessor died July 11, 1255.

A.D. 1257. Jan. 7. S. Paul's, London <sup>a</sup>. William of Radnor consecrated to the see of Llandaff by Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury (with the Bishops of Worcester and Norwich): having been elected by the Chapter in defiance of the Crown.

*Certificate of Election, July 28, 1256. Literæ Certificatoriæ Capit. Landavæ Electionis Willielmi de Radnore in Episcopum Landaven.—Excellentissimo Domino suo H. Dei gratia illustri Regi Angliæ, Domino Hiberniæ, Duci Normanniæ [et] Aquitaniæ, et Comiti Andegaviæ, CAPITULUM ECCLESIAE LANDAVENSIS, salutem in Domino sempiternam et orationes in Christo cum devotione. Defuncto bone memoriæ Joanne, quondam Landavensi Episcopo, nobis de solita clementia vestra per literas vestras patentes liberam vestra gratia concessistis eligendi facultatem. Nos autem, Deum habentes præ oculis, salubri consilio literarum vestrarum firmiter (ut decuit) inherentes, invocata Spiritus Sancti gratia, de unanimi assensu et voluntate omnium fratrum nostrorum, Magistrum Willielmum de Radnore Thesaurarium nostrum, virum discretum et honestum, egregie literatum, Deo et Eccle-*

[FREE ELECTION TO THE SEE OF LLANDAFF.]

sizæ devotum, Regiæ Majestati vestre humiliter inclinatum, et reipublice, per Dei gratiam, valde profuturum, in temporalibus cautum, in patrem elegimus et pastorem; Celsitudini vestre (quam conservet et augeat Altissimus) humiliter supplicantes et devote, quatinus dicte electioni nostre regium assensum pie prebere dignemini. Nec moleste ferre velitis, si placet, quod preces vestras ad præsens exaudire nequivimus: cum ille qui <sup>b</sup> nunc instinctu Spiritus Sancti duximus eligendum a puerili etate sua nobis cognitus existit, et inter nos laudabiliter et continue conversatus fuerit in ecclesia nostra; quæ semper clericos de gremio suo cujuslibet ecclesiæ <sup>b</sup> (dummodo digni extiterint) in electionibus celebrandis cæteris clericis duxit preferendos. Propter quod devotissime petimus, ne predicto facto nostro, quod ut speramus a Deo processit, in aliquo (quod Deus avertat) moveri aut turbari velitis, sed potius si placet processui nostro canonico congratulari dignemini. Valeat et crescat regia potestas vestra semper in Domino. Dat. anno Dom. MCCLVI., 5 kal. Aug. [From *Bundela Petitionum et Certif. anno 40 Hen. III. in Turr. Londin.*; ap. *Br. Will.*, *Llandaff, App.* 113, 114; and in *Prynne, Records*, III. 112.]

<sup>a</sup> The date of consecration and the names and sees of consecrators are in the *P. R. C.* The Congé d'Edire was on July 8, 1256: the Royal consent July 30 of the same year. Wales was in successful revolt at the time. Henry was to meet his army at Chester Aug. 11, 1257, and a second army was to invade

South Wales from Bristol. The death of Bishop J. le Ware June 29, 1256, "cui successit W. de Radnor," is recorded in the *Chronicle* printed in *Aroh. Camb., 3rd Series, VIII.* 280; and in the *Addit. to Ouston M.S. of Lib. Landav.*

<sup>b</sup> So in *Br. Willis.*

A.D. 1257. *June 24. Windsor. Henry III. to the Collectors of Tenths.*

[These letters, directing the mode of transmitting to Rome the money collected as "pecunia crucis," and "decimæ," will be found in their place under the English Church. It is mentioned at the foot of them, that] consimiles literæ diriguntur collectoribus ..... in dioc. Landaven., ..... in dioc. de Sancto Asaph, ..... in dioc. Meneven., in dioc. Bangor. [*Pat. Rolls* 41 *Hen. III., memb. 6 intus*; in *Prynne, Records*, II. 917.]

A.D. 1257. *July 19. Woodstock. Prohibition to English Bishops to attend a Convocation at London summoned by Archbishop Boniface,* ["cum pro exercitu nostro, cum quo tendimus ad partes Cestriæ



[KING'S BAILIFFS TO PROTECT THE SEE OF S. DAVID'S.]

contra Wallenses inimicos nostros, vos et omnes alios prælatos et magnates regni nostri fecerimus summoneri, ad eundum nobiscum cum toto servitio suo nobis debito pro defensione terræ nostræ contra prædictos Wallenses" (Letter of Henry III. in *Wilk.*, I. 724, and below under the English Church at its date).]

A.D. 1257 (Oct. 28) × 1266 (Oct. 27). *King's Bailiffs to protect the Church of S. David's.*

[REX sc. HEN. III.] *universis ballivis et fidelibus suis per Walliam constitutis*, salutem. Ex relatione venerabilis patris R[icardi] Menev. Episcopi et insinuatione cleri suæ dioc. accepimus, quod tanta est hostilitas hiis diebus in dioc. Menev., quod immunitates Ecclesiæ violantur; manus violentæ injiciuntur, ac quidam interficiuntur; domus Religiosorum destruuntur, domus clericorum in cœmeteriis constructæ et etiam ipsæ ecclesiæ incenduntur; Episcopo, Archidiaconis, et cæteris viris ecclesiasticis, transeundi per prædictam dioc. securitatis via præcluditur; ecclesiasticæ libertatis titulus penitus conculcatur; viri etiam ecclesiastici dicti<sup>a</sup> dioc. tot dampnis et injuriis modo ab Anglicis modo a Wallensibus affliguntur, quod, nisi prædictis remedium apponatur, necesse habent ecclesiis suis relictis exulare. Nolentes igitur quod sacrosancta Ecclesia sub nostra protectione constituta tot adversitatibus opprimatur, mandamus vobis firmiter injungentes, quod in singulis locis in prædicta dioc., per quæ transitum feceritis, publice voce præconia prohiberi faciatis, ne aliquis de pace nostra immunitates ecclesiasticas violare seu etiam viris ecclesiasticis dampnum vel injuriam inferre aut contra libertates Ecclesiæ in aliquo de præmissis venire præsumat: scituri, quod dissimulare non poterimus quin adversus violatores immunitatis Ecclesiæ, ad cujus tuitionem tenemur, manus ultionis extendamus. In cujus etc. [*Prynne, Records*, II. 996, 997; from *Cart. Pat. Claus.*, ab an. 42 ad an. 50 Hen. III.]

<sup>a</sup> So in *Prynne*.

A.D. 1260. *April 24. Anagnia. Bull of Pope Alexander IV. endowing the Treasurership at S. David's.* [*Harl. MSS.* 1249, pp. 161–163.]

<sup>a</sup> The Act of the Chapter establishing the office is dated Oct. 10, 1253 (*Harl. MSS.* 1249, pp. 163, 164), and a Statute of Bishop

Richard to the same effect, Nov. 12, A.D. 1259 (*ib.* pp. 5, 165): see also under Nov. 19, A.D. 1287.

[EXCOMMUNICATION AND INTERDICT ISSUED AGAINST LLYWELYN.]

A.D. 1260. *Aug. 1. Lambeth. Archbishop Boniface to William (of Radnor) Bishop of Llandaff (similarly to the Bishops of S. David's, Bangor, and S. Asaph).*

Excommunicate Llywelyn. B[ONIFACIUS] PERMISSIONE DIVINA CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMAS, *venerabili in Christo fratri [Willelmo] Dei gratia Landavensi Episcopo*, salutem et sinceræ fraternitatis in Domino semper augmentum. Ad nostram noveritis audientiam pervenisse, quod cum inter serenissimum dominum Henricum Dei gratia Regem Angliæ illustrem et suos ex una parte, et Lewelinum filium Griffini et complices suos ex altera, usque ad certum tempus treugæ initæ et juramento ab utraque parte interposito firmatæ fuissent, nuper quidam complices et fautores Lewelini prædicti, nondum finitis treugis memoratis, maligno spiritu concitati, terram prædicti Regis Angliæ et suorum hostiliter invadentes, ecclesias et monasteria crudeli incendio destruxerunt, et homicidiis atque rapinis, ausu sacrilego, in eis violata immunitate ecclesiastica nequiter perpetratis, pacem Regni Angliæ et prædictarum conventionem treugarum perturbare et frangere præsumperunt; contra ea, quæ pro observatione pacis Regni Angliæ in Oxoniensi concilio provide sunt statuta, temere veniendo. Quia vero tantorum facinorum perpetratores, ac illi quorum mandato ope vel consilio prædicta maleficia sunt commissa, ipso facto sunt excommunicationis vinculo innodati, Fraternitati vestræ in virtute obedientiæ firmiter præcipiendo mandamus, quatinus in civitate vestra et diocesi prædictos sacrilegos, et illos qui eis in prædictis sceleribus perpetrandis opem vel consilium impenderunt, publice vel occulte, singulis diebus Dominicis et festivis, pulsatis campanis, accensis candelis, tamdiu excommunicatos nuncietis, et nunciari solempniter faciatis, donec de præmissis satisfactionem impenderint et absolutionem meruerint obtinere. Ad hæc, cum præfatus Lewelinus et complices sui terras villas et loca nobilis viri Ricardi de Clare Comitis Gloucestriæ in diocæsi vestra, durantibus treugis memoratis juramento firmatis, occupaverint violenter, et adhuc detineant occupata; et postmodum, cum venerabilis frater [Ricardus] Dei gratia Bangorensis Episcopus pro pace inter dominum Regem et dictum Lewelinum tractanda apud London. venisset personaliter: quidam Walenses, non sine conniventia dicti Lewelini vel mandato ut creditur, castrum dicti domini Regis de Buelt ceperunt proditionaliter, et homines ejusdem castri, quod adhuc sic detinent occupatum, furore diabolico

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contra continentiam occiderunt treugarum. Quia igitur verisimile manifeste videtur occupationem dicti castri et aliarum terrarum ac prædictorum perpetrationem facinorum de mandato vel voluntate ejusdem Lewelini processisse, vel eum rata habuisse præmissa quibus non obviavit cum posset: Fraternitati vestræ de fratrum et coepiscoporum vestrorum consilio mandamus, in virtute obedientiæ firmiter injungentes, quatenus ad prædictum Lewelinum personaliter accedentes, ipsum moneatis sub testimonio competenti, et efficaciter inducere studeatis, ut infra octabas instantis Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ post monitionem vestram (quam, si sui copiam denegaverit, in ecclesia Landavensi publice proponatis), domino Regi, et suis, dictum castrum, terras, villas, et loca, contra treugas per ipsum et suos taliter occupata, sine difficultate restituat et restitui faciat, et de dampnis et injuriis illatis eis satisfaciat competenter. Quod si monitis vestris parere contempserit, cum malum cui non resistitur approbetur, nec careat scrupulo societatis occultæ qui manifesto facinori desinit obviare, vos extunc in pœnam ipsius, qui culpa se ostenderet non carere, omnes terras villas et loca ditioni et potestati suæ supposita, necnon omnes terras villas et loca quas vel quæ per se vel complices suos durantibus treugis supradictis occupavit in diocœsi vestra, interdicto ecclesiastico supponentes, faciatis illud usque ad condignam præmissorum satisfactionem excessuum inviolabiliter observari: inhibentes districtius, ne in eisdem terris villis et locis, ditioni et potestati suæ suppositis, seu per ipsum et complices suos durantibus treugis prædictis contra formam earundem occupatis, sacramenta ecclesiastica præterquam necessaria ministrentur. Quid autem super hiis feceritis, nobis per vestras patentes literas rescribatis. Data apud Lamehyth in festo beati Petri ad Vincula anno Domini 1260.

(Literæ Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis directæ Landavensi et Menevensi Episcopis traditæ fuerunt Comiti Gloucestræ transmittendæ eisdem Episcopis; et literæ ejusdem Archiepiscopi directæ Bangorensi et de Sancto Assapho Episcopis liberatæ fuerunt Nicholao Walen. et Guydoni, nunciis Regis, deferendæ R. de Mortuo Mari, ut eas mitti faciat eisdem Episcopis.)—[*Rymer*, I. 399, 400; and *Prynne*, *Records*, II. 976, 977: from *Rot. Pat.* 44 *Hen. III. memb. 6 dorso*: also in *Br. Willis*, *Llandaff*, *Append.*<sup>a</sup>]

<sup>a</sup> In the Calendar of the *Rot. Patent.* 44 *Hen. III. a tergo*, this is described as, "De excommunicando Wallens. ut violatore streugarum per

Archiepiscopum Cantuar., miss. Episcopo Landavensi, in qua nulla mentio de Papa aut ejus potestate, in festo S. Petri ad vincula 1260" (p. 32 a).

A.D. 1261. April 29. *Rhydyrwrw. Form of Agreement made between Richard Bishop of Bangor and Llywelyn Prince of Wales, by Anian Bishop of S. Asaph and others as arbiters.*

Arbitration made, April 28, and 29, between the Bishop of Bangor and Llywelyn Prince of Wales, respecting disputed civil rights, mainly relating to the "Bishop's men."

Nouerint tam presentes quam futuri, quod nos Anianus Episcopus de Sancto Assaph, Frater \* \*, Prior Prædicatorum Bangor., Frater Jewaf eiusdem loci conuent. presbyter, \* fratrum \* \* de Llanvaes, Frater Johannes Rufus eiusdem loci conuentus, Gorono et Tudur. filii Itneuuet, Enner paruus, Enner filius Keirad, ad diffiniendâs querelas motas inter dominum Ricardum Bangorensem

Episcopum et suum Capitulum ex una parte, et dominum Lewelinum filium Griffini et suos magnates ex altera, electi ex utriusque partis consensu arbitrij, anno Domini MCCLXI., apud Rydyrwrw, die Jouis proxima post festum Paschæ, et utriusque partis querelas audientes, eas unanimiter diffiniuimus in hunc modum.

Offences of clergy; and treasure-trove.

Inprimis, cum clericus forefecerit ubicunque, quatenus personam suam tanquam offensa in foro ecclesiastico rendatur. Sed si mulierem rapuerit, quo regimen et sacerdotium offendit, ibidem satisfaciet secundum utramque legem. Si autem ei imponatur thesaurum inuenisse, ibidem dominio laicali satisfaciat, si fuerit conuictus: de tenemento autem laicali et similium transgressione satisfaciat in foro seculari. De Edû filio Howel, cui imponebatur inuenisse thesaurum, et de sigillo Capituli de \* \* apposito litteris testimonialibus manumissionis cuiusdam serui, nobis uidetur, quod talis causa in curia Episcopi debet uentilari: et si quid occasione illius thesauri prædicto Edneuuet fuerit ablatum, eidem restituatur: et si probetur ipsum thesaurum inuenisse, in curia Episcopi domino Lewelino satisfaciat secundum legem patriæ. De sigillo autem nobis uidetur, quod si occasione prædictæ appositionis Canonicis aliquid abstulit, eisdem restitui debet, et causa in curia Episcopi uentilari et determinari, et cui iniuriatum est satisfieri. Si uitem conscientiam habeat dominus Lewelinus, quod predictis occasionibus predictis Edneuuet et Canonicis aliquid abstulit, restituatur empore a domino Assauensi assignato.

f shipwrecked goods.

Quod res de naufragio detinet possessoribus existentibus sanis et res suas instantè petentibus, recolimus omnium Lewelinum, [quod] bone memorie quondam princeps Walæ sic fecisse, siue juste siue iniuste, [et] tandem nullo prælato

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compellente sed ductus timore Diuino talia dimisisse [dicitur]; quod et domino Lewelino bona fide laudamus. Quod res proietas in terram Ecclesiæ occupat similiter, et thesauros inuentos in terra Ecclesiæ; non recolimus alium talia recepisse præter solum principem Lewelinum et suos successores.

*Of treasure-trove.* Si imponitur homini Episcopi laico inuenisse thesaurum, in curia seculari respondeat; et si desit contra eum probatio, nullo modo ei denegetur legitima purgacio.

*Of forced military or other service.* Quod homines Episcopi inhabiles ad arma [compelluntur], nobis uidetur, quod de prius prætaxatis ante legitimam ætatem sc. XIIIJ. annorum non debet exigi expedicio, neque expeditionis redemptio; seniores uero uel in expeditionem eant uel componant. Si qui seruientes domini Lewelini uel suorum balli[u]orum uel aliorum iumenta hominum Episcopi sine ipsorum assensu ad sua negotia facienda rapiunt, nobis uidetur, si eorum querimonia ad ballium domini Lewelini uenerit, et eis non satisfacerit, raptores rigide puniendo ut alii terreantur, quod dominus Lewelinus debet multare ballium suum in XX. solidis ad minus.

*Of violation of sanctuary.* De capto in die dedicationis in refugio ecclesiæ (ut dicitur), nobis uidetur, quod mittantur fide digni, tam ex [parte] domini Lewelini quam Episcopi, qui uideant locum in quo captus fuit; et si possit probari in ipsorum presentia locum refugii esse, per omnia satisfaciatur; sin autem, dominus Lewelinus suo incarcerato gaudeat. Nomina autem ad hoc assignatorum sunt hæc;—dominus Ed., Archidiaconus Bangorensis, et eiusdem loci Decanus, et Archidiaconus Monie, ex parte Episcopi; et dominus G. filius Ednevet, et Enner paruus, et Iorwerth, ex parte Lewelini; et assumpto in conciliarium fratre Iewaf Voel, in festo Sancti Terillo apud Bangor: et si contingerit aliquem uel aliquos abesse, loco absentis uel absentium alius uel alii cum assensu presentium substituantur.

*Excommunicate persons to be arrested by the civil power.* De nominatim excommunicatis nobis uidetur, quod si, præmissa monitione canonica, aliquis fuerit sententia excommunicationis innodatus,—quod ad mandatum Episcopi tenetur dominus ipsum capere sine dilatione, cum ad hæc fuerit requisitus.

*Of sacrilege.* De hijs qui fregerint ecclesiam Llangor, et pugnantibus in ecclesia de Rosvyr<sup>b</sup> et apud ecclesiam de Taleboleon<sup>c</sup>, respondemus ut continetur in litteris de Llan-Terillo; quod talium,

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sicut omnium sacrilegorum, tantum emenda pertinet ad Episcopum; unde, si predicti Episcopo non satisfecerunt, plenarie satisfaciant.

Married clergyman harbouring an outlaw. De clerico uxorato receptante publice forbanizatum scienter, et possit contra ipsum probari, nobis uidetur, quod tenetur respondere in foro ecclesiastico. Si uero

faciat residentiam in terra Principis, et contingat ipsum multari, tota multa sua Principi dabitur: si uero residentiam in terra Episcopi faciat, multa diuidatur inter Episcopum et Principem. Si uero uxor alicuius talem scienter uel uolenter in eius absentia receptauerit, mulier in foro ecclesiastico respondeat, et clericus ratione sui facti non puniatur, nec pro ea nisi uelit respondere cogatur.

Of stolen goods found in a clergyman's house. De furto in aliquorum clericorum domibus uel hominum Episcopi, nobis uidetur, quod nullius bona debent auferri nisi pro furto inuento in domibus ubi fuerit eorum habitatio, i. *Keywannedd*; quia talis domus erit (?) tantum *Halantj*<sup>d</sup>. Hoc audiuius a senioribus.

Joint jurisdiction of royal and episcopal bailiffs. Si balliui domini Lewelini seu Episcopi in suis curijs aliquos mulcent, ibi debet mulcta dimidiari inter Episcopum et Principem. Nobis uidetur, quod balliuus Principis debet secum habere aliquem ex parte Episcopi, in cuius presentia mulctam faciat et factam dimidiat; et balliuus Episcopi in sua curia similiter faciat.

Partes uero supradictæ ad ista inuiolabiliter seruanda teneantur; et ad ea seruanda sub-obligatæ sub eadem pena sint, qua in litteris inter ipsas confectis apud Llanderillo fuerint obligatæ.

In cuius rei testimonium nostra sigilla hijs patentibus litteris fecimus apponi. Datum Rydyrarw anno Domini M.CC.LXI<sup>o</sup>. die Veneris proxima post Pasch.

Hij sunt articuli de quibus dominium seculare presumit Ecclesiam fatigare contra institutiones Wallorum principum.

i. Primus articulus est de furto,—quum aliquis de territorio Episcopi puniatur ratione furti, Episcopus et Canonici debent recipere medietatem emendationis cuiuscunque furti ab homine eorum perpetrati usque ad vij. libras; prout fuerunt in plena possessione a tempore quo non extat ad memoriam usque ad tempus hodiernum. Verbi gratia, in balliua de Rudlan apud Kenlewein de emenda Meilig carpentarii; item de emenda filii Kewrýt Uoel, et aliorum plurium; item de balliua de Dinorben de emenda filii Heilin ab Yago, et a Johanne Segur, et a Richert Coec, et a pluribus aliis; item in balliua de Dinbych de emenda Madauc ap W. ap Kefnerth, et aliorum plurium.

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ii. Secundus articulus est; quod ubicunque in territorio Episcopi inueniatur *Halautj*, Episcopus et Canonici debent percipere medietatem omnium quæ inueniantur in domo illa: v. g. etc.

iii. Tertius est;—si aliquis homo Episcopi ductus ad patibulum, certus de suspensio, confiteatur suos conlatrones, et illi conlatrones propter dictum suspensi mulcentur prout est consuetudo patrie, medietatem illius mulcte, quantecunque quantitatis sit, debet Capitulum recipere, dummodo dicti conlatrones sint de territorio Episcopi: v. g. etc.

iv. Quartus est;—si duo homines, videlicet Principis et Episcopi, ad inuices in territorio Principis iniuriantur, et homo Episcopi sit ibidem captus et obligatus iuri parere seculari; Capitulum debet recipere medietatem emendæ homini eorum pro suo furto taxato: v. g. etc. Si autem in territorio Episcopi tales ad inuicem iniuriantur, Episcopus debet recipere totam emendam et forisfacturam sui hominis, et domini Principis sit emenda forefacture hominis ipsius: v. g. etc.

v. Quintus est;—quod contra conuentionem inter dominos Principes et antecessores nostros Episcopos, quæ quidem fuit talis, quod quando homines Principis et Episcopi haberent hereditatem ad inuicem in utroque dominio, in optione utriusque esset ubi residere vellet, aut in terra Principis aut in territorio Episcopi,—contra quam conuentionem proponit seculare dominium resistere, presumendo compellere homines Episcopi ad residendum in territorio Principis ratione domiciliorum quæ tenent ibi: v. g. etc.

vi. Sextus articulus est, de forestarijs et udwardis, quorum institutiones fuit<sup>o</sup> semper in possessione Episcopi et Canonorum, et ponere quemcunque uellent ad custodiendum siluas eorundem.

vii. Septimus est, de uiolenta uirginum defloracione in territorio Episcopi, cuius emende medietatem debet Episcopus cum suis Canonicis recipere.

viii. Octavus articulus est, de homicidio in territorio Episcopi perpetrato: res homicidæ remanebunt domino Episcopo propter homicidium in territorio suo perpetratum, emenda uero homicidij domino Principi.

ix. Nonus est, de incendio in terra Episcopi perpetrato, cuius emendæ medietas pertinet ad Episcopum.

x. Item si contingat hominem Episcopi capi forefaciendo in silua Principis, in curia eius debet respondere pro sua forefactura, medietatem tamen emende sue debet Episcopus recipere.

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xi. Item si obiciatur alicui homini Episcopi de questione furti, non debet minister Principis eum ex arrupto adire; sed premunitis et assumptis secum ministris Episcopi, simul forefactum adire; et si conuincatur communi consensu, recipiatur ab eo securitas que pro facto suo dari debeat: et si pro facto suo debeat mitti ad curiam Principis, medietatem emende sue debet Episcopus cum suis Canonicis recipere.

xii. Item de expedicione: si contingat homines Episcopi ad expeditionem uocati remanere contra prohibitionem domini, et propter dictam negligentiam multari, medietatem illius mulcte debet Episcopus cum suis Canonicis recipere. Si autem homines Episcopi uolunt concordare de suis rebus cum ministris Principis de sua expedicione, de tali redemptione nichil recipiet Capitulum.

xiii. Item, si contingat dubitare de terminis villarum Episcopi territorio Principis quasi coniunctim adiacentibus, baculus et euangelium<sup>f</sup> debent ibidem terminare.

Sede quidem uacante, recepit dominium seculare potestatem terminandi in territorio Episcopi contra iura canonica et similia manu uiolenta, et hoc apud Llangernyw, etc. [*Peniarth MSS.* 26, pp. 35-42; from *Lib. Rub. Assav.*<sup>h</sup>]

<sup>a</sup> The word in the MS. appears to be "kel-lynn."

<sup>b</sup> Newborough.

<sup>c</sup> The north-west comot of Anglesey.

<sup>d</sup> *Hal-arg-ty* = polluted house: the recognized term for the house of a person implicated in a robbery: v. *Glossary to Owen's Anc. Welsh Laws.*

<sup>e</sup> ? fuerunt.

<sup>f</sup> See above, p. 274.

<sup>g</sup> In Denbighshire.

<sup>h</sup> A memorandum in the MS. states that three more articles were added in the copy of the original document in the Red Book, but were "blotted in Coch Asaph," and "are to be found in *Libro Viridi*, fol. 90."

A.D. 1265. Feb. 16. *S. David's. Richard Bishop of S. David's to Henry III. King of England.*

Permit your bailiff of Caermarthen to signify your assent to the Abbat to be elected by the Canons of Caermarthen Priory, in order to spare them a second journey to your presence.

*Excellentissimo etc. H. Regi Angliæ etc. R. MISERATIONE DIVINA MENEVEN. ECCLESIAE MINISTER HUMILIS, salutem etc. Pro dilectis filiis canonicis S. Johannis de Karmerdyn vestræ Magnificentiae quanta decet devotione duximus supplicandum, quatenus memoratis canonicis ad vos pro negotio electionis suæ venientibus, quibus iterato ad vos veniendi tutus propter hostilitatem non patet accessus, quibus etiam propter destructionem domus suæ ad viatica et sumptus non sufficiunt sine magno incommodo facultates, conce-*



[BISHOP OF BANGOR NOT TO INTERFERE IN SECULAR CAUSES.]

dere velitis, quod post electionem celebratam electioni ipsorum ac electo ballivus vester de Kermerdyn vice vestra præbeat assensum. Valeat, etc. [*Prynne*, III. 122 b, from *Bundel. Certif. et Petit.* 49 *Hen. III.* etc.: and see *Fifth Report of Deputy Keeper of Records*, 1844, p. 80, num. 781.]

Ad eundem effectum ad Regem mittuntur literæ Canonorum Prioratus de Kaermerdyn: dat. die Lunæ prox. post festum S. Valentini anno Domini 1265. [*Id., ib.*]

A.D. 1265. May 15. Gloucester. Henry III. King of England to Richard Bishop of Bangor.

Withdraw your interdict upon Llywelyn's chapel, or at least suspend it until the next Parliament, already summoned, REX [HENRICUS III.] *Bangorensi Episcopo* [*Ricardo*] salutem. Ex parte L[ewelini] filii Griffini nobis est ostensum, quod, cum ipse pro se et hominibus suis vobis cautionem sufficientem frequenter obtulerit de parendo mandatis Ecclesiæ in forma juris, si in aliquo contra vos in præjudicium ecclesiasticæ libertatis deliquerint, vos cautionem hujusmodi hactenus admittere recusastis; nihilominus pro causis non ad forum ecclesiasticum immo ad curiam laicalem mere pertinentibus, ut de laicalibus feodis, capellam suam interdicto supposuitis. Et quia hoc sustinere nolumus sicut nec debemus, maxime cum placita de laicis feodis in regno nostro ad coronam et dignitatem nostram pertinent; vobis mandamus rogantes, quod præfatum interdictum sine moræ dispendio revocetis, vel saltem ponatis in respectum usque ad instans Parliamentum nostrum quod habituri sumus apud Westm., ubi vos una cum cæteris prælatis regni nostri juxta mandatum nostrum intereritis, ut tunc habito tractatu super præmissis inde fiat utrique parti quod de jure fuerit faciendum. Teste Rege apud Glouc., XV. die Maii. [*Close Rolls* 49 *Hen. III.*, memb. 6 *dorso*; in *Prynne, Records*, II. 1009.]

A.D. 1266. *Tenths granted to the King in England, Wales, etc.*

ANN. DE WINTON., *in an.* 1266.—Hoc anno concessa est domino Regi decima omnium bonorum religiosorum et ecclesiasticarum personarum Angliæ, Walliæ, etc., exceptis Templariis, Hospitalariis, et religiosis de ordine Cysterciensi, per tres annos. [pp. 104, 105. *Ann. Monast. II.* Luard.]

A.D. 1266. Sept. 29. *Agreement between Meurig guardian of the temporalities of S. Asaph (sede vacante) and the Chapter of S. Asaph.*

Compact respecting patronage, discipline, tithes, mortuaries, goods of deceased beneficed clergy, relief. *Universis Christi fidelibus has litteras visuris et audituris,* MAURICIUS CUSTOS ASSAUENSIS, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Nouerit vestra uniuersitas, quod nos gratia concordie et unitatis hos articulos Capitulo Assauensi et eiusdem Episcopatus ecclesiarum rectoribus concessimus, [et] hiis litteris apertis nostro sigillo firmatis nos firmiter obligauimus: primo, quod nos manutenebimus Capitulum Assauense et eiusdem Episcopatus ecclesiarum rectores in omnibus eorum libertatibus secundum vires nostras et posse nostrum; secundo, quod nos prebendam aliquam in quacumque parte illius dyoc. vacantem, absque consilio et consensu Archidiaconi et Decani ad minus de Sancto Assaph, nullatenus conferemus; et si contingat aliquem decedere uel discedere uel se ad aliqua uota transferre, quod illius canoniam[m] absque totius Capituli consilio alicui alteri minime conferemus; iterato, si aliquem canonicum diabolica suggestionem in aliquo delicto incidere contingat, ipsius correctio ad Capituli Decanum spectat; ita tamen quod Custos quemcunque voluerit ipsius correctioni libere poterit interesse: deinde, quod nos, tamdiu in custode existamus, aliquas decimas de terris persone ecclesiastice decimatis et postea a personis ecclesiasticis cultis, siue sint conductæ siue fuerint hereditarie possessæ, nullatenus exigamus, præterquam de sanctuariis: item reclusis, monialibus, et leprosis, in suis domibus residentibus, si posse soluendi habeant, eorum mortuaria ecclesiis in quarum parochiis sunt primo soluant, et quidquid supersit Custodi remanebit; si autem minus sufficientes sint ad soluendum, omnia bona eorum secto tramite per medium diuidantur, quorum medietas ecclesiis permanebit; si autem, ad Custodem, ut dictum est, declinabitur: item, si contingat aliquem rectorem ecclesie in debitis obligatum discedere, si in bonos usus illa bona in quibus tenetur conscripsit, et bona propria non habeat unde reddat, secundum proborum virorum consilia sua debita persoluat. De releuio autem sacerdotum aliquorum rectorum ecclesiarum, quisquis discedat et equum habeat, equum Custodi persoluat. Si autem equum non habeat, et alia bona habeat, Custos proborum virorum consilio in ualorem equi accipiendi adhærebit. Datum anno Domini M.CC. sexagesimo sexto in festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli<sup>a</sup>. [*Peniarth MSS.* 26, pp. 28-30; from *Lib. Rub. Assau.*]

## [REIGNATION OF THE BISHOP OF BANGOR.]

\* A confirmation by the same "M., Custos Assav.," of grants by Reiner, Abraham, and Howel, Bishops of S. Asaph, and of a confirmation thereof by Bishop Anian I. (who died in

1266), is also in the Book of S. Asaph (*Table of Contents*, in *Peniarth MSS.* 26, and *Nichols, Collect. Topogr.* II. 255 sq.); dated January 4, 1267.

A.D. 1267. *Richard Bishop of Bangor to Pope Clement IV.*

Implores permission to resign his *Sanctissimo patri et domino C[lementi] Divina providentia sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie Summo Pontifici*, RICARDUS BANGORENSIS EPISCOPUS, [devota] oscula beatorum. In desolatione positus et circumdatus undique laqueis, levo ad pastorem omnium oculos meos, unde mihi auxilium veniat et eruatur a tribulationibus anima mea, expectans ut salvum me faciat a facie tempestatis. Sane, pater sanctissime, consumpsit cor<sup>a</sup> meum et ebibit labores cure<sup>b</sup> pastoralis officii, in quo licet invitus et insufficiens plusquam triginta annis iam præteritis præfui Ecclesie Bangorensi; quam, dum pietas celestis annuit, expositis corporis et animæ uiribus, commisso mihi gubernaculo, [quam æque] tenere novissem studui gubernare. Nunc autem me possident dies afflictionis; et deficientibus præ senectute corporis uiribus, adiacentis quoque infirmitatis debilitas comittatur. Intereuntibus autem inter me que ipsa natura permiserat, accedit malicia plebis; que tot et tantis sedicionum et insolentiarum turbinibus agitur, ut etiam potens quisque compescendis uix sufficiat sponte corruentibus in profundum. Propterea, iam non pastor sed ovis, utinam minus morbida uel mutila, a summo pastore præsidium flagito; compaciensque alumpne<sup>b</sup>, cujus pondus ferre non possum, cui neque [alius] debitum præbere solatium [potest], Sanctitatis Apostolicæ pedibus provolutus, eoque spiritu præsens quo adhuc Servator meus sinit nostrum habitaculum vegetari, clamo, eiulo, vociferor, et pulso ad fores, patrone, vestras; ut sacrum illud coniugium, quo me prefate Ecclesie fide media copulaui, iam conversum in vincula et compedes ergastuli carceralis, soluere dignemini, digito quo clementiam vestram prouidentia Divina constituit in plenitudine potestatis: et non tam persone quam Ecclesie misericorditer prouidentes, ex predictis tam sufficientibus quam veris causis mihi porrigat beata dextra munus utilis et iuste [?] cessionis, tam eidem Ecclesie de pastore, quam michi de brevis uite residue sustentacione, iuxta dispositionem uestre clementissime sanctitatis misericorditer prouidendo. Receptionem autem mee cessionis et prouisionem de mee vite sustentacione, ac etiam de prouisione Ecclesie de pastore, venerabili patri domino O[tobono] sancti Adriani diacono Cardinali,

[LIBERTIES GRANTED TO THE SEE OF S. ASAPH BY LLYWELYN.]

Apostolicæ sedis legato, supplico pro clementia vestra litteras demandari. Dat.<sup>c</sup> ..... [From the *Lib. Rub. Assav.* in the *Peniarth MSS.* 26, pp. 31, 32: also in *Br. Willis, Bangor, App. V.* pp. 187, 188, from *Sir J. Sebright's MSS.*<sup>d</sup>, no. 102.]

<sup>a</sup> Possibly the MS. represents "corpus."

<sup>b</sup> So in *Peniarth MS.* Willis reads respectively, "labor et cura," and "columpnæ."

<sup>c</sup> Bishop Richard was consecrated in 1237, had held the see thirty years when he wrote the above letter, and died before Nov. 8, 1267, when his successor's *Congé d'Ealire* was issued. The bracketed words are conjectures, to fill up blanks in the copy; which after all is obscure.

Ottobone di Fresco, Cardinal deacon of S. Adrian, came to England as legate in 1267; and, Sept. 29, 1267, at Montgomery, sanctioned the solemn treaty between Henry III. and Llywelyn (*Rymer, I.* 474), to which reference is continually made in subsequent transactions.

<sup>d</sup> Probably this was from a copy made by Edw. Lhuyd from the Red Book itself. But, as printed by Br. Willis, it is exceedingly inaccurate.

A.D. 1268. May 10. *Westminster. Writ issued to the Bishop of S. David's to collect in his diocese the Tenths granted to Henry III. by the Pope.*

[Of the same form with the English writs<sup>a</sup>, but ending thus,] Ita quod diligentiam vestram merito debeamus commendare. Teste Rege apud Westm. X. die Maii. [*Pat. Rolls 52 Hen. III. memb. 25 intus*; in *Prynne, Records, II.* 1034.]

<sup>a</sup> Which are dated at Clarendon, Dec. 13, 1267. No writs are mentioned for the other Welsh dioceses; but S. Asaph was vacant; and at the gravamen and appeal of the clergy gene-

rally at London Oct. 14, 1269, proctors of Llandaff as well as S. David's, and the Bishop of S. David's, were present (*Wülk., II.* 20).

A.D. 1269. May 1. *Mold. Grant of liberties by Llywelyn Prince of Wales to Bishop Anian of S. Asaph*<sup>a</sup>.

*Universis sancte matris Ecclesie filiis ad quorum notitiam literæ præsentis pervenerint, FRATER A[NIANUS] CHRISTI SERVUS AC PERMISSIONE DIVINA ASSAUENSIS ECCLESIE MINISTER HUMILIS, salutem in salutis Auctore. Nouerit uestra uniuersitas nos impetrasse ac recepisse literas domini Lewelini Principis in hec uerba.—LEWELINUS PRINCEPS WALLIE DOMINUS SNAUDONIE, ballinis suis de Bernetwlad<sup>b</sup>, salutem. Mandamus uobis precipientes, quatinus obseruare studeatis cum fratre Aniano Episcopo de Sancto Assaph omnes consuetudines meliores, quas predecessores nostri cum suis antecessoribus Episcopis obseruauerunt, seu nos fecimus obseruari; et hoc quoad feodum laycalem: et si contigerit super aliqua consuetudine, per nos siue per predecessores nostros suis antecessoribus Episcopis concessa, dubitari; ex tunc infra quindenam per XII. probos et fide dignos homines, de patria in qua*

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super hijs dubitatur, ac iuratos tactis sacrosanctis, diligenter discutiat; atque quod inde inueneritis, fideliter obseruetis; cautionem super hoc facientes, quod pro defectu uestro in exsequendo presens nostrum mandatum non audiamus amplius predicti Episcopi querelam. Dat. apud Montem Altum, anno Domini M.CC.LX<sup>o</sup>. nono, in die Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi:—Nos ergo consuetudines uniuersas per totum dominium nostrum et feodum laycalem volumus et precipimus firmiter obseruari, ratum et gratum habituri quicquid predicti XII. iuraturi in animas suas et super nomen (?) Domini duxerint super hijs deponendum. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Dat. apud eundem locum, anno eodem, pontificatus nostri anno primo. [From *Lib. Rub. Assav.*; in *Pemiarth MSS.* 26, pp. 69, 70.]

\* Anian of Nannau, commonly miswritten "Schonaw." He had been Prior of the Dominican House at Rhuddlan, which therefore had been founded before 1268, Oct. 21, when he became Bishop (*Dugd. Mon. VI.* 1500). An "excommunicatio lata in violatores privilegiorum per A. Assav. Episcopum. per consensum Episcopi Eboracens.," mentioned in the contents of the *Lib. Rub. Assav.* (*Nichols, Collect. Topogr. II.*, and *Pemiarth MSS.* 26), in A.D. 1270, must have been during the vacancy of the see of

Canterbury (July 18, 1270—Feb. 26, 1273). In the same contents is mentioned a "citatio Epi Exon. ad interessend. consecrationi Aniani electi Assav. Epi in ecclesia Beate Marie in Suthwerke die Dominico post festum Beati Lucz Euangel<sup>o</sup> 2<sup>o</sup> Dni 1268, Londonij:" i. e. Oct. 21, 1268.

<sup>b</sup> Perfeddwlad, the middle land, was that part of Llywelyn's country which was (almost entirely) in S. Asaph diocese.

A.D. 1272. *Suspension of a Clerk in S. Asaph diocese for receiving orders from an "Ultramontane Bishop."*

Testimonium Aniani Episcopi Assauensis, dat. anno 1272, testificans quod ipse, secundum tenorem litterarum PP. domini recitatarum, quendam clericum ab executione officii suspenderit, quod ordines ab Episcopo quodam ultra montano acceperit; et tempore suspensionis elapso, ad ordines restituerit. [Entry in *Contents of Lib. Rub. Assav.*, in *Pemiarth MSS.* 26, p. 4; printed in *Nichols' Collectan. Topogr. II.* 255 sq.]

A.D. 1274. *March 7. Strata Florida. Welsh Cistercian Abbats to Pope Gregory X.*

The Bishop of Asaph has falsely accused Llywelyn of wronging monks, or monasteries, of whatever order.

TRANSCRIPTUM LITTERÆ ABBATUM CONTRA EPISCOPUM. —*Sanctissimo patri ac domino Gregorio Summo Pontifici*, SUI DEUOTISSIMI FILIOLI, ABBAS DE ALBA DOMO, DE STRATA FLORIDA, DE CWMHYR, DE STRAT-MARCHELTH, DE ABERCONWEY, DE KEMER, DE VALLE CRUCIS, CISTERCIENSIS

[LETTER OF WELSH CISTERCIAN ABBATS TO THE POPE.]

ORDINIS IN WALLIA, salutem et deuotissima pedum oscula beatorum cum assiduis orationibus deuotorum. Sanctissime paternitatis vestre literæ nobili viro Lewelino Principi Walliæ directæ ad suggestionem venerabilis patris Episcopi Assauensis inter cetera continebant, quod non nulli laici de terra dicti Principis et subiecti nonnunquam in domibus monasteriorum et ecclesiarum Assauensis dyocesis, personis in eisdem monasteriis et ecclesiis degentibus contradicentibus et inuitis, hospitium sicut ex debito vendicant minus iuste; ac ab eisdem monasteriis et ecclesiis procuraciones tanquam sibi debitas exigunt indebite et extorquent. Quodsi eedem procuraciones a dictis personis non exhibeantur eisdem, bona dictorum monasteriorum et ecclesiarum auferunt et asportant exinde uiolenter. Et quod grauius est, personas ipsas uariis contumeliis et iniuriis afficere non uerentur, easque Dei timore postposito uerberando acriter seu etiam uulnerando et interdum ipsarum aliquas nequiter occidendo. Set quia non minus meritorium est innocentium famam purgare quam nocentium transgressionem et falsitates castigare, ideo præsentium tenore uestre Sanctissime Paternitati notum facinus, quod nulli nostrum seu ex mandato nostro uel interpellatione querelam alicui deposuerunt de dicto Principe aut suis super grauaminibus, dampnis, et iniuriis, nobis aut personis aliquibus nostræ religionis ab eis illatis. Et qui uobis hoc suggestit, apertissime falsum dixit. Immo tutor strenuus ac præcipuus ordinis nostri, singulorumque ordinum et ecclesiasticarum in Wallia personarum, extitit dictus Princeps, tam pacis quam guerre temporibus retroactis. Unde uestre Sanctissime Paternitati flexis genibus humiliter supplicamus, quod Diuine caritatis intuitu non credatis alias predicto Episcopo Assauensi de prefato Principe talia refferenti, uel consimilia, que eius famam ualeant denigrare. Et ad maiorem huius nostre depositionis declarationem presentes literas nostris sigillis fecimus consignari. Dat. apud Stratam Floridam, anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>.CC<sup>o</sup>.LXX<sup>o</sup>.III<sup>o</sup>. septimo die Martii. [From *Lib. Rub. Assau.*; in *Pemiarth MSS.* 26, pp. 64, 65.]

A.D. 1274. May 3. *Westminster. Writ to arrest Vagabond Canons of Llantonay.*

REX *omnibus balliuis*, etc., salutem. Cum Nich. de Fekenham, Leonardus de Lantonay, et Johannes de Ros, canonici de Lantonay Prima, sine licentia sui Prioris, et sprete regulari disciplina, domum

k k 2

[EXCOMMUNICATION OF LLYWELYN INHIBITED BY THE POPE.]

suam nequiter exierunt, et tanquam profugi et vagabundi de loco ad locum discurrant, in scandalum Ecclesiæ, per quod sententia excommunicationis meruerunt innodari; sicut per literas venerabilis patris J. Hereford Episcopi accepimus: nos, insolentiam prædictorum canonicorum sic vagantium quantum in nobis est reprimi volentes, ad requisitionem dicti Episcopi, necnon et Prioris Prioratus prædicti, vobis mandamus, quod cum prædicti canonici per vos transitum fecerint, ipsos arrestari et eidem Priori liberari faciatis, secundum exigentiam sui ordinis castigandos. In cujus, etc. Dat. apud Westm. III. die Maii. [In *Prynne, Records*, III. 152, from *Pat. 2 Edw. I. memb. 18.*]

A.D. 1274. August 18. Lyons. Gregory X. to Robert Archbishop of Canterbury.

Do not excommunicate or interdict Llywelyn and his subjects, if they are willing to appear before your commissioners in Wales.

GREGORIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri [Ricardo] Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Sua nobis dilectus filius nobilis vir Lewelinus Princeps Walliæ petitione monstravit, quod propter guerras et dissensiones continuas in illis partibus ingruentes pluries evenit, quod eidem Principi, suisque ministerialibus, familiaribus, atque subditis, aditus in regnum Angliæ non est tutus; et nichilominus contingit eos illuc per sedem Cantuariensem ad iudicium evocari; et interdum in ipsos, occasione huiusmodi, sententias excommunicationis proferri, et terram ipsius Principis supponi ecclesiastico interdicto: ex quo personarum et rerum noscuntur eis pericula imminere. Quare præfatus Princeps nobis humiliter supplicavit, ut providere in hac parte sibi dictisque ministerialibus, familiaribus, et subditis, huiusmodi obviando periculis, paterna sollicitudine curaremus. Nos itaque, præfati Principis supplicationibus inclinati, Fraternitatem tuam rogamus et hortamur attente, per Apostolica tibi scripta mandantes, quatinus prædictos Principem, ministeriales, familiares, et subditos ejus, dummodo parati sint coram commissariis tuis in Wallia deputatis, ad quorum præsentiam secure accedere valeant, de se conquerentibus justitiam exhibere, in Angliam, si quando ex huiusmodi causis periculum imminet, ad iudicium non evoces; nec ad prædictas excommunicationis et interdicti sententias hac de causa procedas; neque contra eos propter hoc ad sententias prædictas procedi aliquatenus patiaris: preces et mandatum nostrum in hac parte taliter

[CONFIRMATION BY THE POPE OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN LLYWELYN AND DAVID.]

impletur, quod idem Princeps exinde commodum se gaudeat reportasse, nosque devotionem tuam possimus in Domino merito commendare. Dat. Lugdun., XV. kal. Septemb., pontificatus nostri anno tertio. [*Plumbeo sigillo a filo canabeo.*]—[*Rymer, I. 515.*]

A.D. 1274. Aug. 18. Lyons. Gregory X. to Llywelyn Prince of Wales.

CONFIRMATION BY THE POPE OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN LLYWELYN AND DAVID.

Confirms the agreement between Llywelyn and his brother David made by the Bishops of Bangor and Assaph.

GREGORIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, dilecto filio nobili viro *Llewelino principi Wallie*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum a nobis petitur quod justum est et honestum, tam vigor æquitatis quam ordo S. exigit rationis, ut id per sollicitudinem officii nostri ad debitum perducatur effectum. Sane petitio tua, nobis exhibita, continebat, quod dudum inter te, et nobilem virum David fratrem tuum, super quibusdam terris, possessionibus, et rebus aliis, materia quæstionis exorta, tandem, mediantibus venerabilibus fratribus nostris [Aniano] Bangoren. et [Aniano] Assaphen. Episcopis, amicabilem super his inter partes compositio intervenit, de observanda compositione hujusmodi hinc inde corporali præstito juramento. Et nichilominus jurisdictioni eorundem Episcoporum super hoc eo modo vos submittere curavistis: videlicet, ut dicti Episcopi in partem contra compositionem prædictam venientem possent censuram ecclesiasticam exercere; ac obscuritates ipsius compositionis, si fortassis emergerent, interpretari et etiam declarare, prout (secundum Deum) viderent qualitati negotii et quieti earundem partium expedire. Postmodum vero super quibusdam articulis in compositione ipsa contentis, qui in aliqua parte sui dubium et obscuritatem habebant, inter prædictas partes quæstione suborta, iidem Episcopi, prout ex forma hujusmodi submissionis poterant, in præfatis articulis circa dubium et obscuritatem prædicta quandam interpretationem et declarationem fecerunt providam et salubrem: prout in litteris inde confectis, eorumdum Episcoporum sigillis munitis, plenius dicitur contineri. Nos itaque, tuis supplicationibus inclinati, interpretationem et declarationem prædictas, sicut provide factæ sunt, ratas et gratas habentes, illas auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus et præsentis scripti pagina communimus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ confirmationis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis



[DIOCESAN SYNOD OF S. ASAPH.]

Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Ejus se noverit incursum. Dat. Lugdun., XV. kal. Septemb., pontificatus nostri anno tertio. [*Sub filis sericis flavi rubeique coloris.*]—[Rymer, I. 515.]

\* The Agreement referred to is entered at MSS. 26, pp. 67, 68), dated at "Aberreu A.D. length in the *Lib. Rub. Assau.* (Peniarth 1269."

A.D. 1274. Oct. 19. *Diocesan Assembly at S. Asaph respecting the liberties of the Diocese.*

Evidence solemnly taken by the Synod respecting the relative rights of Prince and Bishop.

IN NOMINE DOMINI, AMEN. Cum dudum super iuribus et libertatibus Ecclesie Assauensis inter dominum Lewelinum Principem Walliæ ex una parte et fratrem Anianum eiusdem loci Episcopum ex altera fuisset controuersia orta, volens idem Episcopus expressius inuestigare, tam per clericos quam per laicos antiquiores et fide digniores, qui super hijs plenarie nouerint ueritatem, quæ essent iura eadem, et diligenti examinatione in lucem proferre; ne per ambitionis ardorem, quo quis minus iuste aliena appetit, alterutra partium contingeret in posterum quod alterius esse noscitur sibi usurpare: anno Incarnationis Dominicæ M.CC.LXXIIII, feria VI<sup>ta</sup>, crastino beati Lucæ Euangeliste, conuocatis in unum apud ecclesiam maiorem de Sancto Assaph eiusdem loci Capitulo ac alijs clericis ac laicis fide dignis, qui circa præmissa luculente erant instructi, presertim cum non tam de auditu sed de scientia uisus omnes essent instructi, descendit super præmissis ad inquirendum de officio suo; eo quod frequentes clamores et iniurie manifeste ad eum jam deuenerint.

In qua inquisitione ordine subscripto processit: uidelicet, premisso sub pena excommunicationis edicto, ne quis eorum quicquam celaret super præmissis quod facere uidebantur tam pro Principe quam pro Episcopo, datoque a singulis ad euangelia iuramento.

Compertum est, quod, retroactis temporibus, Episcopi Assauenses qui pro tempore fuerant, et Capitulum Assauense, per suos balliuos omnia iudicia, tam et sanguinis quam alia omnia que in curia seculari solent agitari, exercebant; et furcas suas ad malefactores exterminandos proprias habuerunt: sed, crescente postea hominum malicia, ac metuentibus Episcopis et Capitulo ne propter suspendia suorum hominum, quæ tunc per suos balliuos fiebant, irregularitatis incurrerent notam; inhabita<sup>a</sup> cum seculari dominio conuentione, ei concesserunt mulcte<sup>b</sup> pro furto mediocri (quando scilicet citra

[DIOCESAN SYNOD OF S. ASAPH.]

iudicium mortis fieri contingeret furtum per homines Episcopi et Capituli): ad hoc, quod ipsa secularis potestas dampnandos homines Ecclesie iudicarent, et morti traderent. Ita tamen quod balliui dominii secularis, et ministri, in hominem Episcopi et Capituli diffamatum super furto manum non inicerent, nisi prius uocatis iconomo Ecclesie et suis coministris communi assensu habito talem caperent, et si furtum esset evidens, eum incarcerationum ad aliquem locum carceralem dominii secularis ducerent; ubi postea, si talis a morte redimeretur, medietas precii Episcopo et Capitulo erat assignanda, et alia medietas domino seu eius balliuo loci ipsius ubi talis esset incarcerationum. Quod autem Ecclesia fuit in pacifica possessione et diutina amerciamenti talis furti, multis exemplis fuit probatum ut sequitur. Ieuaf filius Caducani, Canonicus Assauensis, iuratus et requisitus dixit, quod temporibus retroactis, uidelicet tempore patris sui, aui, et attau, secundum quod ab eis audierat, consuevit mulcta hominis Episcopi et Capituli pro furto, dum tale non esset furtum quod exinde iudicium mortis sequeretur, equaliter diuidi inter Ecclesiam et dominiumulare: si uero talis iudicaretur ad mortem et propterea iuxta patrie consuetudinem a suspendio se redimeret, tunc, quod precium sanguinis est, nihil Episcopo reseruabatur, sed totum domino seculari deuoluebatur tale precium etc. etc. °

[From *Lib. Rub. Assau.*; in *Peniarth MSS.* 26, pp. 45 sq.]

° *Fors. leg.* "inita."

° *Fors. leg.* "muktas."

Several pages of cases follow, wherein the Church's right had (as it was alleged) been exercised or allowed; the whole document being regarded as of such importance, that it

recurs later in the book in Welsh. The cases do not go back beyond the time of Llywelyn son of Jorwerth, Prince of Wales A.D. 1194-1240, and of Bishops Reiner A.D. 1186, and Abraham A.D. 1225, and the Howels A.D. 1235 and 1240.

A.D. 1274. ANN. CAMB.—Inceptum fuit feretrum beati Daud in ecclesia Menevensi. [p. 104 ed. Williams.]

A.D. 1275. May 25. *Abythou* \*. *Llywelyn Prince of Wales to Robert Archbishop of Canterbury.*

The Bishop of Amph has maligned Llywelyn. He has not wronged the Bishop or the Church, and is

*Venerabili in Christo Patri domino Roberto Dei gratia Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Anglie Primati, DEUOTUS SUUS LEWELINUS PRINCEPS WALLENS., [DOMINUS] SNOUDON., salutem et summam in Domino cum Dei honore reuerentiam. Literas vestras nuper recepimus, ex quarum*

[LLYWELYN TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.]

ready to accept any reasonable terms, if both parties are bound to observe them. tenore liquide perpenti potuit Episcopum Assauensem quædam de nobis et subditis nostris vobis insinuasse, quæ non deceret tantum virum prelato suo suggerere, utpote contrarium ueritâti continenciæ. Continebatur enim in literis supradictis, quod nos moti sumus erga predictum Episcopum, pro eo quod ipse Ecclesie sue jura, libertates, et consuetudines, vendicat; præsertim illas, in quarum possessione uel quasi a tempore cuius non extat memoria fuit Ecclesia memorata: quarum libertatum et consuetudinum possessione satis innuitur in literis uestris supradictis nos predictam Ecclesiam spoliasse. Utpote de emendis pro transgressionibus vassallorum ipsius Ecclesiæ, et hiis similibus. Super quibus si uobis de rei ueritate constaret, eidem Episcopo super multis, que de nobis et subditis nostris vobis insinuat, denegaretis audienciam. Unde Paternitati uestre presentibus innotescere volumus, quod tam predecessores nostri quam nos, temporibus predecessorum suorum, ac diu retroactis temporibus usque ad hec tempora, fuimus in possessione uel quasi pacifica libertatum et consuetudinum predictarum quas sibi uendicat. Et si per cartas predecessorum nostrorum super collacione predictarum libertatum et consuetudinum ab eisdem factas<sup>b</sup> Ecclesie Assauensi docere poterit predictas libertates et consuetudines ad Ecclesiam predictam pertinere de jure; parati erimus Ecclesiæ libertates et consuetudines sine contencione prefate Ecclesie concedere. Sin autem, licet in possessione predictarum libertatum et consuetudinum nos et predecessores nostri fuerimus, prout superius continetur. Concedimus tamen, quod rei ueritas inquiratur in partibus ubi vendicat libertates et consuetudines supradictas, per viros fide dignos, exceptis personis nobis suspectis; et secundum ueritatem inquisitionis contencio supradicta decidatur. Et cum alias inter ipsum Episcopum et balliuos nostros super predictis libertatibus et consuetudinibus orta esset materia contencionis, de communi ipsius et nostro consensu conquieuit illa contencio in forma, que in literis ipsius Episcopi sigillo suo signatis continetur; quarum tenorem de uerbo ad uerbum ad maiorem huius rei euidentiam vestre transmittimus Paternitati. Quarum formam semper fuimus et adhuc parati sumus obseruare, si prefato Episcopo placuerit. Præterea quia explanatione fide dignorum intelleximus, quod idem Episcopus asseruit in presentia uestra se nobis obtulisse quasdam formas, per quas contencionem super predictis libertatibus et consuetudinibus concessit fore decidendam; uidelicet, quod ipse

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et nos staremus arbitrio siue dictis Tudur filii Ythneued senescalli nostri, et Eýnaun filii Keyradauc, super decisione eiusdem contencionis; uel quod nos secundum conscientiam nostram in periculo anime nostre predictam contencionem decideremus: ne uideamus mensuram recusare, vestram Paternitatem uolumus non latere, quod nos parati sumus aliquam de formis supradictis, quam idem Episcopus eligerit, acceptare; dummodo ad obsequendum eandem idem Episcopus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Assauensis se satis idonee obligauerint. Ad hoc, quod absurdum est audire, ex literis uestris premissis satis elici potuit, quod nos tallias, collectas, seu exactiones, personis imponimus ecclesiasticis ad libitum, Ecclesie contradicente prelato; quantum ad hoc, ecclesias ipsas nobis facientes censuales: quæ quidem omnino negamus. Immo parati sumus et erimus ecclesias et viros ecclesiasticos contra molestatores eorundem tueri et fouere. Si uero aliquis de nobis uel de subditis nostris conquiri uoluerit, nos in premissis uel in aliquibus eorundem ipsos grauasse; tanquam Deo et Ecclesie obedientes, faciemus debitam emendam super hoc fieri, cum omni quam poterimus celeritate. Hæc omnia prefato Episcopo in presentia Paternitatis vestre, tanquam filius obedientiæ, offerimus; et adhuc eidem Episcopo in presentia sua propria offerimus. Et parati erimus eadem ad effectum perducere. Paternitatem ergo vestram omni qua possumus deuotione rogamus, quatinus, habita consideratione ad ea quæ uobis superius significamus, nos per eundem Episcopum de cetero fatigari, si placet, non permittatis; cum parati simus ea quæ offerimus ad effectum perducere. Nec uos, si placet, eidem Episcopo aliqua sinistra de nobis et subditis nostris uobis suggerenti credere debetis, nec propter dicta sua turbari; cum nichil aliud querat, prout nobis uidetur, nisi quod possit famam nostram apud bonos et graues denigrare. Voluntatem vestram super hijs et omnibus alijs nobis, ad beneplacita uestra paratis, si uestræ sederit uoluntati, significare uelitis. Valeat Paternitas uestra domini.<sup>c</sup> in Domino. Dat. apud Abython, VIIJ. kal. Junii anno Domini 1275. [From *Lib. Rub. Assav.*, in *Peniarth MSS.* 26, pp. 71-74.]

<sup>a</sup> A manor belonging to the Princes of North Wales.<sup>c</sup> So in MS.<sup>b</sup> "factæ," in MS.

[LLYWELYN CLAIMS PROTECTION FROM THE POPE.]

A.D. 1275. Sept. 8. *Canterbury.* *Welsh Bishops absent themselves from the Consecration of the Bishop of Hereford.*

POLISTOIRE, *in an.*—Le an de grace 1275, en l'eglise de Caunterbiure, le jur de la Nativite nostre Dame, Robert Arcevesque de Caunterbyre al gouvernement de l'Eglise de Hereford sacra mestre Thomas Cauntelo; professiun primes de li pris, selum la custume, de dewe obedience: presens et ministrauns en cel office, des suffragans de Cauntbyre, soulement deus Eveskes, de Lundres et de Roucestre, et les autres tous absens; dont se ennouya trop l'Arceveske; et ke plus chargea, les veysins de cel elit, Eveskes de Gales, ne venir ne voloyent, ne eus duement excuser. [*Harl. MSS. 636.*]

A.D. 1275. Sept. 11. *Treschyn.* *Llywelyn Prince of Wales to Pope Gregory X.*

*Sanctissimo in Christo patri domino Gregorio, Divina providentia summo Pontifici, HUMILIS SUUS ET DEVOTUS L., PRINCEPS WALLIÆ, DOMINUS SNOUDON., devota pedom oscula beatorum. Non sine magna necessitate vestre Sanctitati compellimur intimare, quod, cum olim habitæ fuissent contentiones et discordiæ, ex quibus guerra orta fuit et diu etiam habita inter excellentem virum dominum H. bonæ memoriæ Regem Angliæ illustrem, ex parte una, et nos ex altera, tandem, auctoritate sedis Apostolicæ interveniente, per venerabilem patrem dominum Ottobonum Sancti Adriani diaconum Cardinalem,*

Edward I. has broken the peace, made under the legate's sanction between Henry III. and Llywelyn. The Welsh Prince is ready to do personal homage to Edward if it be only in a safe place. Do not believe any stories to his disadvantage without fair enquiry.

tunc ejusdem sedis in Anglia legatum, guerra, contentiones, et discordiæ supradictæ sopitæ fuerunt in quadam forma pacis, initæ inter præfatum dominum Regem et successores suos ex parte una, et nos et successores nostros ex altera, juramento tam ipsius domini Regis et domini Edwardi primogeniti sui, qui postea eidem successit in regno Angliæ et adhuc idem regnum optinet, quam etiam nostro vallata: quæ quidem forma pacis per eundem dominum legatum in scriptis est redacta, et tam sigillo ipsius quam sigillis prædictorum domini Regis et domini Edwardi quam etiam nostro roborata. In qua quidem forma inter alia continentur, quod nos et successores nostri tenere debemus de ipso domino Rege et successoribus suis

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Walliæ principatum: ita quod omnes barones Walliæ, Wallenses, a nobis et hæredibus nostris terras suas in capite teneant, et homagia ac fidelitatem nobis et successoribus nostris faciant, unico barone excepto; pro quibus nos et successores nostri tenemur facere homagium et fidelitatem præfato domino Regi et successoribus suis. Continetur etiam ibidem, quod idem dominus Rex et successores sui non recipient in terris suis aliquem adversarium seu inimicum vel fugitivum nostrum seu successorum nostrorum, nec eos contra nos et successores nostros manutenebunt seu juvabunt. Quæ omnia in forma pacis prædicta, cujus tenorem lator præsentium Sanctitati vestræ exhibere poterit, plene continentur. Ecce, pater sancte, præfatus dominus Edwardus, Rex Angliæ ad præsens illustris, quorundam baronum Wallensium terras, ad dominium nostrum spectantes, in quarum pacifica possessione fuimus longo tempore post dictam formam pacis, sub dominio suo jam detinet. Quemdam etiam baronum nostrum, qui per formam pacis supradictæ cum terris suis ad nos de jure spectare deberet, adhuc nobis non restituit, set in partem suam adhuc retinet. Alios etiam barones, de terra nostra fugitivos ac felones, qui machinati fuerunt in mortem nostram, in terra sua receptat, juvat, et manutenet, contra formam pacis supradictam; non obstante, quod prædas in terris nostris ceperint; homicidia, incendia, commiserunt; et adhuc non cessant facere consimilia. Et licet litteras Sanctitatis vestræ supplicatorias recepit, quod formam pacis supradictam observet, quarum litterarum tenorem idem lator præsentium Sanctitati vestræ poterit exhibere, tamen ob reverentiam earumdem usque adhuc tempora nichil facere curavit. Item, quod nobis periculosius est, vocat nos ad locum nobis minus tutum, inter capitales nostros inimicos et maxime fugitivos et felones supradictos, ad faciendum sibi homagium et fidelitatem<sup>b</sup>; ad quem locum nullo modo accedere possemus sine corporis nostri periculo. Et licet in præsentia sua binæ propositæ fuissent excusationes super præmissis, tamen easdem admittere seu locum tutum ad faciendum sibi homagium et fidelitatem nobis assignare recusavit: quæ quidem parati sumus facere in omni loco tuto, per ipsum nobis assignando; dum ipse articulos in præmissa forma pacis contentos observet, et quod transgressum fuerit contra articulos memoratos corrigat, et si quæ de illis quæ ad nos spectare debent defuerint, adimpleat. Et quia non placuit eidem domino Regi accedere ad locum ad quem nobis pateret tutus accessus, ut homagium sibi faceremus; supplicavimus eidem

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quod mitteret ad nos aliquos de suis, qui fidelitatem a nobis reciperent, quousque provideretur nobis de loco tuto in quo personaliter præfato domino Regi facere possemus homagium; quod penitus facere denegavit. Et quia timemus, quod idem dominus Rex præmissa facit, ut occasionem quærat divertendi a forma pacis supradictæ; in totum non plus intelligentes expedire occurrere quam post negotium vulnerantis remedium, ad pedes Sanctitatis vestræ provoluti, Excellentiæ vestræ omni qua possumus devotione supplicamus, quatinus remedium quod secundum Deum expedire videretur, si vestræ sederit voluntati, prædicto negotio apponi faciatis; partem a forma pacis supradictæ resilire volentem ad observationem ejusdem compellendo: attendentes, si vestræ sederit Sanctitati, quanta pericula rebus et personis populorum Walensium et Anglorum imminere poterunt, si, occasione formæ pacis supradictæ non observatæ, guerra et discordiæ (quod Deus avertat) ortæ fuerunt de novo. Et quia constituti sumus in partibus a curia vestra adeo remotis, quod non patet nobis accessus ad curiam vestram nisi per capitales inimicos nostros, qui etiam maritima custodiunt ne transitus per eadem nobis pateat ad curiam supradictam, quantacumque nobis gravaminis inferatur; Sanctitati vestræ placeat, quod nullus, prædicans de nobis sinistra seu contra dictam formam pacis aliquid nos egisse, exaudiat: nec aliquid contra nos exaudiat, quousque per aliquem discretum et fidelem, cognitione præmissa, partibus ad locum tutum vocatis, vobis ad plenum constiterit de negotio memorato. Conservet vos Altissimus Ecclesiæ Suæ per tempora longa. Dat. apud Treschyn, tertio idus Septembris anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>. quinto. [Rymer, I. 528.]

<sup>a</sup> At Montgomery, Sept. 29, A.D. 1267: in Rymer, I. 474.

<sup>b</sup> For Llywelyn's proffered homage, see Rymer, I, 498, 499, 519, 528 (A.D. 1272-1276).

A.D. 1275. Oct. 6. *Talybont. Llywelyn Prince of Wales to Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter Archbishop of York, and their Suffragans, assembled in Council in London.*

[This letter is almost verbatim the same with the preceding one, *mutatis mutandis*: except that it names the Abbats of Strata Florida and Conway as bearers of Llywelyn's letter, and David ap Gruffydd and Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn as Llywelyn's "fugitives." It is translated in *Append. to Warrington's Wales*, pp. 569-571.]

A.D. 1275. Nov. 24. *Tower of London. Writ to Collect a Fifteenth from the Honour of Abergavenny (among others), to pay the King's Debts in the Holy Land.*

REX *Abbatibus, Prioribus, Baronibus, Militibus, liberis hominibus, et omnibus aliis tenentibus de Honore de Bergavenny*, salutem. Cum Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Abbates, Priores, Barones, Milites, et omnes alii de regno nostro, quintam decimam de bonis suis, quibusdam tamen exceptis, nobis liberaliter concesserunt et benigne, ad exoneracionem debitorum, in quibus diversis mercatoribus de tempore quo moram in Terra Sancta fecimus, obligamur: nos, de affectione et dilectione quas erga nos credimus vos habere, gerentes fiduciam plenior, vos affectuose requirimus et rogamus, quatinus statum nostrum quoad præmissa plenius intuentes, quintam decimam de bonis vestris, juxta formam quam dilecti et fideles nostri Grimbaldus Pauncefort et Magister Henr. de Bray, quos ad quintamdecimam in partibus vestris colligendam deputavimus, vobis ex parte nostra exponent, nobis favorabiliter concedatis; ita quod a nobis pro hoc grates favorabilius reportare debeatis temporibus oportunis. Et prædictis Grimbardo et Henr. in præmissis intendentes sitis et respondentes. In cujus, etc. Teste Rege apud Turrin London., XXIII. die Novembris. [In *Prynne, Records*, III. 179, from *Pat. 4 Edw. I. memb. 36 intus.*]

A.D. 1276. Jan. 20. *Winchester. Confirmation of Liberties of S. Asaph by Edward I. to Bishop Anian.*

EDWARDUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIÆ, DOMINUS HIBERNIÆ, ET DUX AQUITANIÆ, *omnibus ad quos præsentis litera pervenerint*, salutem. Volentes venerabili patri Aniano Episcopo de Sancto Assaph, optentu dilectionis quam penes personam suam gerimus, gratiam facere specialem; concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, eidem Episcopo et successoribus suis Ecclesie sue de Sancto Assaph, quod ipsi de cetero, eisdem iuribus, libertatibus, possessionibus, et consuetudinibus, diu optentis, utantur et gaudeant pacifice et quiete, quibus idem Episcopus et predecessores sui Episcopi eiusdem loci usi et gauisi fuerunt, melius tempore bone memorie domini Henrici Regis patris nostri. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste Rege apud Winton.



[ENGLISH BISHOPS DENOUNCE LLYWELYN EXCOMMUNICATE.]

XX. die Januarii \*. [Pat. 4 Edw. I. memb. 34 *intus*; in *Prynne, Records*, III. 178; and (as dated at Rhuddlan Nov. 10, 1277) from *Lib. Rub. Assav.*, in *Br. Willis, S. Asaph, Append. VI.*, and *Peniarth MSS.* 26, pp. 60 and 134.]

\* Repeated *verbatim*, at Rhuddlan Nov. 10, 1277 (*Peniarth MSS.* 26, p. 2, from *Lib. Rub. Assav.*), and again Nov. 10, 1289 (*Wharton, De Episc. Assav.*, from *Rot. Wall. 17 Edw. I.* par. ii. memb. 10; and *Prynne, Records*, III. 388); and again, by Edward II., at Stamford Aug. 5, 1309 (*Peniarth MSS.* 26, p. 135; from

*Lib. Rub. Assav.*), and by Henry IV. July 20, 1402, and by Henry V. Feb. 4, 1415 (*ib.* pp. 135, 136); and ratified by Edward I. himself, in a writ to the Justiciary of Chester and Howel son of Llywelyn, Nov. 18, 1278 (*ib.* pp. 97, 98).

A.D. 1276. April 18. *Bangor.* Dean and Chapter of Bangor to Robert Archbishop of Canterbury: [informing him of a conspiracy of David, aided by Gruffydd son of Gwenwynwyn and by Owen son of Gruffydd, to kill Llywelyn—in *Rymer, I.* 532.]

A.D. 1276. November 13. *Westminster.* The English Bishops to Llywelyn, admonishing him to desist from disturbing the realm of England.

They denounce him excommunicate unless he makes satisfaction within a fortnight.

FRATER ROBERTUS PERMISSIONE DIVINA CANTUARIE ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMAS, J. LOND., H. ELYEN., W. BATH. ET WELLEN., THOM. HEREFORD., W. ROFF., ET ALII EPISCOPI IN PRÆSENTIUM CONFECTIONE PRÆSENTES, *nobili viro domino Lewelino Principi Walliæ domino Snaudonia*, spiritum

consilii sanioris. Cum in Concilio Oxoniensi sub sanctæ recordationis Stephano Cantuariæ Archiepiscopo, et in sententia lata in Aula Westmonasteriensi per bonæ memoriæ Bonifacium Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum et quamplures Cantuariensis provinciæ suffraganeos, de consensu etiam et voluntate piæ memoriæ W. Eborum Archiepiscopi, sub præsentia et assensu H. recordationis egregiæ Regis Angliæ, domini R. Comitis Cornubiæ fratris sui, et aliorum Comitum ac optimatum Angliæ, per sedem Apostolicam confirmata, inspexerimus contineri omnes illos, qui pacem et tranquillitatem domini Regis et regni injuriose perturbare præsumunt, et qui jura domini Regis injuste detinere contendunt, esse excommunicationis sententia innodatos, ipsoque facto in majoris excommunicationis sententiam incidisse; prout ipsius concilii et sententiæ prædictæ tenores, jam dudum sollempniter publicati, ac pluribus vicibus quoad præmissos articulos iterata publicatione multorum auribus inculcati, luculenter

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ostendunt:—ac vos, detinendo jus fati Regis, homagium et fidelitatem sibi notarie debita, vanis quibusdam et frustratoriis ut liquet objectis, licet ex habundanti sæpius requisiti, cum illud offerre spontanee debeatis, nullatenus facientes, quod quidem homagium præstari domino cuicunque Christiano, in pace Ecclesiæ existenti, nulla extrinseca conditio seu cujuscunque debiti exactio debet impedire, seu etiã retardare,—ac insuper pacem ipsius Regis pacifici et sui regni per vos et vestros, maxime in confinio Angliæ et Walliæ, nequiter perturbando, quod utique per notoriam stragem multorum, rapinam, et innumerabilia dampnorum gravia et dispendia, plene liquet,—sitis ipsarum excommunicationum sententiis involuti, quod non sine cordis angustia vobis scribentes nunciamus, vestro statui merito miserando, paterno ut convenit compatientes affectu: vobis tamen, auctoritate concilii supradicti, quam promulgationis sententiæ memoratæ, monentes, districte mandamus, quatinus infra quindenam a receptione præsentium de præmissis satisfaciatis ad plenum, ab inceptæ perturbationis Regis et regni molestia penitus desistentes, ac vestros ab hiis cum effectu de cætero compescentes. Alioquin contra vos et vestros perturbatores prædictæ pacis, ut exigit vestrum et eorum excessus, ad alia licet inviti quodammodo ratione prævia procedemus. Datum apud Westmonasterium die Veneris proxima post Festum Sancti Martini Yemalis, anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo sexto<sup>a</sup>. [*Rymer, I. 536, 537.*]

<sup>a</sup> Edward's declaration of war, dated Nov. 12, 1276, is in *Rymer, I. 535, 536*; his appointment of Roger de Mortimer as Captain against the Welsh, Nov. 15, 1276, *ib. 538*; his authority to Will. Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, commanding in the county of Chester, to receive Welsh

deserters from Llywelyn, Nov. 16, 1276, *ib.*; his summons to Barons, Bishops, Abbats, etc., to send their quotas of men to serve in the war to Worcester by July 1, 1277, dated Dec. 12, 1276, at Windsor, *ib. 537-539*.

A.D. 1276. Dec. 7. *S. Asaph. Bishop and Chapter of S. Asaph; Declaration of Grievances against Llywelyn Prince of Wales.*

ILLATA IN MAIORI ECCLESIA DE SANCTO ASSAPHO, IN CRASTINO BEATI NICHOLAI ANNO DOMINI M.CC.LXX. SEXTO, CORAM UENERABILI PATRE DOMINO A[NIANO] DEI GRATIA EIUSDEM LOCI EPISCOPO ET SUO CAPITULO ASSAUENSI. Videlicet, quod cum dudum inter prædictos Episcopum et Capitulum ex parte una, et nobilem virum dominum Lewelinum Principem Walliæ ex altera, super quibusdam iuribus, libertatibus, et consuetudinibus Ecclesiæ suæ Assauensis exorta

[GRAVAMINA OF SEE OF S. ASAPH AGAINST LLYWELYN.]

fuerit materia questionis; quas libertates, iura, et consuetudines, in quarum possessione velut quasi a tempore cuius non extat memoria extitit Ecclesia antedicta, idem Princeps in sue salutis periculum et contra iustitiam usurpabat et adhuc detinebat occupatas; super quibus, licet summus Pontifex dominus Gregorius PP. X<sup>i</sup>. ad instantiam predictorum Episcopi et Capituli eidem nobili dudum direxerit scripta sua, præsertim super certis quibusdam articulis quibus manifestum erat dictum nobilem ecclesiasticam ledere libertatem, ut ab eorumdem occupatione omnino desisteret cum effectu, exequutoribus insuper deputatis ab eodem ad dictum nobilem si necesse esset per censuram ecclesiasticam compescend[um] in articulis supradictis; quorum insuper exequutorum literas monitorias semel et secundo recepit idem Princeps; nec eo minus occupata detinebat iura Ecclesiæ antedicta, in sue salutis periculum et ecclesiastice libertatis non modicam lesionem. Propter quod prædicti Episcopus et Capitulum dictis die et loco conuenientes in unum, euocatis ad hoc specialiter clero et populo, super dictis gravaminibus et aliis iniurijs prædictæ Ecclesiæ iuri[bu]s ecclesiasticis et vassallis per dictum principem et suos illatis, diligenter inquirebant; eadem grauamina in scriptis hijs redigentes, et reuerendo Patri domino R[oberto] Dei gratia Cantuariæ Archiepiscopo significantes, ut etiam ipse correctionis remedium apponat in eisdem.

Quæ grauamina specificare duxerunt modo subscripto.

- [1.] Episcopos loci eiusdem non permittit idem princeps condere testamenta; et si condiderint, eorum testamenta vires habere non sinit: quia eis decedentibus omnia bona mobilia, que eorum fuerant dum vivebant, occupat et distrahit pro libito sue voluntatis.
- [2.] Similiter bona aliorum inventa inter bona decedentium huiusmodi occupat et detinet occupata.
- [3.] Insuper si Episcopus in egritudine constitutus seu alias ante mortem, non longe tamen ante obitum suum, suis ministris de rebus suis aliqua donauerit, siue aliis, ut equos uel alia huiusmodi, idem princeps post obitum Episcopi talia bona reuocat tanquam sua iniuste alienata.
- [4.] Item tempore vacationis sedis eiusdem maneria Episcopalia suis balliuis non custodienda sed potius destruenda committit.
- [5.] Item sede ipsa vacante non sinit canonicos diem electionis

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futuri pontificis statuere, nec personam eligere, nisi ad concessionem suam: alioquin canonicos ipsos punit pro libito sue voluntatis.

- [6.] Item, dampnatos pro suis sceleribus iudicio seculari sacerdotibus confiteri non permittit nisi suis ministris audientibus, ut et ipsi sic confitentes inter cetera suos conlatrones publice recognosca[n]t; qui postea tali testimonio perdit, tanquam legitima probacione huiusmodi damnati, uel bonis omnibus mulcantur uel uita priuantur.
- [7.] Item, testamenta non admittit aliquorum, nisi in egritudine condita, et ex qua egritudine decedat testator: alioquin decedentium omnia bona tanquam sua propria occupat et distrahit ad libitum.
- [8.] Item, balliui sui iudicia sua exercent et placita tenent diebus Dominicis et festiuis in cimiterijs et aliis locis Deo dedicatis, et nonnunquam in ecclesijs; licet per Ecclesiam sepius moniti fuerint super hijs et prohibiti sub pena canonica eis infligenda.
- [9.] Item, amerciamenta vasallorum Ecclesie pro furto ab eis commisso, uel pro receptacione furti perpetrati ab alio quocunque inuenti in domibus uassallorum, danda; uel si prodantur confessione dampnatorum iudicio seculari et mulcantur; in hijs casibus tribus Ecclesie debita Princeps integre sibi usurpat: cum ex antiqua et approbata hactenus consuetudine patrie eiusdem, non nisi medietas huiusmodi emende ad ipsum principem spectare dinoscatur.
- [10.] Item, medietatem emende uassalli Ecclesie pugnantis cum uassallo principis in terra principis, totam autem si in terra Ecclesie Episcopo et Capitulo debita[m], idem princeps totam sibi usurpat in utroque casu.
- [11.] Item, uassallos habentes domicilia in utroque dominio, Ecclesie uidelicet et principis, compellit in feodo laicali residere, cum ab antiquo in optione talium extiterit in quo maluerint territorio habitare.
- [12.] Forestarios insuper in siluis spectantibus ad Ecclesiam minatur suo motu statuere; quod Episcopus cum Capitulo hactenus facere consuevit, principis seu alterius cuiuslibet consilio minime requisito.

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- [13.] Item, medietatem emende pro uiolenta uirginis defloracione facta in territorio Ecclesie, Episcopo et Capitulo debitam, princeps retinet totam.
- [14.] Item, cum ex antiquo res uassalli Ecclesie in territorio ipsius homicidium committentis integre pertineant ad Episcopum et Capitulum, et persona ad principem pro commisso; princeps res occupare non ueretur. Similiter occupat medietatem emende Episcopo et Capitulo debitam, pro incendio facto in dominio eorundem, et medietatem emende eiusdem Episcopo et Capitulo debitam pro forefactura hominis eorum in siluis principis.
- [15.] Item, medietatem emende hominis eorum contempnentis edictum principis quo eum sequi tenetur iussus \* \* \* \* \* personaliter profectus fuerit, eis debitam.
- [16.] Item, cum ex antiquo expectet ad ipsam limites villarum Ecclesie terminare, quando super eisdem contigerit dubium exoriri; idem princeps, sede Assauensi uacante, huiusmodi terminacionem limitum uillarum Ecclesie eiusdem sibi usurpat, et eas pro sua uoluntate limitabat.
- [17.] Item, uassallos Ecclesie cum sibi placuerit per ministros suos capi facit et incarcerari in preiudicium Ecclesie; cum hoc retroactis temporibus nullatenus fieri consueuerat, nisi demum orta contra eos suspicione enormi criminis: et tunc, auctoritate Episcopi et ministris suis presentibus.
- [18.] Item, nolentes ui compellit hereditatem adhire, [et] hereditatem illegitime natis indistincte concedit. Mulieribus, et si alij heredes deficiant, ius successionis hereditarie immo denegat. Set hoc consuetudo patrie est.
- [19.] Item, uassallos Ecclesie tam ipse princeps quam sui ballini compellunt, tanquam proprios suos, res suas de loco ad locum suis deferre stipendiis et iumentis.
- [20.] Item, cum uassalli Ecclesie se ad dominium Anglicorum transferunt propter suum demeritum, eorundem idem princeps hereditatem talium, quam sub Ecclesia optinent, statim occupat et detinet, non obstante quod feudum sit Ecclesie.
- [21.] Item, punicionem scelerum commissorum in cimiteriis et aliis locis sacris sibi uendicat; et emendam talium, qui ibidem deliquerint, integre sibi reseruat.

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- [22.] Item, errores factos contra legem coniugij nititur ad uindiciam sibi reseruare.
- [23.] Item, sacerdotes et clericos compellit subire examen curie sue contra suos uassallos de illis conquerentibus, et suo stare iudicio uelint nolint.
- [24.] Item, penam appositam in sponsalibus de futuro, et super usurarum solucione, si fide iussores interuenerint, ratione fideiussionis huiusmodi compellit ad pene solucionem huiusmodi contrahentes.
- [25.] Item, accepta magna pecunie summa a quibusdam suis uassallis, permisit eos auferre monasterio de Basingwerk plures carucatas terre; prout Episcopo conquesti sunt Abbas et conuentus monasterij memorati. Consimilem iniuriam aliis clericis inferri permisit hactenus et scienter. Quosdam insuper clericos paterna hereditate priuauit, legibus patrie non seruatis.
- [26.] Item, quod sine dolore dici non potest, homines principis assidue dessendunt in domibus clericorum et uassallorum Ecclesie, et procuraciones ab eis exigunt tanquam sibi debitas; que si non exhibeantur eisdem, diuersis contumelijs eos afficiunt; quosdam uerberando, alios uulnerando, et diuersis cruciatibus puniendo, qualia dicere horribile est, et res eorum nonnunquam asportando.
- [27.] Item, optinentem hereditatem sub ipso compellit indifferenter sue curie stare iudicio contra quemcunque laicum de ipso cozelantem, uel extunc manum suam hereditatem suam ponere; et hoc, ut creditur, in odium clericorum: alijs nihilominus grauaminibus et angarijs diuersis afficiendo eisdem, et tallias cum sibi placuerit et exactiones indebitas ab eis extorquendo; ad ea quod non permittit uiros ecclesiasticos suos seruientes castigare et ministros, nisi iudicio fori secularis, ut sibi penam applicet talium ministrorum: et si in aliquo restiterint dominio seculari siue displicuerint, statim possessiones eorundem laicales tanquam in elusionem ecclesiastice libertatis in manu sua capit, et detinet acceptas quousque sibi satisfecerint ad uotum; eos insuper multo plus grauando, si huiusmodi sua grauamina Ecclesie ostenderint, uel remedium sibi quesierint aliunde.
- [28.] Communitatis nemorum insuper, pascuorum, et focalium,

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et aliorum huiusmodi, rectoribus ecclesiarum et sacerdotibus etiam in suis parochijs aliquando denegavit.

- [29.] Item, uillam de Lanerost cum omnibus suis iuribus ad Ecclesiam Assauensem spectantem, in cuius possessione plenaria in tempore domini Henrici illustris Regis Anglie, Lewelini ap Jorwerth et Dd. ab Lewelino principum Wallie, et etiam a tempore cuius apud homines non extat memoria extitit pacifice Ecclesia memorata; idem nobilis Ecclesie auferre non expauit iniuste, et adhuc detinet ablatam; saluo quod Ecclesie V. solidos pro eadem annuos persoluit.

Alia insuper grauamina Ecclesie et suis ministris atque uassallis per dictum nobilem et suos multipliciter inueniunt fuisse illata, que presentibus inserere non sine causa distulerunt; eadem dicto domino Archiepiscopo et summo Pontifici Romane sedis transmissuri, cum sibi super hijs tempora perpenderint fauente Domino opportuna. De premissis tamen minutis iuribus ad Episcopum et Capitulum suum spectantibus, idem nobilis quedam eisdem Episcopo et Capitulo nuper relaxauit, sub protestatione tali, quod ea uidelicet Ecclesie supradicte tanquam sibi debita non concessit, sed tanquam ex gratia, reuersurus ad eadem cum sibi cognouerit expedire. In cuius euidentiam plenioram tam dictus Episcopus quam Capitulum sigilla sua presentibus duxerunt apponenda. Dat. apud Sanctum Assaph. in crastino Sancti Nicholai Confessoris anno Incarnationis Dominice 1276. [*Peniarth MSS.* 26, pp. 98-105.]

A.D. 1276. A Dominican House at Bangor Vaur, before this date. [*Br. Willis, Bangor, Append. XI.* pp. 211, 212, citing an *Inquisitio ad quod damnum* of May 9, 1300, respecting a grant thereto by Bishop Anian of Bangor.]

A.D. 1277. Feb. 22. "*Halso.*" *Safe-conduct for Anian the Bishop of S. Asaph's property in transit from England to Wales or vice versa.*

REX, *omnibus balliuis et fidelibus suis ad quos*, etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod concessimus venerabili patri Episcopo de Sancto Asaph, quod ducere possit blada et alia bona sua, tam victualia quam alia, a partibus Angliæ usque ad partes Walliæ et a partibus Walliæ usque in Angliam, prout ad commodum suum magis viderit expedire. Et

[Llywelyn AGAIN EXCOMMUNICATED.]

iam vobis mandamus, quod prefatum Episcopum, aut homines suos, blada, et alia bona sua, ut predictum est, ducentes, contra hanc concessionem nostram non molestetis in aliquo seu gravetis. In cujus, etc. Dur. usque ad diem Dominicam in Ramis Palmarum prox. futur. Teste Rege apud Halso, XXII. die Februarii. [*Prynne, Records, III. 191, from Pat. 5 Edw. I. memb. 15.*]

*Same date. Similar Letters of Protection for Anian Bishop of Bangor.*

A[nianus] Bangorensis Episcopus habet literas de protectione simplices sine clausula unum annum duraturas. T. ut supra. Et duplicantur. [*Id., ib.*]

A.D. 1277. Feb. 27. North Stoke. Robert Archbishop of Canterbury to Walter Archbishop of York.

Came Llywelyn to be excommunicated throughout your province, as has been done in that of Canterbury.

*Venerabili in Christo Patri Domino W[altero], Dei gratia*

*Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, SUUS IN EODEM CHRISTO FRATER*

ROBERTUS CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS AN-

GLIÆ PRIMAS, quicquid sibi gratiæ et salutis. Paterni-

tati vestræ tenore præsentium notum facimus, quod,

cum dudum in provinciali concilio Cantuar. (præsidente

tunc felicitis recordationis Stephano, quondam Cantuariensi Archi-

episcopo) apud Oxoniam celebrato, provida deliberatione et communi

assensu sanctorum patrum Episcoporum, suffraganeorum suorum, et

cleri provinciæ Cantuariensis, statuto super hoc edito, lata fuerit

majoris excommunicationis sententia in omnes illos, qui jura domini

Regis Angliæ injuste detinere contendunt, ac pacem et tranquillitatem

ejusdem domini Regis et regni sui injuriose perturbare præsumunt;

ac eadem sententia per bonæ memoriæ Bonifacium prædecessorem

nostrum et suffraganeos suos, concilio postea apud Lambeth convocato

et iterum in Aula Westmonasteriensi, pluries solemniter innovata fuerit;

necnon et autoritate sedis Apostolicæ specialiter confirmata;—nos, cum quibusdam suffraganeis nostris tunc ibidem

personaliter existentibus, et aliorum absentium procuratoribus, citra

proximum præteritum festum Sancti Martini Yemale,—quia ipsa

notoria rei veritas in auribus singulorum acclamabat, quod nobilis

vir Lewelinus filius Griffini Princeps Walliæ, tanquam famæ suæ

prodigus et salutis, sententiam hujusmodi parvi pendens, homagium



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et fidelitatem, quæ prædecessores sui Principes Walliæ Angliæ Regibus facere consueverunt, et ipsemet egregiæ memoriæ domino Henrico Regi Angliæ prius fecerat, ac domino nostro Edwardo nunc Regi Angliæ illustri facere debuit et debet in præsentī, exquisitis occasionibus facere detrectat, ad hoc diebus et locis competentibus, oblato sibi ad cautelam salvo et securo conductu, pluries legitime monitus et citatus, in hoc jus ipsius Regis temere retinere contendens; pacem insuper et tranquillitatem ipsius domini Regis et regni sui per se et suos perturbare præsumpsit, sicut notoria strages plurimorum, deprædationes rerum, incendia domorum, et innumera damnorum genera, testantur aperte; per quæ ipsum in sententias hujusmodi non ambigitur damnabiliter incidisse:—habito tractatu diligenti, et de salute ipsius principis sollicitè cogitantes, de consilio eorundem suffraganeorum nostrorum et cum eisdem, præfatum Lewelinum litteris pariter et nuntiis solemnibus ad ipsum propter hoc specialiter destinatis in præfatas excommunicationis sententias taliter incidisse decernentes, ipsum nichilominus monuimus, quod infra quindecim dies a tempore monitionis hujusmodi de præmissis satisfaceret, et ab incepta perturbatione pacis domini nostri Regis et regni sui molestia desistendo, suos ab hujusmodi præsumptionibus pariter refrænaret; alioquin ex tunc contra ipsos asperius procedere-mus, prout notorii excessus eorundem exposcunt.—Porro nunciis ipsis apud Llamas, ubi princeps ille cum suis proceribus curiam suam tunc tenebat, accedentibus, et sui adventus causam ipsius principis familiaribus et ministris serio exponentibus, idem princeps, offensam superaddens offensis, nuncios ipsos, non sine nostro contemptu, ad se aditum habere non permisit; et monita nostra salubria, per suos sibi plene nunciata, animo contemnens indurato, hactenus ad satisfactionem venire non curavit, per sex septimanas et amplius favore benivolo patienter expectatus; sed semper pejora prioribus addens, de die in diem quantum potest manus aggravat ad delicta:—propter quæ convocatis iterum suffraganeis nostris, et habito supra hujusmodi contemptu et notoriis et multiplicatis ipsius principis et suorum excessibus et offensis tractatu pleniori, quia, crescente ipsorum contumacia pariter et offensa, crescere debet et pœna; de eorundem suffraganeorum nostrorum unanimi consilio et assensu extitit provisum et ordinatum, quod unusquisque suffraganeorum prædictorum, in cathedralibus et aliis collegiatis et parochialibus ecclesiis suæ civitatis et diocæsis, dictum Lewelinum Principem Walliæ in præ-

[Llywelyn again excommunicated.]

fatas excommunicationum incidisse sententias et nominatim taliter excommunicatum esse denunciaret, pulsatis campanis et accensis candelis; conciliarios insuper suos et fautores, ac omnes consilium vel auxilium eidem principi in sua rebellione perseveranti scienter impendentes in præmissis, nisi infra mensem unum resipuerint, et ab ipsius consilio, consensu, et auxilio, se subtraxerint, pari sententia et cum eadem solemnitate publice innodatos denunciaret; et ipsos, quos contra monitionem hujusmodi extunc sibi adhærere, et consilium, consensum, vel auxilium, sibi impendere constiterit in præmissis, publice et solemniter excommunicatos denuntiaret nominatim: quam quidem sententiæ denunciationem in diocæsi nostra nuper per nostros fieri mandavimus cum effectu. Unde, cum per præfatum dominum Edwardum Regem nostrum serenissimum simus per suas literas nobis nuper directas specialiter rogati, ut in istius negotii executione vestrum imploremus auxilium et juvamen; ac vos et nos, quibus Ecclesiarum et animarum cura incumbit, ibi fortius voluntarios labores suscipere tenemur, ubi ipsius Lewelini rebellio periculosius exardescit, et in prædicti domini Regis injuriam in posterum arroganter insurget, nisi eam exurgens justitia præveniat et subvertat, ut sic pax et quies cæteris præparetur; Paternitatem vestram rogamus et requirimus, quatenus obtentu precum dicti domini Regis illustrissimi, vobis in hac parte porrectarum, acstrarum, præfatum Lewelinum per totam vestram diocæsim et provinciam in prædictas excommunicationis sententias incidisse, et nominatim taliter excommunicatum esse, si placet, denunciatis et denunciari faciatis in forma memorata; præsens negotium taliter impleturi, qualiter a nobis in casu consimili vobis fieri velletis. Dat. apud Northstok, tertio kal. Martii anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo sexto. [Rymer, I. 541.]

A.D. 1277<sup>a</sup>. *Charter of Liberties granted by Llywelyn Prince of Wales to the Bishop and Chapter of S. Asaph.*

*Universis Christi fidelibus presentes litteras visuris vel audituris, LEWELINUS FILIUS GRUFFUD PRINCEPS WALLIÆ DOMINUS SNAUDON., salutem in Domino sempiternam. Vobis omnibus et singulis notum facimus per presentes, quod nos, Diuine caritatis intuitu, et in nostrorum remissionem peccaminum, necnon et intuitu seruiciorum venerabilis patris domini A[niani] Dei gratia Episcopi Assauensis,*

[GRANT OF LIBERTIES BY LLYWELYN TO THE SEE OF S. ASAPH.]

\* \* \* \* \* eiusdem loci Decani, et Capituli, nobis impensorum, fatemur et recognoscimus omnes causas testamentarias, matrimoniales, usurarias, decimarum, et sacrilegii, necnon et hijs annexas, per totam diocesim Assauensem spectare ad forum Ecclesie pleno iure.

Cases testamentary, matrimonial, and of usury, tithes, sacrilege, belong wholly to the Church court.

Volumus insuper salubribus Apostolice sedis monitis parere pariter et mandatis, que circa reformationem status Assauensis Ecclesie meminimus recepisse dudum, in articulis infrascriptis.

Moveables of the Church not to be seized by the Prince, sede vacante.

Decedente itaque Episcopo qui pro tempore fuerit in Ecclesia Assauensi, ad occupationem bonorum Ecclesie mobilium manus nostras nullatenus extendemus, quominus debitum sortiatur officium salubris de intento decedentes <sup>b</sup>.

Nor wills interfered with.

Testamenta insuper nostrorum vassallorum decedentium eiusdem diocesis, quandocunque condita, non impedimus, quamdiu durauerint non mutata. Nec occupabimus bona alicuius Ecclesie vassalli, quamquam ipse decesserit intestatus.

Procurations not to be levied on monasteries.

Quod si laici nobis subditi in domibus monasteriorum et ecclesiarum diocesis Assauensis indebitas exigant procuraciones, personis in eisdem locis degentibus contradicentibus et inuitis; aut propter hoc per subditos ipsos personis eisdem in corpore uel in bonis molestias inferri contingat aut iacturas;—quod fieri prohibemus;—plenam correctionem pro transgressionibus his concedimus ad Ecclesiam pertinere.

Nor confessions hindered.

Cohibitionem quoque consimilem Ecclesie permittimus Assauensi in ministros nostros, qui non permiserint a nostra curia condemnatos, ni ipsis ministris presentibus et audientibus, sua peccata sacerdotibus confiteri; nec ipsos transgressores manutenere uolumus, quominus in tales Ecclesia discipline seueritatem ualeat exercere.

Rights respecting church vassals.

De cetero etiam, tallias, collectas, seu exacciones aliquas, personis non imponens ecclesiasticis uel Ecclesie vassallis, ni feodum a nobis in capite teneant; uel saltem supra tali impositione prelati consensum uel licentiam obtinuimus spiritualem. Ad hoc in vassallis Ecclesie Assauensis illam eisdem Episcopo et Capitulo concedimus iurisdictionem habere, quod, accusato ipsius Ecclesie vassallo aliquo super furto, medietatem amerciamenti recipiant qualitercunque condemnatorum; quousque dictata fuerit condemnacionis summa in persona. Ad ipsos etiam

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uolumus et concedimus medietatem *Halauete*<sup>c</sup> in Ecclesie territorio pertinere. Si quis insuper ejusdem Ecclesie subditus per nostram bannitus potestatem aut quoquo modo noster fuerit fugitiuus, plenam possessionem bonorum tam mobilium quam immobilium ingrediantur ipsius, ac de hijs disponant pro sue libito uoluntatis: nec de hijs bonis uolumus, quod nostri balliui se aliquatenus intromittant, ni forte in talium occupatione bonorum prelati aut eorum officiales negligentes fuissent aut remissi. Preterea homo(?) vassallus Ecclesie pro forisfacto aliquo, irrequisitis Episcopi balliuis, per nostros seruiantes in persona nullatenus capiatur, ni periculum sit in mora; et tunc forisfactor, ad curiam Episcopi primo deductus, hominibus Ecclesie captum requirentibus ad plegios nullatenus denegetur. Transgressionem insuper in curiis Episcopi perpetratas, nisi solum in casu homicidii, eidem Episcopo facilitatem plenariam concedimus corrigendi. Insuper si duo homines, noster videlicet et Ecclesie, in territorio nostro uulnera, conuicia, uel iniurias alias inferant, pro transgressionem sui hominis ad Episcopum et Capitulum medietas spectet emendæ: uerum si in territorio Ecclesiæ, ipsa totalis emenda in usum Episcopi et Capituli deuoluatur.

Hæc et hijs similia, in quorum possessione uel quasi a longe retro-actis temporibus Ecclesia extitit Assauensis, sepe dictis Ecclesie, Episcopo, et Capitulo, suisque successoribus, pro salute anime nostre et nostrorum predecessorum Principum Walliæ, in puram ac perpetuam elemosinam concedimus possidenda in perpetuum pacifice et quiete. Et nos pro nobis, heredibus, aut successoribus nostris, sibi et successoribus suis, contra omnes homines inperpetuum warrantizamus ipsa iura, libertates, et consuetudines, supradictas. Et ut hæc nostra concessio et liberalis donacio robur optineat firmitatis, ipsas presenti carta nostra roborata sigilli nostri appensione confirmamus. Hijs testibus etc. Dat. etc. [From *Lib. Rub. Assav.*, in *Peniarth MSS.* 26, pp. 74-77.]

<sup>a</sup> The date is conjectural. Llywelyn probably made the grant while under fear of English King and Canterbury excommunications; i. e.

in the Spring of 1277.

<sup>b</sup> So in MS.

<sup>c</sup> See above, p. 493, note <sup>d</sup>.

A.D. 1277. July 21. *Chester. Letters of Protection for the Friars Preachers of Bangor.*

REX, *Baronibus quinque Portuum, et omnibus balliuis et fidelibus suis ad quos, etc.* Quia Religiosos et maxime Fratres de ordine Prædicato-

[CHURCH GOODS TO BE PROTECTED IN TIME OF WAR.]

rum, quos quadam dilectionis prærogativa commendatos habeamus, cum tranquillitate et mansuetudine, qua statui suo convenit, manutene-  
 re volumus et tueri: dilectos nobis in Christo Fratres Prædica-  
 tores de Bangor in protectionem et defensionem nostram suscepimus  
 specialem. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod Fratres prædictos, homi-  
 nes, res, et bona in domo eorundem Fratrum existentia, manute-  
 neatis, protegatis, et defendatis; non inferentes eis, etc., si eos<sup>a</sup> per  
 partes illas transitum facere contigerit, injuriam, molestiam, damp-  
 num, aut gravamen. Et si quid eis, etc. In cujus etc. Teste Rege  
 apud Cestr., XXI. die Julii. [*Prynne, Records, III. 191, from Pat.*  
*5 Edw. I. memb. 15.*]

<sup>a</sup> "vos" in Prynne.

A.D. 1277. *July 25. ANN. CAMB. in an.*—Eadmundus [Earl of Lan-  
 caster] frater [Eadwardi] venit in West-Walliam, et incepit con-  
 struere castrum apud Lanpadarnvaur [at Aberystwyth, *Brut y Tyw-*  
*sog.*], ..... et venit ..... apud Sanctum David causa peregrinationis.  
 [p. 105 ed. Williams.]

A.D. 1277. *Before November [?] a. Robert Archbishop of Canterbury to*  
*William de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick and the other Captains of*  
*Edward I.'s army at Chester.*

Restrain your soldiers, who are plundering churches etc., and especially a man-  
 nor of the Bishop of S. Asaph. FRATER ROBERTUS, PERMISSIONE DIUINA CANTUARIE  
 ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS ANGLIE PRIMAS, *nobilibus viris et*  
*dilectis in Christo filiis, domino Comiti de Wracwic [War-*  
*wick] et ceteris Capitaneis exercitus domini Regis apud Cer-*  
*triam residentibus,* salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum  
 non modica cordis displic[ent]ia intelleximus ex relatu fidei, quod  
 homines exercitus vestri, postposito Dei timore, ecclesiis, cimiteriis,  
 aut ecclesiasticis possessionibus et rebus, non parcunt; loca et res  
 huiusmodi hostiliter inuadentes. Quorum aliqui dudum quoddam  
 manerium domini Assavensis Episcopi combusserunt, interficientes  
 unum de hominibus suis ibidem, [et] committendo diuersimodo in  
 locis aliis sacrilegia et rapinas. Cum igitur facta huiusmodi sint  
 omnino contraria expeditioni uotiue [et] vestri negotii inchoatis;  
 uos, quos reputavimus Deo deuotos, rogamus, monemus, et in Domino  
 exortamur patiente<sup>b</sup>, quatinus, si ita est, homines sub uestro regi-  
 mine constitutos a factis [s]celeratis de cetero cohibeatis omnino;

[LETTERS OF PROTECTION FOR CLERGY ITINERATING FOR ALMS.]

pro dampnis dicto Episcopo fratri nostro illatis et aliunde commissis cum celeritate congruam fieri facientes emendam. Alioquin iuste timere poteritis et debetis, quod Deus iustus, fortis, et patiens, Cuius directione plurimum indigetis, (quod absit) subito dexteram Suam auertet<sup>c</sup>, Suisque persecutoribus dignam retribuat ultionem, quod non in guerris habitis in Anglia uestris temporibus satis potuistis vidisse. [From *Lib. Rub. Assav.*, in *Peniarth MSS.* 26, p. 55; and in *Br. Willis, S. Asaph, Append. X.*]

<sup>a</sup> This letter is dated by Br. Willis in 1278, and must of course have preceded Archbishop Kilwardby's appointment as Cardinal in 1278. It belongs therefore to Llywelyn's war of 1277.

and probably is to be dated in that year, before the peace of November 1277.

<sup>b</sup> "potenter," in Willis's copy.

<sup>c</sup> So in Willis: partly blank in Peniarth copy.

A.D. 1277. Before November [?]. Robert Archbishop of Canterbury to the Clergy and Laity of the dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield, of Hereford, and of Wales<sup>a</sup>.

Aid and protect the clergy of S. Asaph, carrying round the S. Asaph Gospels to solicit alms for their church.

FRATER ROBERTUS PERMISSIONE DIVINA CANT. ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS ANGLIE PRIMAS, *universis tam clericis quam laicis per Couentren. et Liccb., Hereford., ac Wallia dioceses constitutis*, salutem in Domino. Librum seu textum Euangeliorum de Ecclesia Assaph., vulgo "Ereue-

gilthes" appellatum, qui ut didicimus in magna ueneratione habetur in partibus Wallie et Marchie apud omnes, et propter casus uarios a quibusdam clericis prefate Ecclesie quandoque per patriam tanquam san[c]tuarium honorifice circumfertur; unde uniuersitati uestre una cum personis textum huiusmodi deferentibus recomendandis duximus per presentes, rogantes, quatinus ob reuerentiam Christi, Qui Euangeliorum est Auctor, clericos memoratos cum textu predicto per uos transitum facientes, in eundo, morando, et redeundo, securitatis et pacis beneficio permittatis gaudere. Dat. \* \* \*. [*Peniarth MSS.* 26, p. 55, from *Lib. Rub. Assav.*]

<sup>a</sup> Probably about the same date with the preceding. A like document is addressed by Bishop Leoline Bromfield (1293-1314) to Master Robert de Frotesham, official of the Arch-

deacon of Chester (*Peniarth MSS.* 26, p. 43, from *Lib. Rub. Assav.*); and see another of Archbishop Peckham's, below, May 19, A.D. 1284.

A.D. 1277. Before November [?]<sup>a</sup>. Anian Bishop of S. Asaph to the Provincial of the Friars Preachers in England.

Asks the prayers

FRATER ANIANUS, etc., Priori Provinciali et Capitulo

[EXCOMMUNICATION OF LLYWELYN REMOVED.]

of the Friars *Predicatorum Anglie*, obedientiam, reuerentiam, cum ho-  
 Preachers for the nore. Nostram naviculam, more fluctuantis pelagi,  
 Church of S. Asaph. undis tegentibus, tempestatum et uentis persecutionum  
 inualescentibus agitatum, ne nauigantium culpis exigentibus ad  
 cautes conquassaretur incaute, aut persecutionum furia succrescente  
 fugata deueniat in Caribdim; ad uos, patres conscripti, quibus cordi  
 esse non ambigitur causa Dei, confugimus a tantarum facie turbatio-  
 num, humiliter supplicantes, quatinus Assauensem Ecclesiam, solli-  
 citudini nostre commissam, que tot aduersitates patitur hijs diebus,  
 deuotis fratrum orationibus commendetis: cum tanto ad presens  
 orationum presidiis apud Dominum plus indigeat, quanto persecutio  
 contra ipsam de die in diem crudelior inualescit; et iam remedium  
 apponere non uideatur esse in homine, sed in Deo. Dat. etc.  
 [Peniarth MSS. 26, pp. 81, 82, from *Lib. Rub. Assav.*; also in *Br.*  
*Willis, S. Asaph, Append. XI.*]

\* Probably of similar date with the two preceding letters.

A.D. 1277. Nov. 10 x 18<sup>a</sup>. ANN. DE WINTON. *in an.*—Lewelinus  
 beneficium absolutionis obtinuit et interdictum terræ suæ relaxabatur.  
 [125 Luard.]

\* Nov. 10, 1277, a treaty was made between  
 Commissioners of Edward and Llywelyn at  
 Conway (*Rymer, I. 545, 546*), Llywelyn to  
 come in person to Edward at Rhuddlan as  
 soon as he is absolved from Church censures.  
 Nov. 18 ("in octavis beati Martini hyemalibus,"

*Ann. Camb.*, p. 105 ed. Williams; "on the  
 calends of Winter," *Brut y Tywysarg.*, p. 368  
 ed. Williams), Llywelyn came to Rhuddlan,  
 and "concordes facti sunt Rex et Princeps"  
 (*Ann. Camb.*, *ib.*). See also *Contents of Peni-*  
*arth MSS. 26*, in *Nichols, Collect. Topogr. II.*

A.D. 1278. January 4. Tower of London. Edward I. King of England  
 to Anian Bishop of Bangor.

Remove the  
 cross which has  
 been affixed to  
 the corn of David  
 ap Einion.  
 REX, venerabili in Christo patri Aniano] Bangorensi  
*Episcopo*, salutem. Quia ex querimonia David ap Eynun  
 accepimus, quod quidam de partibus illis, asserentes  
 quedam blada, que idem David a Willielmo Burnell  
 et hominibus suis emit in Anglesey vestre diocesis, dum fuerunt  
 ibidem in servicio nostro, sua esse, quandam crucem super blada  
 predicta (prout moris est in partibus illis) apponi fecerunt; occasione  
 cujus crucis predictus David aliquam administracionem de bladis  
 illis habere non potest: vobis mandamus rogantes, quatinus crucem  
 predictam amoveri et eidem de bladis predictis liberam administra-

[INTERCESSION OF EDWARD I. FOR WELSH CLERGY, SAVING ALL ROYAL RIGHTS.]

tionem habere faciatis. Et si quid inde captum fuerit, id eidem restitui faciatis. Teste Rege apud Turrim London., IV. die Jan. [*Prynne, Records, III. 219, from Rot. Wall. 6 Edw. I. memb. 12 dorso.*]

A.D. 1278<sup>a</sup>. *July 14. Windsor. Edward I. King of England to Llywelyn Prince of Wales.*

Desires only fair treatment for the Bishop of Bangor and the Abbat of Basingwerk, and not to deprive Llywelyn of his rights. Of pleas in the Marches and in Wales.

REX, *dilecto et fideli suo Lewelino filio Griffini Principi Wallia.* Ea quæ de negotiis venerabilis patris A[niani] Bangoren. Episcopi vobis nuper mandavimus, non ob id quod libertates vestras in aliquo diminui seu juribus vestris aliquatenus derogari vellemus, vobis significavimus; set ut inter vos et ipsum Episcopum, prout honori vestro congruit, pacem et concordiam foveremus, ne ipse de aliquo, quod libertates aut jura Ecclesiæ suæ lædere posset, de vobis justam materiam habere posset conquerendi. Propter quod vos rogamus, quod, quoad jura spiritualia et temporalia ipsius Episcopi, tam curialiter et modeste sicut principem decet vos geratis erga ipsum, quod ex hoc honor vobis accrescat, et a Deo retributionem condignam mereamini reportare. Cæterum nobis non displicet, quod vos de Abbate de Basingwerk exigitis ea quæ vos et predecessores vestri semper hactenus juste et pacifice percipere consuevistis; set intentionis nostræ fuerat, cum pro ipso vobis scripsimus, vobis ea potius suadere quæ ad honorem vestrum spectare noscuntur, quam eidem Abbati aliquam immunitatem præstari ad id faciendum, quod ipse et prædecessores sui vobis et progenitoribus vestris semper hactenus juste et debite facere consueverunt. Verumptamen vos rogamus, quod ab ipso alia non petatis, quam ea quæ juste et debite petere debetis, et hactenus percipere solebatis: et ipsum adeo humaniter tractetis, quod ad justam querimoniam suam, cui (sicut nec cæteris de regno nostro) in justitia deesse non possumus, nos non oporteat justiciariis nostris ibidem demandare, quod auditis suis querimoniis sibi fieri faciant justitiæ complementum. Articulum autem pacis inter nos et vos initæ, de quo vestræ literæ mentionem faciebant, videlicet, de placitis et controversiis in Marchia et Wallia audiendis et terminandis, aliter non intelligimus, nec intelligi potest, quam temporibus prædecessorum nostrorum Regum Angliæ et temporibus nostris semper hactenus usitatum extitit et consuetum. Nec etiam illud ex verbo pacis obici potest, nisi quod



[LIBERTIES GRANTED BY EDWARD I. TO THE SEE OF BANGOR.]

controversiæ et contentiones motæ in Marchia secundum leges Marchiæ, et illæ quæ in Wallia oriuntur, secundum leges Wallensium, audiri et terminari debent ad certos dies et loca, quos nos ibidem partibus duxerimus præfigendos. Et idcirco coram justiciariis nostris, in partibus illis, ad dies et loca quos ipsi vobis scire faciant, coram ipsis venietis ad faciendum et recipiendum quod justitia dictaverit secundum leges supradictas. Alia autem vera illius articuli interpretatio fieri non potest, nec aliud umquam intelleximus aut intelligimus in hac parte. Sinistra siquidem ad alicujus falsam suggestionem de vobis non credemus; set potius speramus, quod facta dictis compensabitis, et erga nos et nostros semper fideliter vos geretis. Teste Rege apud Windsor., decimo quarto die Julii. [Rymer, I. 559, 560; also in Prynnæ, III. 218: from the Rot. Wall. 6 Edw. I. memb. 10 d.]

\* A letter from Llywelyn to Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, dated at Rylcastell, (probably) in 1278, Wednesday before S. Mary Magd. (and if so, July 20), complaining of infringements of the peace, and requesting the Archbishop to solicit the King to observe the

treaty and to oblige the Marchers to do the same, is calendared in the 7th Report of Keeper of Public Records, 1846, p. 257, no. 1981. And a similar letter, dated June 24 (probably 1279), ib., 6th Report, 1845, p. 101, no. 1331.

A.D. 1278. Nov. 18. *Rbuddlan. Grant of Liberties to the diocese of Bangor.*

Confirms liberties and privileges of the see of Bangor.

EDWARDUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIÆ etc. *omnibus ad quos præsentis litteræ pervenerint*, salutem [etc. In terms identical with those of the like grant to Anian of S. Asaph a.] Teste Rege Novemb. 18, apud Rothelan, anno regni sexto b. [From Br. Willis, Bangor, Append. XII. pp. 212, 213.]

a Above, p. 509.

b From an Insuperimus and Confirmation by Edward II., "apud Torkesey 22 die Aprilis"

[A.D. 1313]: in Br. Willis, ib.; also by Henry VI., at Westminster July 15, A.D. 1425 (Id., Append. XX.).

A.D. 1280. July 8. Grant to Anian Bishop of Bangor, of Bangor House, "in Shoe Lane in the parish of S. Andrew's, Holborn" (in Br. Willis, Bangor, Append. VI. p. 189).

A.D. 1280. July 10. (*Thurning?*). *Archbishop Peckham to Llywelyn Prince of North Wales.*

Congratulates him on his agreement with the

PRINCIPI WALLIÆ.—*Magnifico Principi ac Domino Lewelino Principi Wallie* FRATER [IOHANNES] etc. Excellen-

[ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM TO LLYWELYN.]

Bishop of Bangor. Will help him in the business of his two Chaplains, and of the Archdeacon of Bangor.

tiam vestram, quam pridem sincero affectu cordi nostro astrictam tenuimus, letanti animo si fuisset possibile vidissemus; cuius effectum desiderii subtraxit nobis presentium duorum<sup>a</sup> malitia, quia quidquid pene facimus detractioe pervertitur emulorum. Tamen, quantum secundum Deum possumus, honori vestro parati semper erimus obsequium impendere et fauorem. De compositione autem inter vos et dominum Episcopum Bangorensem<sup>b</sup> amicabiliter deducenda gaudeamus plurimum, Altissimum deprecantes ut dignetur illi tractatui vestro Sui spiritum consilii destinare; hoc certissime scientes, quod quamvis persone ecclesiastice ut plurimum sint fragiles et infirme, multum tamen displicet Altissimo, quando occasione quarumcunque<sup>c</sup> fragilium ministrorum leduntur aut violantur Ecclesie Sue libertates: cui lesioni excommunicationis sententia est annexa. Consulimus igitur vobis bona fide, ut quantum iustitia requirit, Ecclesie deferatis. Quod faciendo, Deum semper vobiscum habebitis; et hoc supposito, non oportebit a facie aduersarii formidare. Quod si impediende humani generis inimico tractatus vester in pace minime concludatur, cum impedimenta nobis significata fuerint, remedium ut poterimus efficax proponimus adhibere. Et nos ipsi, si angustia temporis sustinuisset, Assauensem et Bangorensem dioceses nostri laboris ministerio lustrassemus. Petitiones autem pro duobus clericis vestris, Madoco scilicet filio Magistri et Willelmo filio Danielis, quantum possumus volumus exaudire. Sed licet ad ordines ascendere minime compellantur, currit eis tamen tempus, nisi infra annum ascendant ad sacerdotium; et vacant eorum beneficia ipso iure. Cuius dispendii vobis tale remedium indulgemus, ut hac vice tantum presentetis ipsos ad eadem beneficia iterato; et nisi Episcopus eos admiserit, nos ob vestram reuerentiam admittemus. Miramur autem plurimum de \* \* \* Archidiacono Bangorensi, qui se de laico feodo intromittit, ad vestrum dominium pertinente: de quo Episcopo scribimus, ut de talibus se nullatenus intromittat, nisi ad hoc ius habeat; quod nescimus. Regratiamur vobis de leporarii[s] nobis missis, quibus frequenter indigemus pro exercenda Ecclesie nostre in talibus libertate. Valeat Excellentia vestra per tempora longiora. Datum apud Tornen., VI. idus Iulii [consecrationis nostre II.<sup>d</sup>].—[Reg. Peckh. fol. 170 b.]

<sup>a</sup> ? "temporum."<sup>b</sup> See above under A.D. 1261, April 29. But

the reference is probably to some more recent transaction.

[S. DAVID'S SUBJECT TO CANTERBURY.]

<sup>c</sup> So in MS.<sup>d</sup> A.D. 1279, after the Council of Reading, William Bishop of Llandaff had acted as assessor to Archbishop Peckham in an enquiry into thecase of a Bishop (unnamed) "habentem quinque filios" (Peckham, Aug. 17, Morlake, in *Reg. Peckh.* 122, and *Wilk.* II. 40).

A.D. 1280. Oct. 6. *Lincoln.* Thomas Beck consecrated to the See of S. David's<sup>a</sup>.

P. R. C.—In nomine Domini, Amen. Ego Thomas Eccl. Menev. electus, et a te, ven. Pater, Frater Johannes Cant. Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primas, consecrandus antistes, tibi, et sanctæ Cant. Eccl. metropoliticæ, et successoribus tuis in dicta Eccl. Cant. canonicis substituendis, debitam et canonicam obedientiam, reverentiam, et subjectionem, me per omnia exhibiturum profiteor et promitto, secundum decreta Romanorum Pontificum; vestrorumque jurium et predictæ Cant. Eccl. adjutor ero ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo ordine meo: sic me Deus adjuvet, et sancta Dei Evangelia. Et prædicta omnia subscribendo propria manu confirmo ✠ [Reg. Prior. et Conv. Cant. I.]

<sup>a</sup> See Stubbs, and Richardson on Godwin, for the consecration and its date: and for the subsequent protest of Beck against the jurisdiction of Canterbury,—which was the last expiring remonstrance on behalf of the ancient independence of the Welsh Church,—below under A.D.

1284, July 28. Beck sang his first mass in the diocese at Strata Florida Feb. 1 or 2, 1281, and was enthroned at S. David's on S. David's Day, March 1, of that year (*Brut*, ed. Williams, is an. 1280).

A.D. 1280. Oct. 26. *Anian Bishop of S. Asaph to King Edward I.* [requests the release of William a brother of the Cistercian order, confined in the castle of Montgomery (*Sixth Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, 1845, p. 101, no. 1335).]

A.D. 1281. May 11. *Caermarthen.*—R. de Haverford Subprior, and Canons of Caermarthen, Menev. dioc., pray the King's assent to their election of John Edrych as their Abbat in the room of W. de Wycumb translated to Hartland Abbey, Exon. dioc.—And May 27, *Westminster*, Thomas Bishop of S. David's states to the King, that he has confirmed John Edrych as Abbat. [*Seventh Report of Deputy Keeper of Rolls*, 1846: *Calendar of Letters*, p. 257, nos. 1989, 1990.]

*Proposed Removal of the Cathedral of S. Asaph to Rhuddlan.*

I. A.D. 1281. [*May or June. S. Asaph*\*?] *Anian Bishop of S. Asaph to Pope Martin IV.*

Permit S. Asaph cathedral to be transferred to Rhuddlan, as a larger and safer place, and at the request of King Edward I.

*Sanctissimo in Christo patri et domino M[artino] dispositione Divina sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie summo Pontifici,*  
*DEUOTUS FILIUS SUUS FRATER ANIANUS, MINISTER ECCLESIE ASSAUENSIS,* cum recommendatione humili deuota pedum oscula beatorum. Postquam auribus meis de uestra sublimacione benedicta exultationis uox insonuit, nouo solacio et spe reffectus, firmissime ad pedes vestre Sanctitatis deuote confugio, statum Ecclesie mee Assauensis (immo uerius uestre) refferens, ac supplicans ut eidem Ecclesie paterno compatientes affectu dignemini misericorditer subuenire. Ecclesia siquidem ipsa cathedralis licet Diuino et humano iure fundari debuit in loco celebri et sollempni, sita tamen est et confecta in uico campestri; ubi rarus est accessus hominum, et frequenter insurgentes in regione illa turbacionis et guerrarum procelle; et meis canonicis ad ecclesiam illam accedere tutum non est, aut inibi commorari. Quod aduertens, serenissimus princeps dominus Edwardus, Dei gratia Anglie Rex illustris, qui in uicino locum celebrem et sollempnem edificauit de nouo uallatum turribus et fossatis, transferri desiderat sedem ipsam ad locum supradictum; offerens aream sufficientem, et ad edificationem ecclesie mille marcas. Supplico igitur Sanctitati uestre, ut ipsius Regis precibus annuentes, translacionem huiusmodi fieri concedatis; prouiso tamen expresse in litera concessionis uestre, quod libertates dicte Ecclesie et consuetudines diu optente et approbate dictam translacionem uel aduentancium diuersitatem in nouo loco nulla..... [*Peniarth MSS. 26, pp. 114, 115; also in Br. Willis, S. Asaph, Append. XX.: from Lib. Rub. Assav.—“The rest perished.”*]

\* This document is dated by Br. Willis in 1283. But it was written, 1. shortly after Martin IV.'s elevation to the Pontificate, elected Feb. 22, consecrated March 23, 1281: and 2. certainly before S. Asaph cathedral was burned, and before the quarrel between Edward and

Bishop Anian thereupon ensuing, i. e. before June 1282; and almost certainly before the actual (and final) Welsh war of 1282 broke out, i. e. before March 22, 1282. Its probable date therefore is the middle of A.D. 1281. See also the next letter,

II. A.D. 1281. [*May or June. Rhuddlan<sup>a</sup>.*] *Edward I. King of England to Cardinal \* \*.*

Suggests the translation of S. Asaph Cathedral to Rhuddlan. REX *Cardinali* ..... salutem etc. Licet preces nostras pro omnibus, quæ nostris occurrunt desideriiis, vobis fiducialiter dirigere præsumamus; illas tamen confidentius vobis porrigimus, in quibus, quæ Deo placent et populo, postulamus. Sane sicut aliis vobis scripsisse recolimus, in diocesi Assavensi noviter construi, ædificari, populari, et inhabitari fecimus quandam villam in loco spatioso tutissimo et insigni, qui vocatur vulgariter Rodelan; ad quem non solum diocesis Assavensis verum diocesium vicinarum populus, necnon et Anglicani multitudo populi, jam confluit: a quo cathedralis ecclesia Assavensis distat fere per duas leucas Anglicanas, quæ sita est in quodam loco solitario et campestri. Quæ etiam vel ejusdem canonici sunt nec moenium aliquorum defensione protecti, nec fossatorum munimine circumcincti, nec alicujus vicini populi solatio consolati; sed tanquam illa quæ in nullius bonis sunt, prædonum incursibus et latronum insidiis, una cum corpore sancti Assaphi gloriosissimi confessoris, subjacent periculis infinitis: unde si de die vel nocte hos insultari contingeret vel invadi, quicquid habent, possent amittere, antequam inde ad vicinos rumor aliquis perveniret; et tunc nimis tarde venirent elephantum barritus, qui corruentes socios relevant voce sua: et propter alias incommoditates et pericula, quibus subicitur locus ipse. Haec est causa, quod canonici dictæ ecclesiæ, non solum in ferialibus, verum etiam in magnis et solennibus festivitatibus, Divina coguntur ipsis solis et lapidibus celebrare, si in eadem ecclesia celebrentur, cum propter loci distantiam nullos habeant auditores. Pensatis itaque prædictis incommoditatibus et periculis, et etiam aliis quæ non inseruntur præsentibus, necnon commoditatibus quæ ex ipsius ecclesiæ, et sedis Episcopalis, et etiam sancti confessoris translatione, primo ecclesiæ et personis ejusdem et subsequenter toti populo diocesis Assavensis poterunt evenire; et attendentes quod in insigniori loco totius diocesis cathedralem decet construi domum Dei, ubi semper devotio fidelium per exemplum bonorum operum, quæ a ministris ipsius sperantur fieri frequentius, excitetur ad cogitandum de præmiis sempiternis: ad translationem prædictorum sedis ecclesiæ, confessoris, et personarum ecclesiæ memoratæ, usque ad villam

[RIGHT OF CHURCH PATRONAGE TO BE TRIED IN THE CHURCH COURT.]

Rodelan, quæ longe et incomparabiliter insignior locus est hujusmodi totius diocesis Assavensis, annuente Domino, dare proponimus opem et operam efficacem. Quia igitur ad complendum nostrum laudabile propositum et salubre consensus Romani Pontificis necessarius esse dignoscitur, sinceritatem vestram, de qua indubitatam fiduciam obtinemus, attente requirimus et rogamus, quatenus prædicti nostri propositi participes existentes erga summum Pontificem effectualiter instare velitis, quod translationi prædictæ favorem præbeat Apostolicum et consensum; ut a Deo meritum, et a nobis grates specialissimas, reportetis: pro certo tenentes, quod de damno ecclesiæ, vel personarum ejusdem, in hoc facto non expedit vos timere; nam de indemnitate jam prospeximus præfatæ ecclesiæ ac personis. Scimus etenim, quod si summus Pontifex commoditates et incommoditates loci cognosceret utriusque, nos ad faciendum quod petimus, allectivis precibus invitaret, etiamsi nollemus. [Rymer, I. 629; Wilk., II. 100, 101.]

\* This also is dated by Rymer and Willis in 1283. But it seems plainly to have been written about the same time with the previous letter. And as Edward was at Rhuddlan in the months of May and June 1281, that was probably its real date. The war of 1282 and its expenses,

and the quarrel of Edward with Bishop Anian in 1282, not made up until the Oct. of 1284 (when we find the King seemingly compromising the business by granting the advowson of Rhuddlan to the Bishops of S. Asaph), may account for the giving up of the plan.

A.D. 1281. *Right of Patronage (in diocese of S. Asaph) to be tried in the Church Court.*

I. A.D. 1281<sup>a</sup>. Nov. 24. S. Denys. *Archbishop Peckham to Roger de Mortimer.*

Make your daughter desist from prosecuting a suit of Church patronage in the King's Court. FRATER J. etc., *dilecto filio nobili viro domino Rogero de Mortuomari*, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Non sine dolore cordis accepimus, quod, uestro interveniente patrocínio et consensu, dilecta filia nobilis mulier domina Isabella filia uestra venerabili fratri nostro domino A[niano] Dei gratia Episcopo Assaven. super iure patronatus mouet in curia Regia questionem; quod inauditum est, ex quo fides Christiana in Wallie partibus inoleuit. Quamuis igitur honorem uestrum intime diligamus, et amicitiam, de qua speramus adhuc in Domino plurimum opitulari<sup>b</sup>; dissimulare tamen non possumus, quin, cum necessitas ingruerit, nos pro conseruandis Ecclesie nostre libertatibus murum et pugilem opponamus. Hinc est, quod cum uexatio dicti fratris et

M m 2

[RIGHT OF CHURCH PATRONAGE TO BE TRIED IN THE CHURCH COURT.]

coepiscopi nostri illicita in Dei iniuriam et libertatis ecclesiastice turbationem manifeste redundat, dilectionem uestram, quam semper in Domino uolumus prosperari, rogamus affectione qua possumus ampliori, pariter et monemus, cum sine prevaricatione iuramenti nostri aliter facere nequeamus, quatenus a uexatione dicti fratris nostri faciatis desisti; inducentes filiam uestram, ut alia uia canonica, secundum quod in Wallie partibus est hactenus usitatum, ius suum adquirat: scientes pro certo, quod si in subuersionem libertatis ecclesiastice dictam causam in curia Regia ulterius prosequatur, incidet in excommunicationis sententiam latam in libertatis ecclesiastice turbatores; nec poterimus dictum fratrem nostrum in sua iustitia relinquere desolatum. Valeatis. Datum apud Sanctum Dionysium, VIII. cal. Decemb. [*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 178 a; and in *Wilk.*, II. 90.]

\* Placed by Wilkins A.D. 1282. But the heading of the pages of the Register assigns it to the third year of Peckham's consecration, i.e. 1281. And besides, 1. Peckham was at Rhuddlan Nov. 14 of A.D. 1282, and 2. Roger de Mortimer died Oct. 27, 1282. Peckham was at Lambeth Nov. 2, 1281; but might have been at S. Denys on Nov. 24 of that year. Possibly S. Denys was the monastery so called near Southampton. An "Appellacio ex parte Episcopi ad Papam in causa quæ vertebatur inter eum et Isabellam de Mortuomari, quondam uxorem Johannis Filii-Alani, de jure patronatus ecclesie de Llanymeneich,"—a "Breve Regis Edwardi ad Vicecomitem Salop., quod distingat

bona Aniani Episcopi Assav., quod non admittat idoneam personam ad ecclesiam de Llanymeneich, ad presentationem Isabellæ uxoris Joh. Fil. Alani, quam contra dictum Episcopum recuperavit in curia Regia, dat. anno regni sui X." (1282),—and, lastly, a letter of Isabella de Mortimer to Anian of S. Asaph, complaining that the Archbishop of Canterbury had excommunicated some of her men, and Anian's reply, are mentioned in the "Contents" of the *Liber Ruber Assav.* (Peniarth MSS. 26), but not copied at length: nor is the date of the first and third of them given.

<sup>b</sup> "extollamus" in Wilkins; which is certainly wrong. But the word in the MS. is not plain.

II. A.D. 1281. (*Same date and place with preceding letter.*) *Archbishop Peckham to Isabella de Mortimer.*

Same with preceding letter. FRATER J. etc., *dilecte in Christo filie ac nobili domine Isabelle de Mortuomari*, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Cupientes honorem uestrum semper in Domino prosperari, et ad ea præcipue actus uestros et uoluntatem extendi, que solius Dei honorem respiciunt et anime uestre salutem; non sine vehementi admiratione et dolore cordis intelleximus, quod uos venerabilem fratrem nostrum dominum A. Episcopum Assaven. trahitis coram iustitiariis domini Regis in causa super iure patronatus, quod de Wallia inauditum est ab exordio nascentis ibidem fidei Christiane: ex cuius cause prosecutione timemus valde, ne in excommunicationis sententiam latam in turbatores ecclesiastice libertatis incidere possitis, si

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ista improbitas perseueraret; de quo plurimum doleremus. Quocirca dilectionem uestram rogamus affectu, quo possumus, ampliori, moneamus etiam sub debito quo tenemur libertates ecclesiasticas defendere, quatenus prouidentes vobis de sanioris et melioris uie progressu a dicti fratris et coepiscopi nostri uexatione penitus desistatis, et iustitiam uestram secundum consuetudinem Wallie hactenus optentam pacifice ab Ecclesiis partium earundem licite adquiratis: scientes quod, quia processum vestrum in hac parte manifeste uidemus ecclesiasticis libertatibus repugnare, sana conscientia dissimulare non possumus, quin pro Ecclesia iuuenus fratrem nostrum Episcopum Assaven. Tantum igitur exhortationis nostre gratia circa premissa facere studeatis, ut per aliam uiam, quam incepistis, ius uestrum, quod uos habere dicitis, quod mere ad cognitionem Ecclesie pertinet, euincatis; et nos etiam contra vos, quod nollemus, in hac causa procedere minime compellamur. Valete. Datum apud Sanctum Dionysium, VIII. cal. Decemb. [Reg. Peckb. fol. 178 a; and in *Wilk.*, II. 90<sup>a</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> See also, upon May 15, A.D. 1281, Westminster; record of plea respecting the right of presentation to the church of "Lantehowe Purtherelok" (Llanteilo Porth-Halauc, now Pertholey),

between the Crown, and the Bishop (W. de Breuse) and Chapter of Llandaff, determined in favour of the Bishop and Chapter, in *Prynne, Records*, III. 270, 271.

A.D. 1282. *Archbishop Peckham's Mediation between Edward and Llywelyn Prince of North Wales, and on behalf of the Church of North Wales.*

I. A.D. 1282. *March 28. Devizes<sup>a</sup>. Edward I. King of England to Archbishop Peckham.*

Excommunicate the Welsh rebels. REX, *Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ primate*, salutem. Cum nonnulli malefactores Wallenses, et alii complices et fautores sui, tranquillitati et paci regni nostri inuidentes, turbacionem quandam in terra nostra Walliæ suscitantes pariter et moventes, ibidem deprædationes, homicidia, incendia, et alia enormia quamplurima perpetrarint, contra pacem nostram; et de die in diem callidis machinationibus studeant nobis, et hominibus fidei nostræ adhærentibus, maiora damna et pericula pro viribus perpetrare: nos, maliciam et rebellionem huiusmodi malefactorum, quos in canonem latæ sententiæ ipso facto intendimus incidisse, volentes



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reprimi, ut tenemur, Paternitatem vestram, quam in punitione hujusmodi malefactorum per claves ecclesiasticas facienda esse novimus plurimum circumspectam, affectuose requirimus et rogamus, ad maliciam et rebellionem ipsorum celeriter reprimendam, si placet, [quod] curam et solitudinem, prout omnes prædecessores vestri fecerunt retrolapsis temporibus, favorabiliter adhibentes, universis et singulis suffraganeis vestris detis, nostri intuitu, secundum quod vestra discretio tranquillitati et paci incolarum regni nostri magis expedire viderit, in mandatis, ut ipsi omnes hujusmodi perturbatores pacis, et eorum conspiratores, complices, et fautores, ac omnes assensum, consensum, consilium, vel auxilium, clam vel palam, eisdem præbentes in præmissis, per singulas dioceses suas publice et solemniter denunciari faciant excommunicatos. Speramus enim, quod rebellio et malicia ipsorum, mediante juvamine gladii spiritualis, qui in hujusmodi casu juvare dinoscitur brachium seculare, facilius reprimentur. Teste Rege apud Devises, XXVIII. die Martii, anno etc. decimo. [Rymer, I. 603, from the *Rot. Wall.* 10 *Edw. I.* memb. 10 d: also in *Prynne, Records*, III. 285.]

\* The war broke out by the storming of Hawarden castle by David on the evening of Palm Sunday March 22. Edward was keeping Easter at Devises. And the summons to his army to meet at Worcester by Whitsunday May 17, is dated Devises April 6, 1282 (*Rymer*, I. 603), and that to the Archbishop, Bishops, and Abbats, to send their men to Rhuddlan by Sunday August 2, at Worcester May 20, 1282 (*Rymer*, I. 607). Archbishop Peckham is said

to have undertaken a journey into Wales to persuade Llywelyn to submission, before his journey thither in October and his fruitless negotiations with him in November (see *Poore's Welsh Chron.*, ed. by Wynne, p. 286, ed. 1702). Peckham was certainly at Wolverhampton July 27, and may possibly have then gone on into Wales. He was however at Otford in Kent upon August 19. And the story is probably a confusion with his later journey.

II. A.D. 1282. April 1. *Clyst near Exeter. Archbishop Peckham to his Suffragan Bishops.*

Excommunicate Llywelyn. FRATER J. etc. *domino R. Dei gratia London. Episcopo,* salutem, et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Cum constet omnes pacis domini Regis et regni temerarios turbatores incidere in sententiam excommunicationis, late in Oxoniensi concilio, ipso facto; et nobis etiam fidelibus relatibus innotescat, quosdam proprie salutis immemores Walenses, et alios eorum fautores et complices,urbationem quandam gravem, depredationes, homicidia, incendia, et alia quamplurima enormia, que nos ex uicinitate loci latere non possunt, contra pacem dicti domini Regis de nouo nequiter perpetrasset, ac de die in diem in nequiora grassari; nos non solum reue-

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rentie regie, sed et tocius rei puplice tranquillitati et commodis, ac Diuino honori, quantum in nobis est, prouidere precipue intendentes, mandamus vobis in uirtute obedientie, qua sancte Cant. Ecclesie dignoscitis vos astrictos, quatinus per omnia loca iurisdictioni uestre subiecta, infra dioec. vestre limites et extra, omnes huiusmodi pacis regie turbatores, et eis quacunq[ue] conspiratione, fauore, consilio, uel auxilio, clam uel palam, quomodolibet adherentes, omnibus diebus Dominicis ac festiuis denunciatis et denunciari faciatis puplice ac sollempniter, pulsatis campanis, et extinctis candelis, in excommunicationis predicte sententiam incidisse: monentes insuper canonice uestros, cuiuscunq[ue] sint eminentie, subditos universos, ne pretexto cuiuscunq[ue] obligationis iuramenti, seu fidei preste corporalis, uel quouis alio modo, que omnia in preiudicium predicte iustitie decernimus non tenere, predicte quocunq[ue] modo adhereant aut faueant factioni, sub pena predicta, in quam decernimus eos incidere, si contrarium qualitercunq[ue] presumpserint attemptare. Qualiter autem presens mandatum nostrum fueritis executi, in proxima congregatione fratrum London. secundum prefixionem ultimo factam apud Vetus Templum nos certificare curetis. Dat. apud Clyst Exon. dioec., cal. Aprilis, A.D. 1282, consecrationis nostre IV. [Reg. Peckb. fol. 78 b; and in *Wilk.*, II. 82.]

Sub forma consimili scriptum fuit cuilibet Episcopo prouinc. Cant. de uerbo ad uerbum: preterquam Hereford., ubi scriptum fuit Decano eiusdem loci. [Reg. Peckb. *ib.*]

III. A.D. 1282. May 2. Mortlake. *Archbishop Peckham to the Bishop of London and his other Suffragans.*

Repeat the publication of Llywe-  
lyn's excommu-  
nication. FRATER J. etc., *venerabili fratri domino R. Dei gratia London. Episcopo*, salutem, et fraterne caritatis continuum incrementum. Cum nuper nostris insonuisset auribus inconsideratum populum Walensium, Dei timore postposito, in sacro tempore Dominice Passionis, a pace et subiectione illustrissimi principis ac domini. Eadwardi, Dei gratia Regis Anglie, rebellionem temeraria recessisse; mandauimus uobis ac ceteris coepiscopis nostris, ut omnes huiusmodi tranquillitatis regni et Ecclesie turbatores denunciaretis, et denunciari faceretis, in sententiam excommunicationis late in Oxon. concilio incidisse; monentes insuper universos cure vestre commissos, cuiuscunq[ue] existant eminentie, ne pretexto cuiuscunq[ue] obligationis, iuramenti, seu fidei preste corpo-

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ralis, seu conspirationis quacunq[ue] astutia federate, illi aut simili factioni prestant auxilium, consilium, uel fauorem, sub pena predicta; in quam, si monitioni canonice non paruerint, incident ipso facto. Verumptamen fide digno relatu intelligentes mandatum nostrum non fuisse hactenus cum debita diligentia publicatum, ac Walenses ipsos in sua temeritate persistere, quorundam aliorum, ut creditur, occultis fauoribus animatos; vobis mandando precipimus iterato, ac per vos nostre prouincie suffraganeis uniuersis, quatenus predictos malefactores per omnia loca iurisdictioni vestre subiecta, infra dioces. vestre limites et extra, et omnes huiusmodi pacis regie turbatores, et eis quacunq[ue] conspiratione, fauore, consilio, uel auxilio, clam uel palam, quomodolibet adherentes, omnibus diebus Dominicis ac festiuis denunciatis, et denunciari faciatis, publice ac solempniter, pulsatis campanis, et extinctis candelis, in excommunicationis predictae sententiam incidisse. Qualiter autem hoc nostrum mandatum fueritis executi, nobis constare faciatis infra octab. S. Trinitatis per literas vestras patentes, harum seriem continentes. Dat. apud Mortelake, VI. non. Maii, A.D. 1282, consecrat. nostre IV. [*Reg. Peckh.* fol. 79 a; and in *Wilk.*, II. 82, 83.]

IV. A.D. 1282. *June 6. Slyndon. Archbishop Peckham to Anian Bishop of S. Asaph.*

Do not too hastily excommunicate the English who have burned the cathedral of S. Asaph. Regrets Anian's banishment from his see.

FRATER IOHANNES etc., *venerabili fratri domino A[niano] Dei gratia Episcopo Assauesii*, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem ..... Ignorantia fallit peritissimos; et incaute presumptionis est temeritas in factis dare consilium, quorum aggrauantes et alleuiantes circumstantie ignorantur. Proinde, frater ac pater carissime, quamuis de combustione sancte vestre Cathedralis ecclesie satis constet, de modo tamen combustionis ad nos transgressionis qualitas non pervenit; quibusdam astruentibus, quod iusto prelio, secundum modum precipue preliandi in partibus Wallie, ciuitas uestra, utpote effugium et subterfugium hostium publicorum, qui castra domini Regis inuaserant, homicidia, spolia, incendia, quanta poterant adiungendo, extitit concremata; et preter intentionem illorum, hostes publicos reprimere intendentium secundum modum in patria consuetum, ignis inhesit ecclesie cum dispendio subsequuto; quod est proculdubio lamentandum, et dedecus Ecclesie uniuerse. Hanc autem narrationis seriem uidetur probabiliter confirmare, quod

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nobis scripsistis de illis sanctis Fratribus Predicatoribus, qui coram illis incendiariis, ipsius incendii non ignari, diuina postea celebrarunt; quod nulla ratione fecissent, ut credimus, nisi sciissent ipsos incendiarios, in tanto, licet non in toto, per istam uiam uel aliam excusatos. Quod si aliqui filii Diaboli ex intentione istam ecclesiam incenderunt; vos, habita huiusmodi diligenti indagine secundum modum canonicum et formam a patribus traditam, scitis qualiter uos habetis procedere, et malefactores huiusmodi castigare; nec ad hoc in aliquo nostra auctoritate uel consilio indigetis; nec nos possemus in hac parte uia ordinaria procedere, nisi per uos certificati primitus; qui tamen petitis, ut progrediamur in negotio, quasi nichil per uos nobis fuerit instillatum; quod, salua reuerentia uestra, nec facere possumus nec debemus. Plangitis igitur laudabiliter tam nepharia tempore uestri regiminis accidisse; sic et nos facimus ex cordis intimo, nouit Deus. Sed uobis eo incumbit maior plangendi ratio, quo populum uestrum simplicem ac sine consilio in tantis periculis reliquistis; quod forsitan non licere Epistola Augustini ad Onoratum uidetur efficaciter suadere. Intendimus autem, recepto nuncio quem nuper ad dominum Regem destinauimus, et super hoc facto iterato specialem nuncium destinare; supplicaturus ei cum omni quam poterimus instantia, non tacendo Norwicense negotium, ut iure remedium festinatum dignetur apponere, iuxta quod congruit regie Maiestati. Sed si concurrat censura ecclesiastica contra suos (si tamen sui fuerunt, qui maleficium perpetrarunt) cum supplicatione quam ei facimus, turbabitur forsitan, minus annuens postulatis. Quod si preces nostras repulerit, quod eum non credimus esse facturum, uel ipsum factum reiecerit ut ad se impertinens; ex tunc indubitanter nostrum erit contra malefactores illos quod erit canonicum exercere, et uobis culpam non scribere sine pena, qui uobis iuxta quod nostro incumbit officio intendimus assistere uiriliter, Domino concedente. Hec est ergo summa nostri consilii; et si aliud nobis aut nostro consilio occurrerit, parati erimus vos aliter consolari. In calce subiungimus, ut ad memoriam reducat, qualiter se habuerit circa Norwicense incendium tunc temporis monachus ille, qui pontificali officio bone memorie fungebatur. Valeat in Christo et Virgine gloriosa. Dat. apud Slindone, VIII. idus Junii, anno M.CC.LXXXII. [*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 79 b, 80 a; also in *Wharton, De Episc. Assav., Append. II.* pp. 372-374.]

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V. A.D. 1282. August 16. Lambeth. *Archbishop Peckham to Robert Bishop of Bath and Wells.*

Empowers him to absolve those Welshmen who make their peace with the King of England. FRATER I., PERMISSIONE DIUINA etc., *venerabili fratri domino R[oberto] Dei gratia Bath. et Well. Episcopo*, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Ad absoluendum iuxta formam Ecclesie omnes illos in partibus Wallie, qui

ad pacem domini Regis de sua salute solliciti se conuertunt, ab excommunicationis sententia lata nuper per sancte memorie S[tephanum] predecessorem nostrum in Oxon. Conc., qua iuxta ipsius Conc. tenorem omnes iniuste turbatores pacis domini Regis ac regni, necnon et iura eiusdem indebite subtrahentes, ex Oxon. Concilio declaramus exigente iustitia innodatos,—excepto casu illo incendiariorum, et aliis quorum absolutionem in detestacionem criminum et odium transgressorum sedes Apostolica sibi specialiter reseruauit,—Fraternitati vestre auctoritate presentium plenam committimus facultatem. In cuius rei etc. Dat. apud Lameth, XVII. kal. Septemb. anno Domini 1282, consecrationis nostre III<sup>o</sup>.

Forma consimili scriptum fuit fratri Willielmo de Fendesham de Ordine Predicatorum, pro eisdem Wallensibus ad pacem domini Regis uenientibus absoluendis. [*Reg. Peckb. fol. 8o b.*]

VI. A.D. 1282. October<sup>a</sup>. *Sugwas. Commission of Archbishop Peckham to the Dean of Hereford, to excommunicate David, brother of Llywelyn, and his accomplices.*

Excommunicate David throughout Hereford diocese. FRATER I. etc., *dilecto filio Decano Hereford.*, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Cum pro certo intelligimus, quod David filius Griffini, quondam principis Wallie, et eius complices, quos non est dubium pro turbatione notoria pacis domini Regis et regni excommunicationis sententiam latam in Oxon. Concilio incurrisse, reiecto sue salutis amore, semper in deterius prolabantur, nonnullos sua versutia ad turbationem similem excitantes; Discretionis vestre committimus, et firmiter sub uirtute obedientie iniungendo mandamus, quatinus prefatos David, et omnes sue fraudis complices, auxilium, consilium, vel fauorem sibi qualitercunque procurantes, per totam iurisdictionem uestram in singulis ecclesiis diebus Dominicis et festiuis publice et solempniter

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sic denunciatis excommunicatos, et denunciari ab aliis faciatis; inhibentes districtius sub pena sententie supradicte, ne quis, clam uel palam, cum eis aliquatenus communicare presumat, siue eis arma uendendo seu uictualia, siue quocunque alio communionis genere, per quod animosiores efficiantur seu potentiores, tranquillitatem pacis et status domini Regis et regni Anglie aliquid perturbandi. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus est appensum. Valete. Dat. apud Sugwas, A.D. 1282, consecrationis nostre quarto. [*Reg. Peckh.* fol. 152 a; and in *Wilk.*, II. 87, 88.]

\* Thomas de Cantelupe Bishop of Hereford was excommunicated by Peckham, went to Rome to appeal, and died on the road in Italy Aug. 25, 1282. The diocese was declared vacant only upon Oct. 8 (*Pat. 10 Edw. I.*, in *Richardson's Godwyn*). And upon Oct. 9

(*Wilk.*, II. 87) Peckham was at Cirencester on his way to Rhuddlan, which he reached before Oct. 31. He was probably therefore at Sugwas, which is on the Wye a little above Hereford, shortly after Oct. 9.

VII. A.D. 1282. October 21. (*Wrexham?*). *Archbishop Peckham to Anian Bishop of S. Asaph.*

FRATER I. etc., *venerabili fratri domino A[niano] Dei gratia Episcopo Assauesi*, salutem et sinceritatis continuam memoriam. Meminimus nos alias dudum uobis et ceteris fratribus et coepiscopis Cant. Ecclesie suffraganeis nostris dedisse litteris in mandatis, ut quosdam Walenses, stragem et guerram de nouo mouentes, domini Regis et regni pacis et tranquillitatis turbatores, quos non est dubium propter hoc in excommunicationis sententiam dudum in Oxon. Conc. promulgatam dampnabiliter incidisse, sic excommunicatos in genere denunciaretis, et faceretis denunciari, publice et sollempniter in ecclesiis cunctarum diocesum uestrarum singulis diebus Dominicis et festiuis. Set vos solum, domine Assaues., ut intelleximus, in eorundem Wallensium fauorem obedientie bonum plus debito postponentes, huiusmodi mandatum nostrum, non sine nostri contemptu, hactenus minime exequi curastis. Nolentes itaque tante presumptionis audaciam conniuentibus oculis pertransire, uos tenore presentium citamus peremptorie, quod per uos, uel procuratorem idoneum sufficienter instructum, compareatis coram nobis, ubicumque fuerimus in nostra diocesi uel prouincia Cant., die iuridica prox. post festum Sancti Leonardi Abbatis, nobis super contemptum et inobedientiam responsuri, audituri, facturi, et recepturi, quod dictauit opus(?) iuris. Cuius etc. Dat. apud Wrexham<sup>b</sup>,

Appear by the next court day after Nov. 6, to answer for not promulgating our sentence of excommunication against the Welsh rebels.

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XII. kal. Nouemb. A.D. 1282, consecrationis nostre quarto. [Reg. Peckb. fol. 81 b.]

<sup>a</sup> See also below, No. XI., Nov. 9, 1282. <sup>b</sup> The word looks like "Werexham," but very doubtfully.

VIII. A.D. 1282. Oct. 27. *Denbigb. Edward I. to Robert Bishop of Bath and Wells.*

Provide a new cemetery for Rhuddlan. EDWARDUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIÆ, DOMINUS HIBERNIÆ, ET DUX AQUITANIÆ, *venerabili in Christo patri R. eadem gratia Bathoniensis et Wellensi Episcopo, Cancellario suo, salutem.* Quia venerabilis frater J. Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus nobis significavit, quod cimiterium ecclesiæ de Rothelan non est competens aut sufficiens pro sepultura mortuorum ibidem; vobis mandamus, quod aliquem locum competentem juxta Hospitale extra Rothelanum assignare faciatis pro sepultura, et eam ad hoc dedicari faciatis; prout dictus Archiepiscopus et vos videbitis fore faciendum. Et certificatis nos, quando dictus Archiepiscopus veniet ad nos apud Dinby. Et quia quidam qui ituri sunt ad Anglesey, sunt adhuc apud Rothelanum; vobis mandamus, quod significatis quot et qui, et de numero peditum et equitum, et de eorum nominibus pro viribus nos certiorare non omittatis. Dat. sub privato sigillo nostro apud Dinby, 27 die Octobris anno regni nostri decimo. [Prynne, III. 1240, 1241; from the *Bundela Brevium a. 10 Edw. I. in Turri Londin.*]

IX. A.D. 1282. Oct. 31<sup>a</sup>. *Rhuddlan. Commission to Robert Burnell Bishop of Bath and Wells to act as Peckham's Vicar should he himself be detained among the Welsh as a prisoner.*

We constitute you our Vicar during our own absence among the Welsh if we are hindered from returning. FRATER I. MISERATIONE DIUINA, etc., *venerabili in Christo fratri Domino R. Dei gratia Bathon. et Wellen. Episcopo, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem.* Intendentes pro salute populi Wallens. ipsos adire, ac prout nobis Deus inspirauerit, ipsorum malitiam salubri consilio declinare, eosque ad unitatem reuocare catholicam; nolentes etiam dictam nostram Cantuar. Ecclesiam tanquam acephalam et pastoris solatio destitutam manere diutius, si nostrum regressum uiolenter et malitiose contigerit impediri: de uestre circumspectionis confidentes industria, uos, nobis absentibus, officii nostri

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uicarium constituimus per presentes; quam constitutionem effectum habere uolumus, cum certum fuerit de nostri impedimento regressus. Vobis autem hanc nostram commissionem in uirtute obedientie admittere iniungimus et mandamus, quousque aliud a nobis super hoc fuerit ordinatum. Valete. Dat. apud Rothelan, II. cal. Novembr., consecrationis nostre anno quarto. [*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 82 a; and in *Wilk.*, II. 89, 90.]

\* Edward, who had come to Rhuddlan about July, moved forwards about Nov. 1 to Conway, seizing also Anglesey; but being repulsed in an attempt to cross the Menai Straits from Anglesey to the mainland, retreated to Rhuddlan again by Nov. 24. It must have been his head-

quarters also during the interval. Peckham's negotiations seem to have been carried on between these dates: Llywelyn being at Aber, and Peckham journeying to and fro between that place and Rhuddlan.

X. A.D. 1282. *Probably Oct. 31. Rhuddlan. Commission to Robert Burnell Bishop of Bath and Wells to take charge of S. Asaph diocese during Bishop Anian's enforced absence.*

FRATER I. etc., *vener. fratri domino R. Dei gratia Bathon. et Wellen. Episcopo*, salutem, etc. Cum *vener. frater noster Episcopus Assaven.* absens sit a sua dioec., nec ei tutum existat ad presens ibidem suam presentiam exhibere; nec nos, variis et arduis Ecclesie nostre negotiis et utilitatibus alibi occupati, possumus ibidem presentialiter remanere; volentes in predicti fratris nostri defectum seu impotentiam, prout ex commisso nobis officio, eiusdem dioec. cleri et populi providere solatiis medio tempore, Fraternitati vestre, de qua plenam in Domino fiduciam reportamus, ad faciend. et exercend. omnia que nos facere et exercere possemus, si in prefata dioc. personaliter presentes essemus, loci diocesano absente, committimus uices nostras; absoluendi nihilominus iuxta formam Ecclesie omnes ad pacem domini Regis uenientes, a sententia excommunicationis dudum in Oxon. Concilio lata contra iniuste turbantes pacem domini Regis et regni, ac malefactores alios quosunque, illis dumtaxat exceptis quorum absolutio sedi Apostolice specialiter reservatur, vobis plenam potestatem auctoritate presentium concedentes. In cuius rei testimonium, etc. Dat. apud Rothelan. [*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 82 a; and in *Wilk.*, II. 90.]



XI. A.D. 1282. Nov. 9. *Rbuddlan. Summons to Anian Bishop of S. Asaph to appear by the third legal day after Dec. 6 to answer to charges laid against him.*

*Mem. de domino Episcopo Assauesi uocato.*—Memorandum, quod dominus Assauesis citatus est ad tertium diem iuridicum post festum Sancti Nicholai, ubicunque dominus fuerit in prouincia, super sibi obiciendis et quibusdam de se conquerentibus responsurus: et emanauit littera apud Rotelan, V<sup>to</sup>. idus Novembris anno ut supra [i. e. 1282].—[*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 190.]

XII. A.D. 1282. November, before the 11th. *Rbuddlan. Considerations laid before Llywelyn Prince of Wales by Archbishop Peckham.*

Isti sunt articuli intimati domino L[ewelino] principi Wallie, et populo eiusdem loci, ex parte domini Archiepiscopi supradicti. Primo, quod propter salutem eorum spiritualem et temporalem ad partes istas uenimus; quos semper dileximus usque modo, sicut plures eorum nouerunt. Secundo, quod uenimus contra domini Regis uoluntatem, cui etiam aduentus noster dicitur plurimum displicere. Tertio, quod rogamus eos, et supplicamus eis pro sanguine Jesu Christi, quatenus uenire uelint ad unitatem cum gente Anglorum, et ad pacem domini Regis; quam eis intendimus, quanto melius poterimus, procurare. Quarto, uolumus eos scire, quod in his partibus diu non poterimus remanere. Quinto, uolumus eos attendere, quod post recessum nostrum non inuenient forsitan aliquem, qui ita uelit sua amplecti negotia promouenda; cum uellemus, si placeret Altissimo, uita nostra temporali ipsorum pacem honestam et stabilem perpetuo procurasse. Sexto, quod si nostras partes spreuerint et labores, statim intendimus eorum pertinaciam scribere summo Pontifici et curie Romane; propter peccata mortalia, que multiplicantur occasione discordie omni die. Septimo, nouerint, quod, nisi citius ad pacem uenerint, aggrauabitur eis bellum; quod non poterunt sustinere, quia crescit regia potentia omni die. Octavo, nouerint, quod regnum Anglie est sub speciali protectione sedis Apostolice, et quod Romana curia plus inter regna cetera diligere consueuit. Nono, quod eadem curia nullo modo uolet permittere statum regni Anglie uacillare, quod sibi specialibus obsequiis est

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deutum. Decimo, amarissime plangimus hoc, quod dicitur Walenses crudeliores existere Sarracenis: quia, cum Sarraceni capiunt Christianos, eos seruant pecunia redimendos; quos Walenses captos dicuntur illico iugulare, quia solo sanguine delectentur; imo, quod est deterius, quos permittunt redimi, tradunt, ut dicitur, accepta pecunia iugulandos. Undecimo, quod cum consueuerint Deum et personas ecclesiasticas reuereri, a deuotione huiusmodi videntur multipliciter recessisse, qui in tempore sanctissimo in Redemptoris iniuriam mouerunt seditionem, homicidia et incendia perpetrantes; in quo eos nullus poterit excusare. Duodecimo, petimus, ut tanquam ueri Christiani ad cor redeant penitentes, quia coeptam discordiam non possent diu continuare, etiam si iurassent. Tertio-decimo, petimus, ut nobis significant, quibus modis uelint et ualeanturbationem pacis regie, lesionem reipublice, et mala alia, emendare. Quartodecimo, ut significant nobis, qualiter ualeat ipsa concordia stabiliri; frustra enim pax firmari uidebitur, que tam assidue uiolatur. Quintodecimo, ut, si dicunt leges suas uel federa ex pacto inita non seruari, nobis significant que sint illa. Sextodecimo, nouerint, quod, etiam posito quod eis derogatum fuisset, ut aiunt,—quod nescimus,—nullo modo licebit eis, quia essent iudices in causa sua, taliter Maiestatem regiam impugnare. Septimodecimo, quod, nisi modo pax fiat, procedetur contra eos forsitan ex decreto Militie, Sacerdotum, et populi conuocati. [*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 242 a; and in *Wilk.*, II. 73.]

XIII. A.D. 1282. Nov. 11. *Garth Celyn*\* (at *Aber near Bangor*).*Llywelyn Prince of Wales to Archbishop Peckham in reply.*

*Reuerentissimo patri in Christo domino J. Dei gratia Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Anglie primati, SUUS HUMILIS ET DEUOTUS FILIUS LEWELINUS PRINCEPS WALLIE, DOMINUS SNAUDONIE, salutem et filialem dilectionem, cum omnimoda reuerentia, subiectione, et honore. Sancte Paternitati uestre pro labore uobis quasi intolerabile, quem assumpsistis ad presens pro dilectione quam erga nos et nostram nationem geritis, omni qua possumus deuocione regraciantes vobis assurgimus; et eo amplius, quod contra domini Regis uoluntatem uenistis, prout nobis intimastis. Ceterum quod nos rogastis, ut ad pacem domini Regis ueniamus; scire debet uestra Sanctitas, quod ad hoc prompti sumus, dummodo idem dominus Rex pacem*

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debitam et ueram nobis et nostris velit obseruare. Ad hec, licet gauderemus de mora uestra facienda in Wallia, tamen per nos non eritis impediti, quin pax fiat, quantum in nobis est; quam optamus per uestram industriam, magis quam alicuius alterius, roborari, et speramus. Nec per Dei gratiam erit oportunum, propter nostram pertinationem, aliquid scribere domino Pape. Nec uestras paternas preces ac graues labores spernemus, sed eas amplectimur omni cordis affectu, ut tenemur. Nec erit opus, quod dominus Rex aggrauet contra nos manum, cum prompti simus ei obedire, iuribus nostris et legibus nobis, ut premittitur, reseruatis. Et licet regnum Anglie sit curie Romane specialiter subiectum et dilectum, tamen, cum dominus Papa necnon et curia Romana audierint, quanta nobis per Anglicos mala sunt illata,—uidelicet, quod pax prius formata non fuit nobis seruata, nec pacta; deinde, ecclesiarum deuastationes, combustiones, et ecclesiasticarum personarum interfectiones, sacerdotum uidelicet, et inclusorum, et inclusarum, et aliarum religiosarum personarum passim, mulierum, et infantium suggestium ubera, et in utero positarum; combustiones etiam hospitalium, et aliarum domorum religiosarum; homicidiorum<sup>b</sup> in cimiteriis, ecclesiis, et super altaria, et aliorum sacrilegiorum, et flagitiorum auditu etiam horribilium auditui paganorum<sup>b</sup>; sicut expressius eadem in aliis rotulis conscripta uobis transmittimus inspicienda;—speramus inprimis, quod uestra pia et sancta Paternitas clementer nobis compatiatur, necnon et curia supradicta. Nec per nos regnum Anglie uacillabit, dum, ut premissum est, pax debita nobis fiat et seruetur. Qui uero sanguinis effusione delectantur, manifestum est ex factis; nam Anglici hactenus nulli sexui uel etati seu langori pepercerunt, nulli ecclesie uel loco sacro detulerunt; qualia, uel consimilia, Walenses non fecerunt. Super eo autem quod unus redemptus fuit interfectus, multum dolemus, nec occisorem manutenemus, sed in siluis uti latro uagatur. De eo uero quod inceperunt guerram aliqui in tempore indebito, illud ignorauimus usque post factum; et tamen ipsi asserunt, quod nisi eo tempore hoc fecissent, mortes et captiones eis imminebant, nec audebant in domibus residere, nec nisi armati incedere; et sic pre timore tali tempore id fecerunt. De eis uero que fecimus contra Deum, ut ueri Christiani per Dei gratiam penitebimus; nec erit ex parte nostra quod bellum continuetur, dum simus indempnes, ut debemus: ne tamen exheredemur, et passim occidamur, oportet nos defendere, ut ualeamus. Cum uero iniuriæ et

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dampna hinc inde considerentur et ponderentur, parati sumus emendare pro uiribus, que ex parte nostra sunt commissa, dum de predictis injuriis et dampnis nobis factis et aliis emenda nobis fiat. Et ad pacem firmandam et stabiliendam similiter sumus prompti debitis modis. Quoniam tamen regales charte et pacta inita nobis non seruabantur, sicut nec hucusque sunt obseruata, non potest pax stabiliri; nec quando noue exactiones et inaudite contra nos et nostros omni die adinueniuntur: uobis autem transmittimus in rotulis dampna illata et federa non seruata secundum formam pacis prius factam. Quod uero guerrauimus, quasi necessitas nos cogebat. Nam nos, et omnes Walenses, eramus adeo oppressi et subpeditati et spoliati et in seruitutem redacti per regales iusticiarios et balliuos, contra formam pacis et omnem iustitiam, amplius quam si Sarraceni essemus uel Iudei; sicut credimus et sepe denunciauimus domino Regi. Nec aliquam emendam habere potuimus, sed semper mittebantur iusticiarii et balliui ferociore et crudeliores; et quando illi erant saturati per suas iniustas exactiones, alii de nouo mittebantur ad populum excoriandum, in tantum quod populus mallebat mori quam uiuere. Nec oportet militiam ampliorem conuocare, uel contra nos moueri sacerdotium, dum nobis fiat pax et seruetur modis debitis; ut superius est expressum. Nec debetis, sancte pater, omnibus uerbis credere nostrorum aduersariorum; sicut enim nos factis oppresserunt et opprimunt, ita et uerbis diffamant, nobis imponentes quod uolunt. Ipsi enim sepe uobis sunt presentes, et nos absentes; ipsi opprimentes, nos oppressi; et ideo propter Deum fidem eis in omnibus non exhibeatis, sed facta potius examinetis. Valeat Sanctitas uestra ad regimen Ecclesie per tempora longa. [*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 242; and in *Wilk.*, II. 74.]

\* The date of this is given by *Warrington* (*Wales*, p. 570, from Peckham's Register), as at Garth Celyn on the Feast of S. Martin. The long roll of "Gravamina" which follows this letter (pp. 598-613 *Warrington*, from Peckham's Register, to which they are subjoined at the end of the volume), and which has no relation to Church matters, is followed by a statement of fruitless journeys of the Archbishop from Prince to King and King to Prince (obviously between Nov. 11 and Nov. 14), ending with a final mission of

one "Frater Johannes Wallensis," as the bearer of Edward's ultimatum, and in addition of a private message to Llywelyn, and of another to Prince David, from the English nobles, and of an urgent message from Peckham himself (*Warrington*, p. 614). The reply of Llywelyn (and of David) follows (ib. pp. 615-617), dated at Garth Celyn also. To which the Archbishop finally replies (ib. 617-620), from Rhuddlan Nov. 14, 1282, "ab his partibus recedentes."

<sup>b</sup> So in MS.

[SUMMONS TO THE BISHOPS TO A COUNCIL RESPECTING THE WELSH WAR.]

A.D. 1282. Nov. 24. *Rbuddlan. Edward I. King of England to John Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Meet me at  
Northampton Ja-  
nuary 20, with  
your suffragans  
and others, to  
help towards put-  
ting down the  
Welsh once for  
all.

REX, *venerabili in Christo patri f. eadem gratia Cantua-*  
*riensi Archiepiscopo, tocius Angliæ primati*, salutem. Quia  
Lewelinus filius Griffini et Walenses complices sui, ini-  
mici et rebellos nostri, tociens temporibus nostris et  
progenitorum nostrorum Regum Angliæ pacem regni  
turbarunt, et rebellionem suam et maliciam jam resump-  
tam continuare non desinunt animo indurato; propter

quod, negocium quod ad ipsorum versuciam reprimendum jam inci-  
pinus de consilio prælatorum, procerum, et magnatum regni nostri,  
necnon et tocius communitatis ejusdem, ad præsens proponimus ad  
nostram et tocius regni pacem et tranquillitatem perpetuam Domino  
concedente finaliter terminare; commodius eciam et decencius esse  
perpendimus, quod nos et incolæ terræ nostræ ad ipsius maliciam  
totaliter destruendam pro communi utilitate laboribus et expensis  
fatigemur hac vice, licet onus difficile videatur, quam hujusmodi  
turbatione per Walenses ipsos nunc habita pro voluntate sua futuris  
temporibus cruciari, prout tempore nostro et progenitorum nostrorum  
contigit manifeste: vobis mandamus rogantes, quatinus suffraganeos  
vestros, eciam Abbates, Priores, ac alios singulos domibus religiosis  
præfectos, necnon et procuratores Decanorum et Capitulorum eccle-  
siarum Collegiatarum vestræ et suffraganeorum vestrorum diocesium,  
venire faciatis coram nobis apud Northampt. in octabis Sancti Hil-  
larii, vel coram fidelibus nostris quos ad hoc duxerimus deputandos; et  
vos eisdem die et loco intersitis; ad audiendum et faciendum ea quæ  
pro republica vobis et sibi ostendi super hiis faciemus, et ad præstan-  
dum nobis consilium et juvamen; præsertim cum vestra sicut aliorum  
intersit, per quod negocium jam inceptum ad laudem et honorem Dei,  
et magnificenciam nostræ\* sane ac tocius regni nostri et populi pacem  
et tranquillitatem perpetuam, valeamus hac vice, ut intendimus, feli-  
citer consummare. Teste Rege apud Rothelan., 24 die Novembris.

Consimiles literæ et de eadem data diriguntur Archiepiscopo Ebo-  
rum, quod suffraganeos etc. venire faciat coram Rege apud Eborum  
in octavis prædictis vel coram fidelibus Regis quos, etc. [In *Prynne*,  
*Records*, III. 301, 302; from *Rot. Wall.* 11 *Edw. I. memb.* 4, *num.* 2  
*dorso.*]

\* So in *Prynne*.

[WHETHER LLYWELYN SHALL BE ABSOLVED AFTER HIS DEATH.]

A.D. 1282. (December, before the 17th. Pembroke<sup>a</sup>.) *Archbishop Peckham to the Lady Maud Longue-Espée.*

He cannot ab-  
solve Llywelyn  
(now dead) un-  
less upon proof  
of his repentance  
before death.

FRERE JAN PAR LA SUFFRAUNCE DEU ERCEUESKE DE CANTERBIRE, PRIMAT DE TUT ENGLETERE, a Dame de graunt valur Mahaud Lungespeye, salut e la beneŷcun Ihu Crist. Ma dame, vostre preyere saacorde bin a piete e reŷsun. Mes sachez ke Lewelyn, q'esteyt prince de Gales, ne poet estre asouz, se il ne mustra signe de repentaunce en sa mort, de seŷ amender e lesser ses folies. Dunt, si ceo est certeyne chose ke il fust repentaunt en sa mort, e aparayllet taunt come en luy esteyt de fere la aset a Seynt Eglyse, e sce seyt proue devaunt nus; nus ly fymes ce ke droŷt serra en tur ce. Kar autrement saunt tort fere ne puet estre asous. Dunt nus vumes, ke vus e ses autres amys travayllez en tur co, ke aucuns de tous ke fuyent a sa mort ueygnent per tens deuaunt nus a mustrer les signes avaunt diz. Kar en autre maniere non pussums riens fere. [Reg. Peckb. fol. 192 a.]

<sup>a</sup> The date of this is inferred from that of the following letter.

A.D. 1282. Dec. 17. Pembroke. *Archbishop Peckham to Edward I. King of England.*

Letters found  
upon Llywelyn.  
Doubts about ab-  
solving him. Pro-  
tect, or do not  
molest, the Welsh  
clergy, specially  
those in Snow-  
don.

A trechyr seynur Edward, Den grace Roy d'Engleterre, Seynur d'Irlande, Duc d'Aquitain, FRERE JAN, PAR LA SOUFFRAUNCE DEU ERCEVESQUE de CANTERBIR, PRIMAT DE TUT ENGLETERRE, saluz en graunt reverence. Sire, sachez ke ceus, ke furent a la mort Lewelin, truverent au plus prive lu de sun cors meime chose ke nos avones veues; entre les autres choses illi ont une lettre deguisee par faus nuns de traysun. E pur co ke vus seyez garni, nus envenyum le transcrit de la lettre a le Evesk de Ba[thon.]; e la lettre meymes tient Eadmund de Mortemor: o le prive seel Lewellin a ses choses vus purrex aver a vostre pleysir. E co nus maundum par vus garnir, e nun pas pur ce ke nul ne seyst greve; e vus priums ke nul ne sente mort ne mahayn pur nostre mandement, e ke sce ke nus vus moundums seyt fete. Ovekes co, sire, sachez ke dame Mahaud Lungespeye nus pria par lettres, ke nos vosissums asoudre Lewelin, ke il peust estre enseveli en lu dedie; e nus li maundames ke nus ne frums riens si len ne poet prover ke il mustra seigne de verraye

N n 2

[ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM'S INTERCESSION FOR WELSH CLERGY.]

repentaunce avaunt sa mort. E si me dist Edmund de Mortemer ke il aveyt entendu par ses valles, ke furent a la mort, ke il avet demaunde le prestre devaunt sa mort. Mes sauntz dreyte certayne nous neus frums riens. Ovec co, sachez ke le jur meymes ke il fu ocis, un muygne blaunc li chaunta messe, et misire Roger de Mortemer ad le vestemens. Ovec co, sire, nus vus requerrums ke piete vus prenge de clers, ke vus ne suffrez pas ke len les ocie, ne ke leu lur face mau de cors. E sachez, sire, Dieus vus defende de mal, si vus ne le desturbez a vostre poer; vus cheez en sentence, kar suffrir ce ke len peut desturber vaut consentement. E pur ce, sire, vus priums ke il vus pleyse, ke li clers, qui sunt en Snaudone, sen puissent issir et quereler mieuz oue lur bions en Fraunce, ou aylurs; kar par co ke nus creums ke Snaudone serra vostre, se il avient ke en cunque-raunt, ou apres, len face mal as clers, Dieus le rettera a vus, e vostre bon renun en sera blesmi, e nus en serrums tenuz pur lasches. E de ces choses, sire, se il vust plect, maundet nus vostre pleysir; kar nus i mettrum le conseyl ke nus purrums, ou par aler la, ou par autre voye. E sachez, sire, ke si vus ne fetes nostre priere, vus nus mettrez en tristur, dunt vus instrum ja en ceste vie mortele. Sire, Dieus gard vus, e kaunt a vus apent. (Ceste lettre fu escrite a Pembrugg, le Jeodi apres la Seynte Lucie<sup>a</sup>.) [Rymer, I. 619, from *Reg. Peckb.* fol. 100 b.]

<sup>a</sup> At the end of Peckham's record of his negotiations with Llywelyn, is a memorandum of Llywelyn's unexpected death, in battle, near Buellt ("in partibus Montis Gomerici," according to Peckham), "die Veneris proximo ante

festum S. Luc[i]e, videlicet 3 id. Decembr. sub anno Domini 1282," sc. Dec. 11; which agrees with the *Ann. Camb.* Peckham was at Hereford Dec. 10.

A.D. 1282. (Probably same date and place as the preceding.) *Archbishop Peckham to Robert Bishop of Bath and Wells.*

Protect the clergy at Rhuddlan and those in Snowdon who are implicated in the Welsh war.

FRATER J. PERMISSIONE DIVINA CANTUARIENSIS ECCLESIE MINISTRE HUMILIS, TOTIUS ANGLIE PRIMAS, *venerabili in Christo patri domino R. Dei gratia Bathoniensi et Wellensi Episcopo*, salutem et fraternæ dilectionis in Domino continuum incrementum. Quia quæ in Domini etc.<sup>a</sup>.....

Ad hæc intelleximus, quod nonnulli clerici apud Rothelan, in opprobrium cleri et Ecclesiæ contemptum, inter prædones et malefactores alios cotidie capitali sententia puniuntur; quod ne de cætero fiat, vestræ sollicitudinis studium apponatis. Et certe dolemus valde de clericis illis, qui maneant in Snaudonia desolati; quos libenter

[PRIVILEGE TO THE FINDERS OF THE "CROSSENEYCH".]

nobiscum adduxissemus ad propria, dum in partibus illis extitimus, si hoc clementiæ regiæ placuisset: nec poterit se dominus Rex excusare saltem de favore, si de eis (quod avertat Deus) male contingat: unde, si quid pro eis sciveritis, aut obtinere poteritis, quod ad eorum libertatem et securitatem possit nostro ministerio expediri, scribatis nobis, et nos parati erimus pro eis ab instantibus periculis eruendis, ad honorem Dei, quantum poterimus, etiam corporaliter laborare. Præterea sunt quidam Dei et Ecclesiæ inimici, quos nuper in Exon. dioc. visitantes, etc. .... (Dors. Domino R. Bathon. et Wellen. Episcopo).—[*Rymer*, I. 619.]

\* The omitted portion, and the end of the letter, concern respectively the documents found on Llywelyn, and certain persons in Exeter diocese whom Peckham had excommunicated.

A.D. 1283. June 25. *Rbuddlan. Privilege to the finders of the "Crosseneych".*

Privilege to the finders of the fragment of the true cross belonging to Llywelyn and David, for sending it to the King.

REX *omnibus ad quos*, etc. salutem. Cum jam sedatis (benedictus Altissimus!) quibusdam turbationibus in Wallia habitis, nos Summi Regis clementia taliter visitaverit ab excelso, quod nobis nuper, apud Aberconewey existentibus, Avianus filius Ynor, Lewelinus, David, Meylerus, et Goronow, filii sui, Goronow fil. David, Avyanus, David, Dayhoc, et Tegnaret, filii sui, Walenses, partem illam pretiosissimi ligni Crucis, quæ a Walensibus Crosseneyht vocatur, et quam Lewelinus filius Griffini, nuper princeps Walliæ, et antecessores sui principes Walliæ, habuerunt, per manum dilecti et fidelis nostri Reginaldi de Grey, Justiciarii Cestr., reddiderunt; nos, ob Ipsius reverentiam Qui pro redemptione generis humani in eodem ligno mortem subiit temporalem, et ob ejusdem sanctæ Crucis honorem, præfatis Aviano, Lewelino, David, Meylero, Goronow, Aviano, David, Dayhoc, et Tegnaret, gratiam facere volentes specialem, concedimus eis pro nobis et hæredibus nostris hanc libertatem: viz. quod ipsi, seu hæredes sui imperpetuum, in aliquo exercitu seu expeditione nostra extra Quatuor Cantreda nos sequi minime teneantur, nisi hoc de eorum processerit voluntate; et tunc sumptibus nostris, et non suis. In cujus etc. Teste Rege apud Rothel., XXV. die Junii b. [*Rymer*, I. 630.]

\* See *Ann. de Waverl.* in an.

b Immediately after the capture of David, June 21 or 22, 1283 (*Ann. de Dunstap.*). The

four cantrefs were the district called Perfeddwlad, i. e. speaking roughly, Flint and Denbigh.



A.D. 1283. *Sept. 9. ANN. CAMB.*—Ecclesia de Langadauc facta est collegiata<sup>a</sup>. [p. 108 ed. Williams.]

<sup>a</sup> Sc. by Bishop Beck of S. David's. A grant of the advowsons of thirty-eight churches in S. David's diocese, forfeited to the Crown by their owners, to Bishop Beck, to be appropriated to the Prebends of S. David's itself and of Llangadoc, is in *Pryms (Records, III. 325, 326)*, dated June 10, A.D. 1284. As is also a confirmation, of

the same date, by Edward I. of Bishop Beck's Charter (dated at Makesfield Sept. 9, A.D. 1283) founding the latter (ib. 326, 327). It was shortly removed to Abergwili (*Dugd. Mem. VI. 1332*; *Jones and Freeman, S. David's, 299-302*).

A.D. 1283. *Nov. 5. Bere<sup>a</sup>. Grant of Edward I. to Bishop Anian of Bangor and the "Offeyriat Teulu<sup>b</sup>" jointly.*

REX, etc., *omnibus ad quos* etc. Sciatis, quod cum venerabilis pater Anianus Bangorensis Episcopus et *Offeyriat Teulu* decimas dominicorum nostrorum de Karnwyls et Penmynydd etc. dilectis nobis in Christo Abbati et Conventui de Aberconway ..... ad nostri instantiam dederint, ..... nos in compensationem decimarum prædictarum dedimus ..... præfato Episcopo villatas nostras de Trefaynan, Abydon, et Bodychain, etc.: ita tamen quod idem Episcopus, et successores sui, præfato *Offeyriat Teulu Wall.*, et successoribus suis, de portione ipsum *Offeyriat Teulu* de dictis decimis contingente, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris et præfatis Abbate et Conventu et eorum successoribus, respondeant et satisfaciant in futurum. In cujus etc. Teste Rege apud Bere, V<sup>to</sup>. die Novembris. [*Rot. Wall. 12 Edw. I., in Br. Willis, Bangor, Append. 189, 190.*]

<sup>a</sup> Castell Dolbadarn near Llanberis, taken by Edward early in 1283. He seems to have built

a new and strong fort there (*Ann. de Waverl.*).

<sup>b</sup> See above, pp. 224-233.

A.D. 1283. *December. Litteræ Dunelm. Episcopi ad Anianum Episcopum Assavensem de translacione beati Willielmi quondam Episcopi Eboracens.<sup>a</sup> fienda. Dat. a<sup>o</sup> 1283 mense Decembr. [Contents of Lib. Rub. Assav. in Peniarth MSS. 26, and in Nichols.]*

<sup>a</sup> William Fitzherbert, died 1154; canonized in the end of 1283; translated January 8, 1284; see Raine's *Archb. of York, I. 227*.

A.D. 1283<sup>a</sup>. *Dispute about boundaries of Dioceses of S. Asaph and Hereford.*

LIB. RUB. ASSAV.—Arbitrium Episcopi London. super causam quæ vertebatur inter Thomam Herefordensem Episcopum et Anianum Episcopum Assavensem coram delegatis Papæ (in qua causa ad Apostolicam sedem a dicto Thoma appellatum fuit) de jurisdictione

[PAPAL DISPENSATION FOR MARRIAGE WITHIN THE PROHIBITED DEGREE.]

Episcopali in territorio de Gordor (dicto Thoma mortuo, successit Ricardus Herefordens. Episcopus): et utroque in 40 li. obligato, ordinatum fuit ut jurisdictio maneret in statu quo tunc, protestante Episcopo Assavensi de non fiendo ecclesiis suis præjudicio per hanc concordiam. [*Contents of Lib. Rub. Assav. in Peniarth MSS. 26, and in Nichols.*]

\* The document is not copied at length in the *Peniarth MS.* Thomas de Cantelupe died Aug. 25, 1282, and Richard Swinfield was con-

secrated his successor in the see of Hereford March 7, 1283.

A.D. 1283. Dec. 10. Orvieto. Pope Martin IV. to Thomas Bishop of S. David's (received June 26, 1284).

Papal dispensation for the marriage of Rhys ap Iwerdud and of Auda de Hastings, being within the prohibited degrees.

*Universis sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint*, THOMAS PERMISSIONE DIVINA MEN. EPISCOPUS, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Litteras venerabilis patris domini Martini, Divina providentia summi Pontificis, apud Landegoe die Sanctorum Martiri Johannis et Pauli anno Domini 1284 recepimus sub hac forma.—

MARTINUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili fratri* [Thomas] *Episcopo Men.*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quantum cum Deo possimus hijs libenter annuimus, per quæ dissidentes ad pacis solatium reducantur. Ex parte siquidem nobilis viri Resi Mereduci et nobilis mulieris Audæ de Hastings tuæ dyocesis fuit propositum coram nobis, quod ex inimicitiis et guerris, dudum inter ejusdem R. ex parte una et ipsius A. progenitores ex altera suscitatis, et rerum et personarum pericula plurima sunt secuta, et adhuc durant odia inter superstites eorundem; unde dicti R. et A., sperantes per matrimonialē communicationem ipsorum posse super præmissis plene reconciliationis commoda provenire, desiderant invicem propter hoc matrimonialiter copulari. Sed quia dicti Resus et Auda tertio ex una parte et quarto ex altera consanguinitatis gradu ad invicem se contingunt, non possunt licite suum in hac parte desiderium adimplere. Quare præfati R. et A. nobis humiliter supplicarunt, ut providere sibi super hoc de oportunæ dispensationis remedio curaremus: super quo etiam karissimus in Christo filius noster, Rex Angliæ illustris, per suas litteras Apostolicæ sedis gratiam imploravit. Nos igitur, eorundem R. et A. supplicationibus inclinati, Fraternitati tuæ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quati-

[VISITATION OF WELSH DIOCESES BY ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM.]

nus, si tibi per testes ydoneos et juratos de prædictis inimiciis, et quod per hujusmodi conjugalem copulam possit super eis, ut præmittitur, reconciliationis commoda procurari, constiterit (super quo tuam intendimus conscientiam onerare), cum præfatis Reso et Auda, quod, impedimento hujusmodi non obstante, libere ad invicem matrimonium contrahere ac in contracto postmodum licite remanere valeant, auctoritate nostra dispenses. Dat. apud Urbem Veterem, IV. idus Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus litteris sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum. Dat. die et loco supradictis, et consecrationis nostræ anno quarto. [Rymer, I. 635.]

A.D. 1284. February–November. *Visitation of the Welsh Dioceses by Archbishop Peckham as Archbishop of Canterbury: and Measures of Edward I. and of the Archbishop on behalf of the Welsh Church.*

I. A.D. 1284<sup>a</sup>. Feb. 16. South Malling. *Archbishop Peckham to Anian Bishop of S. Asaph.*

Intends to visit Anian's diocese by Whitsunday. Will give him due notice when the time is fixed.

FRATER I. etc. *venerabili fratri domino A[niano] Dei gratia Episcopo Assauesi*, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Pro certo vos tenere uolumus, quod hac estate prox. instanti Walliam uisitare proponimus: sicut alias fecissemus, ni fuisset illa sedicio Wallie partibus.

Set ante Penthecosten illuc non credimus aduenire. Et quoniam multa possunt interim impedimenta contingere, et in Dei uoluntate consistit perficere quod optamus; uos certiorare non possumus, quo die uestram uisitabimus ecclesiam, uel quando debeatis nobis uestram presenciam exhibere. Set, adueniente tempore, satis eritis canonice premuniti, quando oporteat uos nobis occurrere, et quo die uelimus apud uos uisitacionem nostram metropolitica inchoare: sicut hoc idem consueuimus hucusque ceteris confratribus nostris, suas uisitaturi dioc., nostris litteris intimare. Quod autem debeatis nos pro reconciliandis ecclesiis uestre dioc. peruenire, expedire non credimus, quod ibidem ante aduentum nostrum uestram presentiam publicetis. Expedit autem, quod post Pasch. scribatis nobis ubi debeatis tunc temporis inueniri. Dat. apud Suth Malling, XIII. kal. Martii. [Reg. Peckb. fol. 89 b.]

<sup>a</sup> "Sixth year" of consecration in the heading of the pages of the Register. But Peckham's consecration was Feb. 19, 1279: which would

just place this letter in 1285. It must from its contents belong to 1284. Easter Day in 1284 was April 9, and Whitsunday May 28.

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II. A.D. 1284. *April 19. Wingham. Same to Edward I.  
King of England.*

Permit Bishop Anian to return to S. Asaph. Do not set free the apostates who are confined in London, until the Church has judged them.

*Excellentissimo principi* etc. Quia volente Domino iuxta officii nostri debitum intendimus partes Wallie uisitare, Serenitati regie supplicamus, quatenus de vestre bonitatis clementia liceat venerabili fratri nostro domino Episcopo Assauesi nobis, cum ad ecclesiam suam uenerimus, suam exhibere presentiam: presertim cum ab ipso debeat uisitatio nostra incipi, et de persona sua uel factis nihil possumus inquirere modo debito uel etiam diuinare, nisi ipso presentialiter inibi existente; nec aliquid ipsum tangere credimus, propter quod debeat a progressu nostre uisitationis excludi. Preterea super eo quod scripsistis nuper de liberatione apostatarum que de vestro mandato Londonie detinentur, nouerit Excellentia regia, quod, licet in civilibus criminibus que solum ad iudices seculares pertinent purgatio huiusmodi iuxta regni consuetudinem locum habeat, salva tamen reuerentia uestra, non est ita in criminibus quorum cognitio ad Ecclesiam pertinere dinoscitur; et precipue in crimine heresis, quod omne aliud iniquitate sua transcendit. Quantumcunque enim huiusmodi criminibus inretiti alias se purgauerint, et iterato de eadem contra eos suspicio oriatur, semper debent ecclesiastici iudices ad cognitionem facti huiusmodi et correctionem procedere, quoties animarum saluti uiderint expedire. Supplicamus igitur regie Maiestati, ut apostatas ipsas que crimine heresis detinentur non permittatis quacunque suggestione perfida liberari, donec de facti ueritate in forma debita cognoscatur. Et de hoc, per Dei gratiam, cito uobiscum tractabimus oraculo uiue uocis. Dat. apud Wengeham, XIII. kal. Maii. [*Anno V<sup>to</sup>.*]\*—[*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 43 a; and partly in *Wharton, De Episc. Assav., Append. III. p. 374.*]

\* This apparently should be "anno sexto." Peckham was consecrated in February 1279,

and internal evidence seems to fix this letter to the April of 1284.

III. A.D. 1284. *Before May 19. Orwestry<sup>a</sup>. Visitation of the diocese of S. Asaph commenced by Archbishop Peckham.*

\* See for the place, below in No. XX., p. 576. *Wharton (De Episc. Assav. p. 326)* wrongly refers to that document for the date also, which it does not give. And June 12, which is the date he gives, is certainly an error. For Peckham was at Rhoddlan already May 19, and was

there still June 11, on which day he writes as if he had then already visited the diocese. Bishop Anian met him at Orwestry, but appears to have been still forbidden by the King to come to S. Asaph.

IV. A.D. 1284. May 19. *Rbuddlan. Archbishop Peckham on behalf of the Canons of S. Asaph itinerating for alms* <sup>a</sup>.

Help the bearers in their mission. FRATER IOHANNES, etc., *uniuersis tam clericis quam laycis, per Coventrensem et Lichfeldensem, Herefordensem, et Walenses dioceses constitutis*, salutem et pacem in Domino sempiternam. Librum seu textum Euangeliorum de ecclesia Assavensi, vulgo Euangeltheu<sup>b</sup> appellatum, qui, ut didicimus, in magna veneratione habetur in partibus Wallie et Marchie apud omnes, et propter causas uarias a quibusdam clericis prefate ecclesie quandoque per patriam tanquam sanctuarium honorifice circumfertur, universitati vestre una cum personis textum huiusmodi deferentibus recommendandum duximus per presentes: rogantes, quatenus ob reuerentiam Christi, Qui Euangeliorum est auctor, clericos memoratos cum textu predicto per vos transitum facientes, in eundo, morando, et redeundo, securitatis et pacis beneficio permittatis gaudere. Datum apud Rodelan, XIV. cal. Junii, anno Dom. 1284. [*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 208; and in *Wharton, De Episc. Assav. num.* 8, p. 392; and *Wilk.*, II. 104.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 523.

<sup>b</sup> "Evenegylltheu" in Contents of *Lb. Rub. Assav.*

V. A.D. 1284. May 26. *Orvieto. Bull of Martin IV. granting a General Absolution to all concerned in the wars of Simon de Montfort or in the recent Welsh wars.*

MARTINUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabilibus fratribus* [*Godfredo*] *Wygorniens. et* [*Aniano*] *Bangorien. Episcopis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte carissimi in Christo filii nostri Edwardi, Regis Angliæ illustris, fuit propositum coram nobis, quod olim inter claræ memoriæ Henricum Regem Angliæ illustrem, patrem suum, et ipsum Eduardum, ac eorum in hac parte sequaces, ex parte una, et quendam Symonem de Monteforti et alios adhærentes eidem ex altera, et postmodum inter eundem Regem Eduardum, et quendam Leulinum qui pro principe Walliæ se gerebat, ac David fratrem ipsius Leulini, et eorum complices, guerrarum discrimine fluctuante diutius, ex variis concursibus multa homicidia religiosorum et secularium, clericorum et laicorum, etiam sacrilegia insuper, furta, rapinæ, et incendia ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, et aliorum locorum ecclesiasticorum, injectiones quoque manuum in religiosos et clericos seculares, in sacris et in minoribus ordinibus

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constitutos, fuerunt in illis partibus tam per eos quam per alios de mandato suo, non sine nota sacrilega, perpetrata; propter quod tales sacrilegi et excommunicati, ac illi ex eis clerici vel religiosi qui se postmodum forsitan immiscuere Divinis, irregulares esse noscuntur. Quare dictus E. Rex, de sua et aliorum prædictorum salute sollicite cogitans, nobis humiliter supplicavit, ut, cum in culpa huiusmodi esse credatur quamplurima multitudo, providere super hoc de benignitate sedis Apostolicæ curaremus. Nos autem, non mortem peccatorum, sed ut convertantur et vivant, potius affectantes, et ne tanta multitudo, si est ut prædicatur, subiaceat discrimini animarum, misericorditer præcavere volentes, Fraternitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus, de præmissis diligentius inquirentes, si tantam in præmissis invenitis multitudinem, et singulares personas aliquas deliquisse, quibus, consideratis earum conditionibus et meritis, sit in hac parte merito consulendum, vos vel alter vestrum illi vel illis ex huiusmodi sacrilegis et excommunicatis, qui ad vos propter hoc humili spiritu duxerint recurrendum, postquam ecclesiis vel monasteriis aut aliis locis ecclesiasticis, et passis injuriam, de illatis dampnis et injuriis satisfecerunt competenter, auctoritate nostra juxta formam Ecclesiæ absolutionis beneficium impendatis. Cum clericis vero, si qui fuerint, tam religiosis quam secularibus, qui facti immemores, vel juris ignari, nec in contemptu clavium, sic ligati Divina officia celebraverunt, injuncta eis pro modo culpæ penitentia salutari, auctoritate simili dispensetis hac vice, prout secundum Deum eorum saluti videritis expedire. Proviso attentius quod, si alicujus vel aliquorum ex prædictis sacrilegis et excommunicatis, ex qualitate, quantitate, vel modo commissi facinoris, personarum, vel locorum, seu aliis ponderatis circumstantiis, adeo fuerit gravis et enormis excessus, quod super hoc sit ipsa Sedes merito consulenda, illum vel illos ad Sedem mittatis eandem, absolutionis vel dispensationis beneficium petituros. Dat. apud Urbem Veterem, VII. kal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno quarto. (*Sigillo avulso.*)—[*Rymer, I. 641.*]

VI. A.D. 1284. *June 11. Rhuddlan. Archbishop Peckham to Edward I. King of England.*

Send a commission to enquire into plundered and deserted *Excellentissimo principi ac domino Edwardo, etc. FRATER IOHANNES, etc. salutem, cum omni reuerentia et honore. Pietas propositi regii, quo intenditis ecclesiis prouidere*

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churches within  
Wales, and suffer  
Bishop Anian to  
return to his dio-  
cese of S. Asaph.

et earum dispendia relevare, poterit fieri sine scrupulo et cum tranquillitate omnimoda regalis conscientie in futurum, si dignemini procedere in hunc modum. Ut, uidelicet, duos uiros probatos de ordine fratrum Predicatorum, et duos de ordine Minorum, et unum uel duos clericos seculares, qui ab omni munere didicerint excutere manus suas, de fratrum electione, prioris ac ministri, quos penes uos habetis, conscientias exonerantes, per singulas ecclesias et desolata loca sacra alia destinatis, inquisituros per iuramenta parochianorum et uicinarum de dispendio et auctoribus ipsorum et quantitate. Impossibile est enim, quod istorum sciatur ueritas, nisi per illos, qui ipsa fide didicerint oculata. Hec idcirco scribimus vestre Maiestati, quia, nos licet de hac materia cœperimus inquirere, nostra tamen in hoc negotio parum prodest [inquisitio]; qui loca desolata per nos et nostros non sufficimus circuire, et plures inuenimus nimis forte fauorabiles propriis lucris suis. Noueritis insuper, clementissime domine, quod populus ille, quem uidimus in his partibus, periit ex defectu regiminis et doctrine. Et si liceat nobis Sublimitatem uestram humilibus exhortationibus inclinare, scribimus uobis in uerbo ueridico sacerdotis, quod nisi permiseritis Episcopum Assa-uensem superintendere gregi suo, saltem donec retroactorum suorum processuum ueritas declaretur, cotidie corruet populus in peiora, dum subtrahitur ei solitus cultus Dei; pro eo quod non est, qui reconciliet ecclesias prophanatas, nec simplices illos dirigat in salutem. Obsecramus igitur, clementissime domine, uincat uos clementia in hac parte, quos benignitatis titulus in aduersarios penitentes pre ceteris mundi principibus hactenus decorauit. Nec tamen, Deo teste, adhuc aliquo testimonio fide digno potuimus inuenire, exactissime perscrutantes, predictum Episcopum unquam fuisse honoris uestri excellentie aduersatum. In his autem et in aliis iubeat regia Dominatio nobis per latorem presentium sua beneplacita nunciari. Datum apud Rothelan., III. idus Junii, 1284. [*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 207; and in *Wharton, De Episc. Assau. Append. IV.* pp. 375-377; and *Wilk.*, II. 103.]

VII. A.D. 1284. *June 15. Baladenclyn. Writ of Edward I. to restore Church goods spoiled in the Welsh war.*

Spoilers etc. of Cum principibus liceat justam gwerram exercere,

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churches in the Welsh war to make reparation. In case of default, the King to make it good. Intercession to be made to the Pope for absolution from excommunications incurred by such spoilers.

prout canonicæ permittunt sanctiones (cujus occasione excellentissimus princeps dominus Rex Angliæ illustris in Wallia contra suos nocentes, necessitate urgente, et pro juris sui defensione, dudum bellum aggressus fuerit, quod merito juxta communem hominum opinionem justum debet reputari), ad serenitatem conscientię domini Regis prædicti, et ut indemnitati ecclesiarum, locorum religiosorum, et personarum ecclesiasticarum, salubriter prospiciatur, per Consilium præfati domini Regis, et alios ad hoc specialiter convocatos sub modo subscripto extitit ordinatum. Inprimis, quod de bonis ab ecclesiis ablatis, per fide dignos per eundem dominum Regem et prælatos deputandos et juratos, fiat inquisitio specialis: et si compertum fuerit, quod bona mere ecclesiastica, utpote libri, calices, et cætera ornamenta ecclesiastica, ab ecclesiis sint ablata, si deprædantes solvendo fuerint, per eos fiat restitutio plenaria ecclesiis taliter spoliatis, et per dominum Regem ad restitutionem eorumdem districtè compellantur: quod si solvendo non fuerint, per dominum Regem inde plenaria fiat restitutio. Et quia plerique viri ecclesiastici arma contra dominum Regem detulerunt et tanquam hostes inimicos contra ipsum se gesserunt, siqua bona eis ablata fuerint, nulla eis fiat restitutio in hac parte; cæteris autem personis ecclesiasticis, innocentibus nec opem vel auxilium inimicis dicti domini Regis præstantibus, fiat restitutio de ablatis; et de talibus, innocentibus vel nocentibus, specialiter inquiretur. Laicis vero de bonis suis ablatis omnis restitutio denegetur, nisi pauperibus, debilibus, et miserabilibus personis; quibus idem dominus Rex prospicere voluerit intuitu pietatis. De incendiis autem, siqua facta sunt, et in quibus locis, et si ex præcepto domini Regis processerunt, indago fiat specialis; et si ecclesiæ vel capellæ seu domus religiosæ prætextu guerræ combustæ fuerint, de bonis regiis reparentur: et idem de domibus prælatorum, et eorum qui ex parte domini Regis fuerint, est censendum. De incendiis autem ecclesiarum, siqua ex præcepto dicti domini Regis seu ipsius ratihibitione facta fuerint; si hujus incendiarii solvendo non fuerint, vel alias nequeant inveniri, sumptibus ipsius domini Regis reparentur de sua munificentia gratiosa. De homicidiis vero voluntariis in ecclesiis, cimiteriis, seu locis sacris, perpetratis, quæ certum est ea de voluntate ipsius domini Regis nullatenus processisse;—nec incendiarios ecclesiarum seu locorum [sacrorum], post denunciationem factam,



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per alium quam per summum Pontificem seu alium ipsius auctoritate posse absolvi;—quod placeat dicto domino Regi summo Pontifici scribere<sup>a</sup>, supplicando quod aliquibus prælatis vices suas committat, qui eos a sententia excommunicationis, quam sic incurrerunt, absolvere valeant de excessibus memoratis; dominus etiam Archiepiscopus et alii prælati interim rogentur a denunciatione illorum, qui sic sententiam excommunicationis incurrerunt, totaliter supersedeant, quousque remedium circa excommunicatos tale absolvendos fuerint consecuti. Ad hæc de cimiterio de Aberconewaye diligenter inquiratur, si illud per Episcopum aliquem fuerit consecratum; quod si fuerit, ad alios usus quam sacros nullatenus poterit deputari absque sedis Apostolicæ licentia speciali. Expediens videtur, quod incendiarii, sic excommunicati, ante denunciationem contra eos faciendam erga prælatos suos laborent pro absolutionis beneficio, sub celeritate præcipua eisdem impendendo. In cuius rei testimonium sigilla venerabilium patrum dominorum Bathonensis et Wellensis, Menevensisque, ac Norwicensis Episcoporum, et religiosorum virorum Prioris provincialis Fratrum Prædicatorum et Ministri Ordinis Minorum, præsentibus sunt appensa. Dat. apud Baladeuclyn, decimo septimo kal. Julii anno Domino millesimo ducentesimo octuagesimo quarto. [Rymer, I. 642.]

<sup>a</sup> No other explanation of this seems possible, than that the Bull of Martin IV. (No. V. above), dated May 26, had not arrived in Wales by June

15. Compare above, p. 551, the dates in the heading of the Bull of Dec. 10, 1283.

VIII. A.D. 1284. June 25. Bangor. *Writ of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Prior of Rbuddlan, the Warden of Llanvaes, and R. de Brockton, to enquire into damages inflicted upon Welsh churches.*

Enquire into damage done to Welsh churches by the war, and report to the King and myself by Nov. 1, 1284.

FRATER J. PERMISSIONE DIVINA CANTUARIENSIS ECCLESIE MINISTER HUMILIS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMAS, *dilectis in Christo filiis Priori Fratrum Prædicatorum Rotblan, Gardiano Fratrum Minorum de Lammey, ac magistro Radulpho de Brocton clerico*, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Quia juxta clamorem qui venit ad nos, dum nuper in Assaven. et Bangoren. dioces. visitationis fungeremur officio, super dampnis et injuriis illatis ecclesiis, non valemus pro cognoscenda super hoc veritate personaliter ad loca singula declinare, de vestræ fidelitatis puritate fidei plenitudinem optinentes, vobis in hac parte præsentium tenore vices nostras committimus, cum cohercionis canonicæ

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potestate; ut per loca singula sic gravata de hujus[modi] dampnis et injuriis sollicite perscrutantes, domino Regi et nobis, quam citius fieri poterit, omnem veritatem, quam cito hoc inveniritis, fideliter intimetis. In cujus rei testimonium præsentis litteras sigilli nostri fecimus appensione muniri, post festum Omnium Sanctorum proxime sequens minime valituras. Dat. Bang., VII. kal. Julii, ordinationis nostræ anno sexto. [Rymer, I. 644, from the *Thesaur. Cur. Recept. Scacc.*]

IX. A.D. 1284. June 25. Bangor. Archbishop Peckham to Edward I.  
King of England.

*Excellentissimo principi ac domino Edwardo Dei gratia*  
He intercedes for the impoverished Welsh clergy. *Regi Angliæ, Domino Hiberniæ, et Duci Aquitaniæ, FRATER*

I. PERMISSIONE DIVINA CANTUAR. ECCLESIE MINISTER HUMILIS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMAS, salutem illam, quam uerum tribuit salutare, cum omni reuerentia et honore. Quamuis nuper contra Gwalensium indomitam proteruiam coegerit publica necessitas innocentiam cordis uestri uexilla erigere, et agones uictoriosi certaminis attentare; quia tamen iuxta preliantium eventus uarios plurima sunt commissa, que preter uestri iussiones imperii lesisse uidentur in rerum dispendiis et personarum grauaminibus ecclesiasticam plurimum libertatem; uos, ad ea que Dei sunt paratum gerentes animum, uoluistis, ut nos, qui in spiritualibus habemus Maiestati regie famulari, prouideremus sollicite, ne in hac parte quisquam remaneat conscientie vestre scrupulus in futurum ex illis, que preter intentionem uestram ut plurimum in predicti progressu prelii contigerunt. Quia igitur ueritatem querit regia Celsitudo, nec decet gradum uestrum uobis palando suggerere falsitatem, inprimis Dominationi uestre scribimus, quod in hiis factis, que contra legem Altissimi perpetrantur, intentio boni, licet reatum attenuet, dampnationis tamen periculum non excludit: sicut nec est immunis a scelere, qui furatur ut elemosinam largiatur; nec recte incedit, qui ad finem intentum callem eligit tortuosum. Secundo adiicimus, quod licet contra vel preter uoluntatem uestram expressam, et ratihabitionem, multe fuerint iniurie Ecclesiis et ecclesiasticis personis ac innocentibus aliis irrogate, non tamen potest se Maiestas regia excusare in his, que sub dissimulationis uestre pallio prouenerunt. Quoniam, si a principio guerre seueritatis regie terroribus fuissent malefactores huiusmodi penalibus iudiciis refrenati, non accidissent ex parte

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maxima Ecclesiarum grauamina, que postea sunt sequuta. Obligatur igitur in talibus uestra Dominatio ex fauore: fauere enim dicitur, qui, cum possit, et cui ex officio incumbit, manifeste imminenti facinori deest obuiare. Tertio, quia, per partes Wallie uisitationis freti officio transeuntes, personas ecclesiasticas et monasticas audiuius conquerentes de ecclesiis et sacris edibus spoliatis et pariter concrematis; laicos etiam de rebus suis ab ecclesiis et cimiteriis, in quibus recondite fuerant, sacrilege asportatis: ipsorum querelis cupientes satisfacere, de consensu conquerentium ordinamus, ut de assensu Regio persone eligantur testimonio fide digne, que per loca omnia Wallie circueant desolata; et, uocatis qui fuerint euocandi, inquirant cum omni diligentia per iuratos et fide dignos de huiusmodi malefactis, et personis illorum, qui talia perpetrarunt. Et si compertum fuerit, quod bona ecclesiasticis officiis deputata, utpote libri, calices, campane, uasa quecunque, uestimenta, uel ornamenta quolibet, de ecclesiis sublata fuerint, uel alias undecunque; ad restitutionem integram eorundem, et ad interesse super iniuriis, raptores huiusmodi, si persone note fuerint et soluendi habeant potestatem, per censuram ecclesiasticam, et si illa non sufficiat, per seueritatem regiam, compellantur. Quod si personarum notitia non ualeat indagari, vel note non sufficiant satisfacere de predictis, credimus Maiestatem regiam pro ratione pretacta ad satisfactionem huiusmodi obligari; ita tamen quod raptores ad solutionem impotentes, sicut excommunicati, graui pena canonica percellantur. Clericos uero, qui contra iura regie Maiestatis arma hostiliter detulerunt, uel alios ad huiusmodi iniurias excitarunt, cuiuscunque gradus fuerint aut honoris, cum hoc fuerit in forma canonica declaratum, per suos ordinarios compelli precipimus, ut tam sufficienter satisfaciant regie Maiestati, ne nos ad hoc manus extendere cogamur duriores. Si uero clericis huiusmodi nichil habentibus, nisi de bonis ecclesiasticis, quicquam ablatum fuerit de eisdem, restituendum illud credimus Ecclesie, non materiali fabrice, sed congregationibus pauperum fidelium, quibus presunt, per superiorum vel bonorum uirorum industriam ad hoc specialiter electorum; et restitutionem faciant spoliatores, si sufficiant et noti fuerint; et his deficientibus, per clementiam regiam esse credimus providendum. Ceteris autem personis ecclesiasticis et religiosis, que nullatenus ope uel opera, consilio uel fauore, maiestati et paci regie derogarunt, de damnis et interesse fiat satisfactio plenaria in forma superius annotata. Laicarum uero tres

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fuerunt in his partibus differentie personarum: quedam enim fuerunt, licet pauce, penitus innocentes; et istis debet in forma predicta fieri plenarie restitutio spoliatis: alie uero fuerunt clam uel palam regiis iuribus aduersantes; et istis, cum licite constiterit de eisdem, nullam esse restitutionem credimus faciendam, etiamsi bona ipsorum fuerunt auctoritate regia in ecclesiis occupata; quia propter inimicitiarum nephas ius rerum huiusmodi, quod habuerunt, perdidērunt: pro uiolentia tamen illata Ecclesie, si que fuerit, in forma debita satisfiat. Fuerunt insuper tertii generis persone, que metu tyrannidis pristinae honori regio restiterunt; et in istis, cum de animi innocentia constiterit, releuandis, regalis se, ut putamus, misericordia declarabit. In occupatione autem bonorum seu clericalium seu laycalium, triplex circumstantia excusat uel partialiter uel totaliter occupantes. Verbi gratia: si manifesta necessitate coacti manus ad huiusmodi extenderunt, siue in ecclesiis, siue extra. In tali enim necessitate omnia creduntur esse principis rempublicam defensantis, dum tamen modum teneat occupando. Item, si propter hec occupentur bona huiusmodi, ut ipsorum possessoribus inualidis conseruentur. Item, si idcirco occupentur, ne ad manus hostium casu aliquo deducantur. De incendiis autem ecclesiarum, et sacrarum edium religiosorum uel secularium, clericorum seu et laicorum, idem intelligimus, quod de rebus eorundem superius est notatum; hoc excepto, quod ecclesiarum et sacrarum edium consumptiones et incendia, nullo obstante delicto hominis, sunt restitutione debita plenarie compensanda. Incendarios autem illos, qui ex certa malitia ecclesias incenderunt, uel ausu illicito edes alias ex quibus accensis ignis consumens hesit ecclesiis, postquam nominatim per Ecclesiam sententia canonis contra personas earum fuerit publicata, dumtaxat absolutione Apostolica credimus indigere. Et licet nullum nouerimus huiusmodi scelere irretitum; tamen non nocet, si Apostolica clementia imploretur, ut si qui sic denunciati occurrerint, possint per locorum ordinarios absolui ex gratia speciali. Ad absoluendos uero illos, qui in casu illicito clericos interfecerint, uel leserint enormiter, non consueuit Apostolica auctoritas alicui absenti concedere potestatem. Et quia illi, qui huiusmodi incendia perpetrarunt, ad gremium sancte matris Ecclesie pro absolutionis gratia confugerunt, non decet prelatos ad denunciationem excommunicationis uel alia grauamina procedere contra eos; presertim quia pietas uestra pro ipsis satisfacere est parata, modo superius annotato. Licet autem

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nulla lex ciuilis uel canonica uos uideatur aliquatenus obligare ad faciendum pro dampnis ecclesiis uel ecclesiasticis personis per Lewelinum quondam Principem Wallie irrogatis, quamuis ad dominium uestrum non hereditario sed iure regio peruenerint bona sua; quia tamen Imperatori summo, Qui essentialiter est Dominus, omnes Sue seruiunt creature, decere credimus Maiestatem uestram, que a summo Rege regni terreni obtinet baiulatum, de bonis Eius uestre dispensationi creditis honoris Sui resarcire iniurias, per dispensatorem uel uerius dissipatorem pristinum perpetratas. Hec, illustrissime principum, uobis scribimus sine preiudicio sententie melioris, sigilli munimine roborata. De loco autem Aberconeweye, seu dedicatione Episcopali seu sepultura Christianorum corporum religioso effecto, et consimilibus, iuxta canonicas sanctiones, idem sentimus, quod uobis per prudentes alios est consultum. Valeat et uigeat regia Celsitudo ad Diuini nominis gloriam, quamdiu celi sidera rotabuntur. Dat. apud Bangor, in crastino Natiuitatis S. Johannis beati Baptistæ, anno Domini 1284, ordinationis nostre VI. [*Reg. Peckh.* fol. 43 b; and in *Wilk.*, II. 101, 102 (and in *Rymer*, I. 643, from the *Thesaur. Cur. Recept. Scacc.*.)]

X. A.D. 1284. *June 28. Bangor. Archbishop Peckham's Injunctions for the Diocese of S. Asaph.*

FRATER JOHANNES PERMISSIONE DIUINA CANT. ECCLESIE MINISTER HUMILIS, TOTIUS ANGLIE PRIMAS, *venerabili fratri domino A. Dei gratia Episcopo Assauesi*, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Saluatoris pietatem ad memoriam reuocantes, Qui inconsiderate ciuitatis Jerusalem materialis quondam pericula deplorauit, pro eo quod, uisitationis Sue gratiam effectualiter non agnoscens, exterminari meruit ac everti; gregi uestro, quem uisitantes nichil aliud intendimus nisi Dominice uisitationis affectum in ipsum nostre seruitutis officio propagare, compatimur vehementer. Et affligit mentem nostram misericordie cruciatus, pro eo quod ipse, miseriam satis propriam non agnoscens, ad suorum grauaminum querenda remedia modo debito non assurgit; sed armis querens resurgere gens inermis, inde potius deiicitur et subuertitur coram Deo et seculo universo, unde supra uires suas in magnis nititur ambulare.

Clerical dress and  
behaviour.

i. Viam igitur uere sibi non uane comparande glorie paraturi, a cleri sanctuario decreuimus inchoandum;

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ordinantes, ut de cetero clerici vestre diocesis in habitu et ornatu, gestu et affatu, ceteris per orbem clericis se conforment: ut unius cum aliis appareant honestatis; et ut nec minor sobrietas, nec temporis in potando feda consumptio, nec coma prolixior, nec strictior corona, nec locutionis impetus, nec lingue literalis inopia, nec radiate claudis aut uestis insolentia, nec capitis aut pedum aut tibiarum nuditas, ipsos signaculo uel nota derisibili faciat ab aliis discrepare. Sacerdotes insuper gerant de cetero capas clausas. Et si qui sacerdotum uel clericorum in his appareant reprehensibiles in futurum, nisi per decanos uel archidiaconale officium uel officiales modo debito corrigantur, uos eos puniatis grauiter, et negligentes grauius correctores. Alioquin Iudex districtissimus nostre solitudinis laborem, et Ecclesie in hac parte dispendia, in tremendo iudicio a uobis exiget, ut putamus.

Chastity.

ii. Et quia incontinentie uitium clerum uestrum ab antiquo maculasse dignoscitur enormiter ultra modum, quod est negligentie prelatorum euident argumentum; uobis in uirtute obedientie districte precipimus, quatenus statuta canonica ad animum reuocantes, que uos iurasse nouimus seruatuuros, incontinentes clericos beneficiatos de cetero puniatis secundum statuta sanctissima dominorum Othonis et Ottoboni, sedis Apostolice legatorum: ut, uidelicet, quicumque ultra mensem tenuisse repertus fuerit concubinam, nisi extunc monitus penitus absteineat in futurum, nec habitam nec aliam ulterius recepturus, ipso facto omni ecclesiastico beneficio sit priuatus; nihilominus, si post monitionem se correxerit, pro preteritis arbitrarie puniendus. Clericos autem nondum beneficium ecclesiasticum assecutos ab huiusmodi beneficiis repellatis, donec tam probate fuerint castitatis, et postreme in eis turpitudinis infamia sit extincta. Et tam huiusmodi clericos, quam laicos, incontinentie uitio laborantes, in forma canonica puniatis; non imponentes eis penam iuxta sue desideria uoluntatis, sed illam potius imponentes, sc. pecuniariam uel corporalem, quam eos certo experimento perpendere poteritis amplius abhorrere.

Divine Service.

iii. Horas autem canonicas beneficiati, et missam ordinariam sacerdotes curam animarum habentes, cum cantu et reuerentia debita celebrent omni die, quando impedimentum canonicum non obsistit. Et quoties in hoc extiterint negligentes, uel pena corporali, uel pena pecuniaria, si magis eam timeant, puniantur; et pecunia sic collecta per pauperes parochie penitus erogetur.

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**Reservation of Host.** iv. Corporis uero Dominici sacramentum cum reuerentia debita conseruetur, prout statutum est in ultimo concilio de Lameth; et reuerenter cum tintinnabulo preuio, et accenso cereo uel candela, ad egrotos in cuppa uel decenti pyxide in manibus sacerdotalibus solempniter cum omni diligentia deportetur.

**Abolish portionists, and provide adequately for Vicars where the Rectors are non-resident.**

v. Preterea cultum Dei, et ecclesiastica officia, eruditionem iuniorum in grammatica disciplina, informationem laicorum in fide et moribus, ex magna parte in uestra diecesi credimus defecisse; quia diuisa sunt bona ecclesiarum per exiles adeo portiones, ut nec portionarii ualeant residere, nec habeant uicarii unde possint onera parochialia supportare. Nimirum, iuxta Saluatoris sententiam, "Omne regnum in seipso diuisum desolabitur." Ubicunque igitur ecclesie per diuisiones huiusmodi debitis obsequiis defraudantur, et cura uel perit uel manifeste leditur animarum; ipsas diuisiones, tanquam euangelio et iuri contrarias, quantumcunque facte fuerint ab antiquo, ipsis, qui huiusmodi sectiones obtinent, cedentibus uel decedentibus, decernimus perpetuo abolendas, in iisdem ecclesiis per uestram prudentiam prouideri iubentes. Ac ubicunque rectores non faciant continuam residentiam personalem, ecclesiarum uicariis prouideatur de idonea portione, qua possint parochialia onera et hospitalitatis gratiam sustinere, et cultum Dei in ecclesiis condigna ministrorum assistentia celebrare. Et quicumque uos malitiose in hac parte presumpserit impedire, formidande maledictioni Divine se nouerit subiicere.

**Tithes of Dower and Mortuaries.**

vi. Decimas autem bonorum dotalium, sicut ab antiquo prestate fuerunt, et mortuaria in uestibus et aliis, approbamus; ita tamen quod coniuges ratione coniugii ad alias prestandas de novo decimas non cogantur.

**Procurations of Rural Deans and Officials.**

vii. Decanos uero rurales uel officiales locales uolamus a rectoribus et uicariis procurari, nisi forte ab iisdem pro necessitate aliqua inuitentur. Nec officialem Episcopi, ubi eodem anno Episcopus fuerit procuratus uel procurandus; nec officialem Archidiaconi, ubi eodem anno Archidiaconus fuerit procuratus uel ordinarie procurandus: nisi forte ex speciali causa a rectore fuerit inuitatus. Si quis autem officialis metu uel concussionem huiusmodi procuracionem extorserit, ab officio sit suspensus, donec duplum rectori uel uicario restituerit sic grauato.

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Of the Cathedral, and the Dean and Chapter.

viii. Et quia Assauensis ecclesia cathedralis est toti dioecesi posita in exemplum, sacris canonibus adherentes statuimus, ut domus Decani et Canonorum, quatenus fieri poterit, prope et circa ecclesiam construantur. Et ut Canonici in claustrum ambitu et ecclesie capas et almutia deferant canonice honestatis, iuxta quod in aliis ecclesiis cathedralibus per prouinciam fieri consuevit. Ipsa etiam ecclesia officietur celebritate condigna, tam in missa, quam in horis canonicis omni die.

Ancient liberties to be solicited from the King.

ix. Libertatem autem, quam in temporibus dominii retroacti uestra habere Ecclesia consuevit, sicut ex uestro tenemini iuramento, supplicando, si oportet, super hoc humiliter et instanter regie Maiestati, et constanter satellitibus eandem libertatem infringentibus in forma canonica resistendo, tutamini toto posse. Et si secus feceritis, non pastoris gloriam, sed mercenarii ignominiam, in hac parte dicimini promereri.

Promote peace between Welsh and English.

x. Quia uero Saluator, per passionem a discipulis recessurus, eis recommendauit pre ceteris studium unitatis; obsecramus per misericordiam Jesu Christi, ut ad unitatis studium cum dominio et populo Anglicano uelit per uos et alios uestros subditos informare; ne rancore contra eos in cordibus reseruato, in se prouocent iram Dei, et frustra conentur ad impossibile, ad obtentum sc. regni Anglie superuacue aspirantes: attendentes, quod si illustris Rex Anglie cum sua prole, cum omnibus Anglie magnatibus, quod auertat Altissimus, decessisset, succederent eis hereditario iure Reges plurimi maiores mundi et magnates per orbem alii; et his deficientibus, Romana Ecclesia, crucis si oporteret exercitu inuocato; contra quos uires Wallie nihil possent. Quiescat igitur de cetero rancor inutilis, et pacis studio pro uita corporis et anime, et successionis sue perseuerantia, sint intenti; sitque in eis cum Anglicis cor unum, et anima una, ut nulla inter eos extranietas nominetur, sed pereat nomen extraneorum per familiare consortium caritatis.

Seekers of dreams and auguries to be rebuked.

xi. Preterea dolentes intelleximus, quod populus uester nimis sompnis et fantasticis visionibus est intentus, Bruti sequens uestigia, qui de Troiano opprobrio ueniens fugitiuus, perpetrato scelere idololatrie, per Diane uel diaboli potius susurrum recepto consilio, sompniando insulam Britanniam introiuit; que prius habitata a gente Germanica Albyon dicebatur, de quorum genere Saxones esse creduntur. Ipsum igitur populum uestrum totis



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uiribus doceatis, ut, spretis sompniis et auguriis, adhereant euangeliiis, et non de Troianis deuictis et fugatis, sed de inuicta cruce Domini Jesu Christi de cetero glorientur, Qui in Suo sanguine omne genus hominum fecit unum.

Also idlers. xii. Preterea est et malum aliud ex superbia ducens originem, otium sc. corporale, quod populum uestrum maculat supra modum, quod quidem est fomentum omnium uitiorum. Quia igitur duplex est uita saluandorum, actiua sc. et contemplatiua, quarum neutra est otiosa; omnes utriusque sexus uobis subditos informetis, ut omni die studeant aliquo exercitii genere liciti redimere panem suum. Presertim quia Dominus Ade pro tota sua prosperitate laborem imposuit post peccatum; et Paulus etiam dicit, "Si quis non uult operari, non manducet." Vita igitur est latronum, et non Christianorum, panem comedere otiosum. Vitam igitur otiosam contumaciter agentibus, nisi moniti resipiscant, subtrahi precipimus ecclesiastica sacramenta, et in morte ecclesiasticam sepulturam, nisi signis probabilibus se ostenderint penitentes.

Friars preachers and Minors not to be repelled, but welcomed. xiii. Et quia populus uester salutari doctrina indiget supra modum, et sicut populus, sic sacerdos; quia tam illiteratos sacerdotes et clericos nusquam meminimus nos uidisse; non sine magno merore cordis audiuius, quod Fratres Predicatores et Minores, apud quos pene solos in his partibus doctrina residet ueritatis, non recipiuntur nec procurantur a rectoribus et sacerdotibus, cum predicantes circumeunt uerbum Dei. Quocirca uobis districte precipimus, quatenus in hac parte, secundum quod cautum est in concilio apud Lamethe ultimo celebrato, cogatis clerum uobis subiectum per censuram ecclesiasticam, si oportet, ipsos recipere uerbi Dei gratia uenientes. Certum est enim ipsos non esse pastores ouium, sed lupos potius, qui cum docere populum nesciant, non procurant ipsum populum edoceri per uiros sanctos ad hoc per mundum a summo Pontifice destinatos. Cum autem iidem fratres circumeunt pro elemosina postulanda, qui sine prouisione uiuere non possunt in his partibus, ut deceret, illi prius recipiuntur cum effectu, qui peius ueniunt elemosinam petaturi; tanquam gemelli sponse hinnuli, et ubera ad eundem finem lactandos, sc. Ecclesie paruulos, pariter sunt uocati.

Publish these injunctions yearly. Hanc igitur informationis nostre paginam rogamus et obsecramus, uobis nichilominus in uirtute obedientie

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firmiter iniungentes, ut faciatis annis singulis in sinodis publicari; et per archidiaconale officium in decanatibus, et nichilominus in parochiis omnibus; et per uos, cum huiusmodi parochias uisitatis; de quo uestram conscientiam in tremendo iudicio oneramus. Et quid inde feceritis, nos in proxima congregatione fratrum curetis reddere certiores.

Dat. Bangore, IV. kal. Julii, anno Domini 1284, ordinationis nostre sexto. [*Reg. Peckh.* fol. 233; and in *Wharton, De Episc. Assav. Append. V.* pp. 377-386; and *Wilk.*, II. 104-106.]

XI. A.D. 1284. *Probably same day, certainly before July 3. Bangor.*  
*Archbishop Peckham to Anian Bishop of S. Asaph.*

Yield to the King about transferring the monastery of Aberconway to Maenan.

FRATER IOHANNES, etc. *A[niano]* *Assauesi Episcopo*, etc. Super reconciliatione uestra et pace domini Regis obtinenda una cum domino Bathoniensi instituimus apud Regem cum tanta sollicitudine, ut uix cum eo de alio negotio loqueremur. Sed ut uellemus, non potuimus ipsum negotium expedire: sicut idem Episcopus uobis poterit alias, cum secum habueritis colloquium, plenius intimare. Illud autem a Regis beneuolentia vos credimus plurimum elongasse, quod constructioni noui Monasterii apud Meynam non penitus assensistis. Ut igitur animum domini Regis in uestre reconciliationis gratiam facilius inclinetis; consulimus, si uobis uidebitur expedire, ut de consensu uestro de dicto Monasterio extruendo nobis per uestras patentes literas transmittatis; significantes nichilominus literis uestris de dampnis, que uobis et Ecclesie uestre nec non rectori eiusdem loci exinde contingent; quos ad idem cum omni diligentia inducat, sicut uultis ipsam Ecclesiam his temporibus prosperari. Scribatis autem dilucide et aperte, sine alicuius uelaminis fictione. Per hoc enim speramus, uolente Domino, quod gratiam et pacem, quam queritis, facile adquiretis; et tanto facilius, quanto libentius Regiis beneplacitis annueritis in hac parte: pro certo scientes, quod, sicut intelleximus, sedes Apostolica super omnes mundi principes ipsum speciali fauore prosequitur in presenti; quod breui lucidius, ut audiuius, apparebit. Ad hec, quanto effectum possumus, uos rogamus, ut nobis mittatis, secundum formam cedulae presentibus intercluse, literas uestras patentes. Quod licet nos ex nostro facere possemus officio, quia tamen optamus uos Regie beneuolentie

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proximare, rogamus, ut eidem super hoc uestras literas concedatis; quas ipsi credimus placituras, cum tamen ipsum non nouerimus huiusmodi literis indigere. Preterea mirari non debetis, si nos manum apposuimus ad corrigendum illud, quod uos decem et septem annis seu toto prelationis uestre tempore neglexistis: de ecclesia, viz. parochiali, cuius tertiam partem monachi Strate Martelle iniuste post tempora predecessoris uestri tenuisse noscuntur. Cuius tertie partis dimidium uicario assignauimus ad suam uicariam augmentandam; reliquam uero medietatem uestro reliquimus arbitrio ordinandam: in quo non credimus nos uobis in aliquo derogasse. Dat. apud Bangor. [Reg. Peckb. fol. 91; and in Wharton, De Episc. Assau. Append. VI. pp. 387-389.]

XII. A.D. 1284. July 3. Tywyn. Archbishop Peckham to Edward I.  
King of England.

Anian of S. Asaph is innocent in the matter of the Welsh wars. Suffer him to return to his diocese.

*Excellentissimo principi*, etc., salutem, etc., cum reuerentia et honore. Quia piissimum esse credimus innocentie ueridicum testimonium perhibere, et Sublimitatis regie offensam sine ueritatis iniuria mitigare; Pietati uestre notum facimus per presentes, quod nos, dioceses Assauensem et Bangorensem in uisitationis officio laborioso circuitu perlustrantes, inquisitione facta solícite de seditiosis illis, qui nuper excitande contra pacem Regie guerre per Lewelinum quondam Principem Wallie et complices suos, consilium, opem, et operam quomodolibet impenderunt; de venerabili fratre nostro domino A. Dei gratia Episcopo Assauensi nichil inuenimus in forma canonica coram Deo, propter quod deceat uestre Serenitatis oculos turbari aliquialiter contra ipsum. Propter quod clementiam uestram, que se consuevit piis supplicationibus fauorabiliter inclinare, humiliter imploramus, quatenus predictum Episcopum ad gregis sui custodiam redire fauorabiliter permittatis; quia nunquam uidimus gregem aliquem magis pastoris sui presentia indigere. Teneatque pro certo regia Circumspectio, quod, sicut pastoris est damnatio oues suas deserere inter lupos, sic est principis immane periculum pastorem a gregis sui custodia prepedire. Unde plus timemus, ne ex hoc facto seueritatem Altissimi in uos excitetis, quam de temporalibus dispendiis uel grauaminibus Episcopi exulantis. In cuius ueritatis testimonium sub sigillo nostro secreto literas uobis presentes duximus

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destinandas. Custodiat Deus Excellentiam regiam per tempora longiora. Datum apud Tewy, V. non. Julii, anno Domini 1284. [Reg. Peckh. fol. 44; and in Wharton, *ib.* Append. VII. pp. 390, 391, and Wilk., II. 104.]

XIII. *Same date and place. Same to same.*

Preserve the ancient liberties of the Welsh Church.

*Excellentissimo principi*, etc. Ad honorem et gloriam perpetuam regni uestri, Illo ordinante, Qui est Rex regum et Dominus dominorum, uictoriosa manu gentem Wallie indomitam uestri nutibus imperii, Deo gratias, subiecistis. Sed esse non poterit sine injuria et offensa ipsius Dominice Maiestatis, si ab Ipso data uictoria in Ecclesie Sue dedecus convertatur. Et licet quedam ecclesiastice persone uobis in hoc gratioso triumpho fuerint, ut dicitur, indeuote; alie tamen dominationi uestre totis uiribus astiterunt. Et preterea sancte matris Ecclesie honor et reuerentia nunquam debet propter quosdam filios degeneres minui uel turbari; presertim quia turbatores et uiolatores ecclesiastice libertatis, tam generalis per orbis latitudinem, quam specialis que in locis innumeris per consuetudinem et priuilegia uariatur, sunt proculdubio excommunicationis sententia innodati. Quocirca Excellentie uestre humilitate et affectu, quanto possumus, supplicamus, quatenus Ecclesiam Wallie, que in uestrum immediatum dominium feliciter est translata, uelitis in pristinis libertatibus et iuribus confovere; ne de celo uobis data prosperitas in celestes iniurias conuertatur. Una enim est Dei ciuitas gloriosa; cuius pars in terris peregrinatur, et alia pars concivium in celis imperat coronata. Quod idcirco scribimus regie Maiestati, quia tam domini nouelli, quam baiuli, quibus gubernacula Wallie commisistis, prudentes carnaliter, et spiritualiter imprudentes, sic premissam diuidunt libertatem, ut quicquid pro ipsorum uidetur esse commodo contra consuetudinem Anglicanam, illud sibi arrogant toto posse; quicquid uero ad releuationem Ecclesie discrepat ab usibus Anglicanis, illud destruunt et euertunt, non sine animarum suarum periculis, et anathematis uinculo, quo ipso facto irretiunt semetipsos. Tantum igitur dignetur in hac parte facere Pietas regalis, ne sui honoris incrementa, que Deus adaugeat, in ecclesiastica suspiria conuertantur; pro certo scitura, quantum amaritatus clerus posset faciliter processu temporis populum (quod auertat Altissimus) in amaritudinem concitare. Custodiat Dominus Excellentiam uestram regiam

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in prosperitate et felici gaudio per tempora longiora. Dat. apud Tewy, V. non. Julii, anno Domini 1284. [*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 44 b; and *Wilk.*, II. 103.]

XIV. *Same date and place. Injunctions of Archbishop Peckham for Bangor diocese.*

[Consimilis litera (sc. to No. X.) emanavit domino Episcopo Bangorensi apud Tewyn sub data V. non Julii anno eodem.—*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 233, and *Wharton*, *ib.* p. 386.]

XV. A.D. 1284. July 8. *Newport. Archbishop Peckham to Edward I. King of England.*

No other way of civilizing the Welsh than to make them live together in towns, work, and send their children to be taught in England.

*A tres bonurable Prince Seygnur Edward, Deus grace Rey de Engleterre, Seygnur d'Irlande, duc d'Aquitaine, FRERE JAN PAR LA SUFFRANCE DIEU PRESTRE DE CANTERBYRE, PRIMAT DE TUTE ENGLETERE, saluz en graunt reverence.*

Sire, il me semble ke li poeple de Gales est trop sauvages et maliaus durement quant a plusurs, e pou sa-chaunt de ley, e une gent perdue saunz profit au monde.

E si il vos plect, vos i poez mettre conseil legierement en ceste manere; si len ne troeve meillur. Primerement, Sire, lur sauagine oue autres maus surt mut de co, ke il ne habitent pas en semble, mes menit chescun loinz de autre. E pur co, Sire, si vos volez ke len les puist enfurmer sulum Dieu et sulum le monde, e oster lur sauuagine, comaundez ke il meynent en semble en viles. Assi le fist uns Empereres auvenement as Burgynnians qui esteynt lamins e murdrieres, e habitaynt similiter (?) seurez e loinz cheskun de autre. Kar il les fist en sembler e habiter en burgs; e de co sunt il apele borgoyniuns. Queke co, Sire, la malice de Galeys surt mut de leur oysuse; ker il sont oysus, e pur co pensent il tute malices. E pur co, Sire, comaundez ke cheskun segun sun estat face chascun ad sun vivre. E io ay comaunde d'autre part, ke len sustreye les sacramens de Seynte Eglise as oysus; pur co ke nul n'est en estat de salu qui aukun profit ne fet au monde. E pur co, Sire, pur Dieu la manere de vivre de Wysshambighan a comaundez oster de tute. Queke co, Sire, iames le people ken ne sauva ne bon ne serra, d'eske a taunt ke il eyent genz qui les sachent enseygner: e ce no

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poent estre si len no les destreynt de enuoyer lur enfauantz en Engleterre pur aprendre clergie e maniere: kar ly clerc du pays ne sauent gere plus de lettre ke lȝ laȝ: pur la queu chose, Sire, a vos, qui en estes sires, io deliuere ma conscience, en la foȝ ke io ves doȝ, ke iames cele gent ne serra en estat de valur, et de resseure, ne profitable au monde, d'eske il meynent ensemble, et ke il oeurent sicut aucune autre genz, e ke il eyent enseignement de gens qui les sachent e voyssient aprendre. Oueske co, Sire, se il les semble ke mun seignur Seynt Thomas deyne estre plaunte en nostre nouveau conquest: si, come uous auez premys, que nos genz souient fetes ent vostre pleyssyr, nun pas par moy. Kar tres ben me suffisunt les tres graunts honeurs que voz genz unt fetes a moy e a miens par tute la tere par vostre comaundement. Sire, Dieu les nos \* \* \*<sup>b</sup> et vos gard a tȝz ans. Ceste lettre fu escrite a Neuport, len de moyne de la Translacioun Seint Thomas A.D. 1284. [Reg. Peckb. fol. 446.]

<sup>a</sup> "Gweison Bychain" = young lads: v. A. Owen's *Glossary to his Welsh Laws*, sub voc. *Macwy*.  
<sup>b</sup> One word illegible.

XVI. A.D. 1284. July 10. *S. David's. Visitation of the diocese by Archbishop Peckham*<sup>a</sup>.

ANN. CAMB. *in an.*—Visitavit Johannes de Pecham Archiepiscopus Cant. dioceses Menevensem, Landavensem, Bangorensem, Asaphensem. Incepit autem visitare in Ecclesia Menevensi VI. idus Julii. [p. 108 ed. Williams; and so also *Ann. Menev. in Wharton, A. S., II. 651.*]

<sup>a</sup> Before May 19 S. Asaph, June 25 x July 3 Bangor, July 10 S. David's, July 13 (see end of this note) x Aug. 5 Llandaff. See below in No. XX. for Bishop Beck's protest at S. David's, the last utterance of Welsh ecclesiastical independence as against Canterbury, and of the phantom con-

jured up by Giraldus of a S. David's Archbishopric and Metropolitanship. On July 13 Peckham issued "*Ordinationes factae in Prioratu de Havreford Meneven. dioc., dat. apud Havreford [Haverfordwest] 3 id. Julii A.D. 1284*" (Reg. Peckb. fol. 234 b).

XVII. A.D. 1284. Aug. 5. *Llantony*<sup>a</sup>. *Archbishop Peckham's Injunctions for S. David's diocese.*

FRATER IOHANNES, PERMISSIONE DIUINA CANT. ECCLESIE MINISTER HUMILIS, TOTIUS ANGLIE PRIMAS, *venerabili in Christo fratri domino T. Dei gratia Episcopo Meneuensi*, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Nuper dioccesin uestram auctoritate metropolitana uisitantes,

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quedam inuenimus tam in ecclesia uestra Cathedrali, quam in diocesi, que iuxta leges euangelicas et canonicas decreuimus reformanda, secundum formam inferius annotatam.

Canons to reside, and residents only to receive the payments for residence.

i. Inprimis siquidem ordinantes, ut ecclesie vestre Canonici, quos paucos numero esse constat, et paucissimos in ecclesia residere, melius quam hactenus fecerint, ad Diuina officia conueniant in eadem. Et quia diurnus denarius debetur tantum in uinea laborantibus, et, sicut dignus est operarius cibo suo, sic qui non laborat, a cibis laborantium est iuxta Pauli sententiam excludendus; ex his et aliis Euangelicis fundamentis perpetua definitione sancimus, ut illi soli fructus residentie participant, qui presentes se exhibent ecclesiasticis officiis nocturnis pariter et diurnis, preter illos quos corporis inequalitas uel alia ratio canonica ibi uel alibi detinet occupatos. Illos igitur, qui in ciuitatis uestre ambitu aut in uicinia sunt presentes, pro diebus illis, quibus ecclesiam diu noctuque in Diuinis laudibus non frequentant, a fructibus residentie decernimus excludendos; et portiones eis debitas pro tanti rata temporis ipsius ecclesie fabricis perenniter assignamus; nisi, ut premisimus, rationabiliter excusentur.

Clerical delinquents to be punished, not by fines, but rather by deposition.

ii. Preterea dolentes intelleximus, quod correctiones in uestra diocesi, ut dicitur, per multam pecuniariam passim fiant; et hoc uel clericorum delinquentium, et sua flagitia uel facinora prolongata redimentium per annos singulos, ut eis quasi uideatur uendi licentia delinquendi (et hoc etiam interdum in tam notabili quantitate, ut sic mulcati nec sufficiant fabricis nec pauperibus prouidere, nec hospitalitatis sustinere gratiam, ut tenentur secundum canonicas sanctiones), uel etiam laicorum; imposita eis primitus pena tanti horroris corporea, ut eam per pecuniam redimere compellantur. In clericis igitur puniendis pro lubricitatis uitio teneri precipimus regulas reuerendorum patrum bone memorie Othonis et Ottoboni, sedis Apostolice legatorum; ut, uidelicet, quicumque per mensis spatium tenuisse repertus fuerit concubinam, si monitus non uitet perpetuo reciduum cum habita uel quacunque alia, extunc omni ecclesiastico beneficio sit priuatus. Quando uero pro contumacia uel alterius generis crimine rectores ecclesiarum pena sint pecuniaria puniendi, puniantur adeo moderate, quod non redundet ipsorum pena in dampnum pauperum, quibus tenentur ex suscepto regimine prouidere; uel potius

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pena ab eis extorta, in utilitatem subditorum eis pauperum, uel in fabricas, conuertatur.

Laymen by corporal punishment or by alms or pilgrimages. iii. In laicis etiam puniendis hoc esse credimus obseruandum, ut illo magis genere puniantur, cuius timor magis eos retrahit a peccato. Huic autem regule canonice directe faciunt contrarium, qui penam corporalem in sue fomentum auaritie presumunt in pecuniariam transmutare. Dum enim puniendi penam pecuniariam preeligunt, corporalem procul dubio magis horrent. Esset igitur talibus horror pene corporee mitigandus, ne uideantur ministeriales uestri auaritie stimulis agitari. Laici igitur illi, quibus fustigationes publice non conueniunt, uel qui ieiuniorum non possunt tolerare rigores, sunt peregrinationibus fatigandi, et onerandi elemosinis non suspectis. Idcirco enim Salvator discipulis ad predicandum missis inhibuit, ne portarent pecuniam uel haberent; ut, uidelicet, non suspectos de questu se tori seculo exhiberent.

Religious to observe their Rules. iv. Preterea religiosos omnes vestre iurisdictioni subiectos ad obseruantiam regularem inducat is solícite in uestrorum remissionem omnium peccatorum; monachos specialiter iuxta B. Benedicti Regulam et statuta maiorum nostrorum ab esu carniū retrahentes; nullius uerbis fidem adhibentes, asserentis secum uel cum monasterio suo fuisse per sedem Apostolicam de edendis carnibus dispensatum.

Their revenues to be administered by treasurers. v. Cuiuscunque autem professionis religiosi uel religiose existant, non permittatis Priorem aut Priorissam, Abbatem uel Abbatissam, bona monasterii pro sue uoluntatis arbitrio contrectare. Sed in quolibet monasterio duo uel due discretiores ceteris eligantur, qui thesaurarii uel thesaurarie appellantur; quorum custodie tota domus pecunia commendetur; ter in anno de receptis et expensis ratiocinium fideliter reddituri. Et tam Prior quam Priorissa, Abbas uel Abbatissa, quam quilibet persone monasterii, de thesaurariorum ipsorum manibus expensas suas recipiant, et nullatenus aliunde. Et quicumque contrarium fecerit, tanquam proprietarius puniatur.

Idlers to be punished. vi. Preterea, quia otiositas est mater et alumna omnium uitiorum, obsecramus amore Domini Iesu Christi, quatenus populares vestre diocesis ab otio totis uiribus retrahatis; illis qui pertinaciter fuerint otiosi subtrahentes, dum tales fuerint,



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ecclesiastica sacramenta. Quod cum humano generi post peccatum sit preceptorie labor impositus corporalis, qui non solum in agris excolendis intelligitur, uerum etiam in quolibet artificio uel studio licito et honesto; cum etiam Salvator Ipse precisam de hoc supratactam ediderit sententiam, dicens, "quod dignus est operarius cibo suo:" cum etiam Apostolus, eodem spiritu predicto, decreto statuit negatiuo, "ut si quis operari renuit, non manducet:" constat certissime in statu damnationis existere quemlibet otiosum, qui sc. pro loco et tempore contemnit diebus singulis utiliter occupari.

And usury. vii. Est etiam malum summe contrarium pietati, malum sc. usurarie prauitatis, quod de cupiditatis sulphurea radice incipit apud multos fructus producere uenenatos, et per ramos plurimos se dilatat; dum passim carius uenduntur uictualia mutuanti, quam in promptu pecuniam in pretio numeranti; dum insuper nonnulli pretium rerum uenaliū metiuntur, non a uenditionis uel alio determinato tempore, sed in toto anni periodo, quando fuerint huiusmodi cariora. Hec igitur et similia scandala, que inuenimus non paucos in vestra diocesi per iuris ignorantiam maculasse, per hoc etiam quod non inuenerunt aliquos, qui huiusmodi criminum eis laqueos explicarent, studeatis solertius et sollicitius extirpare; cum non ignoretis, quod ignorantia subditorum est damnatio negligentium prelatorum.

Qualiter autem presentis ordinationis nostre seriem fueritis executi, nobis in fratrum congregatione proxima fideliter intimetis; scientes quod multum moleste feremus, si circa hec vos aut vestros inuenerimus negligentes. Valeat, etc. Dat. apud Lanthoniam Primam, nonis Augusti, A.D. 1284, ordinationis nostre sexto. [*Reg. Peckh.* fol. 299; and in *Wilk.*, II. 106, 107.]

\* Upon Aug. 6 Peckham issued "*Ordinationes factæ Priori et Conuentui de Ewenny Landav. dioc., dat. apud Lantoniam Primam*

8 *id.* Aug. A.D. 1284" (*Reg. Peckh.* fol. 235 a).

XVIII. A.D. 1284. Aug. 7. *Llantony*\*. *Archbishop Peckham on behalf of William (de Brewys) Bishop of Llandaff and the see of Llandaff.*

[Of like purport to No. XIX. below: mentioned but not entered at length in No. XX.]

\* Date and contents are mentioned below in No. XX. Peckham had previously written from S. Dogmael's July 8, 1284, "Episcopo Landavensi, ut liceat domino Cantuariensi apud Mor-

gham" (*Margam*) "uisitacionem suam inchoare" (*Reg. Peckh.* fol. 91 b). He appears to have commenced it actually at another place and not at Margam.

XIX. A.D. 1284. Aug. 12. Hampton<sup>a</sup>. Archbishop Peckham on behalf of Thomas Bishop of S. David's and the see of S. David's.

(*Littera protestationis Domini, quod non intendit preiudicare Meneuensi Episcopo uel Ecclesie per hoc quod alibi incepit metropolitice visitare quam in ecclesia cathedrali.*)

Church of S. David's not to be prejudiced because the Archbishop began his visitation of the diocese at Llanbadarn and not at S. David's itself.

*Universis Christi fidelibus* FRATER I. PERMISSIONE DIUINA CANT. ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS ANGLIE PRIMAS, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Ad noticiam omnium Deum timentium uolumus peruenire, quod nuper, Meneuensem diocesim autoritate metropolitica uisitantes, de uoluntate et assensu venerabilis fratris et suffraganei nostri domini Thome Dei gratia eiusdem Episcopi diocesis eandem uisitationem inchoauimus in presentia ipsius Episcopi apud Lampadere, propter uiarum prolixa discrimina et artationem temporis, priusquam Meneuiam ueniremus; deinde ciuitatem et diocesis uisitationis metropolitice ministerio perlustrantes. Verum quia sic ius nostrum exequi uolumus, ut nullis aliis iniurias inferamus; tenore presentium profiteamur, quod non intendimus nec uolumus occasione uisitationis nostre taliter inchoate, que et alias in ecclesia cathedrali secundum canonicas sanctiones extiterat inchoanda, iuribus uel libertatibus ipsius Episcopi uel Ecclesie in hoc uel in aliis aliquatenus derogare. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum duximus presentibus apponendum. Datum apud L. Hampton. Wygorniensis diocesis, II. idus<sup>b</sup> Augusti, anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>. octogesimo quarto, ordinationis nostre anno sexto. [*Reg. Peckh.* fol. 209 a.]

<sup>a</sup> There are two Hamptons in Worcestershire, both in Worcester diocese, one near Droitwich (Hampton Lovett), the other close to Evesham.

<sup>b</sup> Wharton and his amanuensis have both

copied this letter (among Wharton's MSS. in Lambeth Library), inserting "*Maii*" by mistake before "*Augusti*."

XX. A.D. 1284. [August] 28. Mortlake. *Archbishop Peckham's Record of his Welsh Visitations and of the rejection of Bishop Beck's Protest.*

*(Relatio Priori et Capitulo Ecclesie Christi Cant. per Johannem Archiepiscopum facta super visitatione Menevensis Ecclesie anno MCCLXXXIV., et de quadam perturbatione sibi facta ibidem. Et de quadam litera quam Menevensi Capitulo fecit.)*

FRATER JOHANNES PERMISSIONE DIVINA CANT. ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMAS, *dilectis in Christo filiis Priori et Capitulo Ecclesie Christi Cant.*, salutem et gratiam et benedictionem. Præteritorum experientia scripturæ custodiæ commendata sui directione fit frequenter regula futurorum. Hinc est, charissimi, quod progressum nostræ metropolitice visitationis, quam nuper in Wallia fecimus, scripturæ fidei duximus in præsentī pagina summarie committendum; ut vobis omnibus pro nobis in officio successuris processus nostri veritas elucescat.

Nuper itaque partes Walliæ visitationis metropolitice gratia ingressuri, primo ad diocesim accessimus Assa-  
Began his visitation at Oswestry, not at S. Asaph.  
 vensem; et in ipsius ingressu diocesis, in villa quæ vulgariter dicitur Oswaldestre, a venerabili fratre nostro Episcopo cleroque et populo ejusdem loci honeste et reverenter admissi fuimus, ut decebat. Et licet secundum formam canonicam in Assavensi ecclesia fuisset visitatio inchoanda, tamen propter viarum prolixitatem et pericula, quæ non fuisset facile propter artationem temporis iterare, cæteris secundum consuetudinem nostram rite per ordinem expeditis, de voluntate et assensu dicti Episcopi et cleri tunc præsentis visitationem nostram in sua diocesi exercendum ibidem inchoavimus, forma canonica in omnibus aliis observata: deinde cætera loca diocesis ipsamque civitatem et ecclesiam cathedralem metropolitice visitationis ministerio pacifice perlustrantes.

In aliis quoque diocesibus omnibus et singulis partibus earundem simili modo post ingressum nostrum in  
Similarly in the other dioceses according to convenience.  
 diocesin in locis se nobis commodius offerentibus, priusquam ad ecclesias cathedrales veniremus, de voluntate Episcoporum, ipsis etiam præsentibus, nostræ visitationis officium propter causas consimiles duximus inchoandum: extunc ad ecclesias cathedrales et alia loca diocesum, prout dedit opportunitas, sub visitationis examine procedentes; admissi reverenter, ut decuit, in locis

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singulis, et ea quæ ad nos ratione visitationis hujusmodi de jure vel consuetudine pertinere noscuntur, Domino disponente, libere et quiete percipientes ubique.

Protest against  
him as Arch-  
bishop at S. Da-  
vid's.

Veruntamen cum ad Menevensem ecclesiam venire-  
mus, et ab Episcopo et capitulo loci ejusdem cleroque  
populoque devote et reverenter admissi, jam magna  
parte ejusdem diocesis visitata, præsentibus essemus in  
eorum capitulo, accessus nostri causam et visitationis proposituri  
negotium; dum essemus in proponendo, verba nostra quodammodo  
interrumpens dominus Thomas ejusdem ecclesiæ Episcopus, allegans  
ipsam Ecclesiam Menevensem multis et variis olim privilegiis Aposto-  
licis insignitam, tanquam videlicet metropolitancam illarum partium ab  
antiquo, quadam protestatione dicebat pro se et capitulo suo; quod,  
salvis privilegiis suis antiquis, quibus per admissionem hujusmodi  
præjudicare minime intendebat, parati erat nos ut primatem suum,  
non ut Archiepiscopum, ad officium visitationis admittere in ipsa  
ecclesia et diocesi exercendam: adjiciens et subjungens, quod de  
hoc et aliis Ecclesiæ suæ juribus, a tempore bonæ memoriæ domini  
Huberti prædecessoris nostri (cui quidam archidiaconus Menevensis  
in ejusdem Ecclesiæ Episcopum electus movit quæstionem, nolens  
a dicto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo consecrari), inter Menevensem  
et Cantuariensem Ecclesias in Romana curia lis pendebat, et adhuc  
pendet (ut asseruit) indecisa: dicens præterea alibi postea, quod  
Menevensis Episcopus consueverat aliter professionem facere quam  
cæteri Episcopi Cantuariensis provinciæ, facientes scilicet in sua  
professione specialem de renunciatione hujusmodi litigii mentionem<sup>b</sup>;  
licet ipse dudum a nobis consecrandus antistes, professionem suam  
fecerit eo modo et eadem forma qua alii comprovinciales Episcopi  
Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo et Ecclesiæ profitentur; propter quod  
dicebat licitum esse sibi, si vellet, litem resumere sic pendentem.

Peckham's reply. Nos autem dicto Episcopo et capitulo suo, præsentibus  
alia clericorum multitudine copiosa, provida<sup>c</sup> respondimus in hunc  
modum:—Domine Episcope, satis debetis memoriter retinere, qua-  
liter nuper, vacante Ecclesia vestra per mortem bonæ memoriæ  
Ricardi prædecessoris vestri, omnem jurisdictionem spirituales tam  
in ipsa Ecclesia et personis ejusdem quam etiam tota diocesi, tan-  
quam Metropolitanus, et sede vacante Episcopus jure diocesano, per  
officiales nostros ad hoc specialiter destinatos libere et plene exercui-  
mus; nostrique prædecessores suis temporibus in similibus casibus

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hoc fecerunt:—qualiter postmodum personam vestram, electam in Menevensem Episcopum, confirmavimus et consecravimus confirmatam, facta prius nobis in scriptis professione vestra nobis et successoribus nostris et Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ, prout ab aliis nostris suffraganeis fieri consuevit, in quo etiam vos manu propria subscripsistis:—qualiter quoque nos sic consecratum Episcopum per Archidiaconum nostrum Cantuariensem, ad quem officium huiusmodi pertinere dinoscitur, in sede vestra intronizari fecimus, et in ipsam et Ecclesiam introduci. Eodem igitur jure, quod hæc fecimus, in præsentem visitare volumus, Domino concedente; nec isti distinctioni inter Primatem et Archiepiscopum ad præsens aliqually assentimus. Debetis igitur attendere, quod tam vestris quam prædecessorum vestrorum temporibus in possessione fuimus et existimus; prædecessoresque nostri fuerunt rescribendi ad appellationes et quærelas subditorum vestrorum; sicut in aliis facimus, quando nobis expedire videtur, nostræ provinciæ diocesibus, juxta antiquas approbatas Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ libertates: ex quibus liquide potest omnibus apparere, Ecclesiam Menevensem tanquam Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ suffraganeam nobis in his, quæ ad Archiepiscopum et Metropolitanum loci de jure et consuetudine pertinent, plena subjectione teneri.

Protest rejected,  
on penalty of ex-  
communication.

His itaque sic expletis, præfatos Episcopum et Capitulum monuimus, et injunximus eisdem destructius in virtute obedientiæ sub poena excommunicationis majoris, quam ibidem in scriptis, sicut in aliis feceramus diocesibus visitandis, tulimus in omnes nostræ metropolitice jurisdictionis officium injuste quomodolibet perturbantes; ne nobis, quominus libere possemus in ipsa ecclesia, civitate, et diocesi, tam in clero quam in populo, inchoatæ visitationis officium exercere, quoquomodo resisterent; quia sic protestabamur in hac parte nos uti velle jure nostro, ut cujuscunque jura alterius minime læderemus. Recepta igitur ab Episcopo litera sua certificatoriâ, quod mandatum nostrum sibi directum super visitatione nostra metropolitica denuncianda per suam diocesis in omnibus suis articulis plene fuerat executus, omnibus rite peractis, ad visitationis officium processimus, tam in ecclesia quam in aliis locis diocesis, libere et quiete per omnia officii nostri debitum exequentes.

Certificate granted on the sole point of the visitation being com-

Verum pro pace dicti Episcopi,—qui nunquam ut credimus super hoc intendit litem Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ suscitare; sed hoc dixisse se postea asseruit, ne a tempore

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menced at Llanbadarn, and not at S. David's itself. dicti domini Huberti continuata præscriptio<sup>e</sup> finem imponere videretur, et ne super negligentia posset argui quoquomodo,—quasdam literas nostras eidem concessimus (quas idcirco præsentī pagina de verbo ad verbum duximus inserendas); [ut<sup>d</sup>] si futuris temporibus de præmissis aliqua mentio habeatur, [n]ullam aliam literam a nobis nunquam de hoc facto concessam fuisse, vel de nostra conscientia aliquatenus processisse, certissime cognoscatis. Tenor autem ejusdem literæ talis est:—Universis Christi fidelibus \* \* \* anno sexto.

Similarly to Llandaff. Consimilem quoque literam dedimus Episcopo Landavensi de inchoatione nostræ visitationis in sua diocesi apud Keneset, sub dat., Apud Lanthoniam Primam, VII. id. Augusti, anno prædicto<sup>f</sup>.

Profession of Bishop of S. David's henceforth to be altered accordingly. Quia igitur, filii charissimi, vita nostra vapor est parens ad modicum, sed auctoritas nostra in vobis perhenniter victura; rogamus, ut quoties vacare contingeret in posterum Ecclesiam Menevensē, in professione consecrandi antistitis hanc contentionis materiam verbis expressis perpetuo abruncari [faciatis]<sup>g</sup>. In quorum omnium testimonium præsentem scripturam sigilli nostri appensione fecimus muniri. Valete in Christo semper et Virgine gloriosa. Dat. apud Mortlak., V. cal. <sup>h</sup>Augusti, anno Domini MCCLXXXIV., ordinationis nostræ VI., Indictione XII. [From *Wharton's*<sup>i</sup> MSS. in Lambeth Library, 586, fol. 4 and 542.]

<sup>a</sup> The date of the MS. must be an error; probably for August 28 (V. cal. *Septemb.*). The letter itself refers to letters XVIII., XIX., written Aug. 7 and 12, at Llanton and Hampton respectively, and the Archbishop had reached Mortlake when he drew up this present minute.

<sup>b</sup> See above, pp. 353, 385, 451, 484.

<sup>c</sup> So in MS.

<sup>d</sup> "et," in MS.

<sup>e</sup> Printed above as Letter XIX. It is given at length in the text in Wharton's MS.

<sup>f</sup> See above under Aug. 7, 1284, No. XVIII.

<sup>g</sup> The Profession of the next Bishop to Beck, viz. of David Martin, consecrated at Rome in December 1296, during Winchelsey's Archiepiscopate, is however in no respect different from that of Beck himself, save that there is appended to it a memorandum of the consecration at Rome.

<sup>h</sup> See note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> Who adds, "Autographum vidi in archivis Ecclesiæ Cantuar. et contuli."

XXI. A.D. 1284. Oct. 10. *Aberconway. Grant of the Patronage of Rhuddlan by King Edward I. to Anian Bishop of S. Asaph and his successors.*

Advowson of Rhuddlan granted to the Bishops of S. Asaph. REX omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod, cum venerabilis pater Anianus, Assavensis Episcopus, pro se et successoribus suis, ad instantiam nostram,

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in lieu of that of Eglwys-y-Vach, granted by them to the Abbey of Maenan.

dederit et concesserit dilectis nobis in Christo Abbati et Conventui monasterii de Aberconwey et eorum successoribus (quod quidem monasterium nunc est situm apud Maynan) advocationem ecclesie Eglwys-y-vach, quæ ad præfatum Episcopum pertinuit, prout in scripto dictis Abbati et Conventui inde confecto plenius continentur; nos, dicto Episcopo donationem illam compensare volentes, dedimus et concessimus eidem Episcopo advocationem ecclesie de Ruthlan, habendam sibi et successoribus suis in perpetuum, absque reclamazione nostri vel heredum aut successorum quorumcunque: ita tamen quod, si contingat ipsum Episcopum aut successores suos quoscunque advocationem ecclesie predicte de Eglwys-y-vach casu aliquo retractare, liceat nobis et heredibus nostris ab ipso Episcopo et successoribus suis advocationem ecclesie predicte de Ruddlan, et donationem quam et inde fecimus, totaliter revocare. Teste Rege apud Aberconwey, Octob. 10, 1284. [Br. Willis, *S. Asaph, Append. XIX.*, from *Lib. Rub. Asspv.*]

XXII. A.D. 1284. Oct. 21. *Caernarvon. Privilege of Edward I. to the Bishop of Bangor.*

Civil privileges within their own Episcopal lands, granted to the Bishops of Bangor.

EDWARDUS, DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIÆ, DOMINUS HIBERNIÆ, ET DUX ACQUIETANIÆ, *Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, præpositis, ministris, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis*, salutem. Sciatis nos pro salute animæ nostræ et animarum antecessorum et hæredum nostrorum dedisse, concedisse, et hac carta nostra confirmasse, Deo, beate Marie, et Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Danielis Bangoren., et venerabili patri Aniano Episcopo ejusdem loci, quod idem Episcopus, et successores sui Episcopi Bangor., habeant in perpetuum retorum Brevium nostrorum in terris suis ejusdem Episcopatus; ita quod nullus vicecomes, ballivus, seu minister noster, terras illas ingrediatur ad officium aliquod in iis exercendum, nisi in defectum balliuorum Episcopatus prædicti; et quod habeant visum franciplegii, et catalla hominum suorum dampnatorum et fugivitorum, et etiam fines et amerciamenta eorum hominum, in quibuscunque curiis nostris amerciati fuerint vel convicti; et insuper quod præfatus Episcopus et successores sui, ac eorum familiares, tam per terram quam per mare, infra potestatem nostram,

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de propriis bonis ipsorum Episcoporum de theoloneo sint quieti imperpetuum. Quare volumus, etc. [repeating the grant verbatim]; sicut predictum est. Hiis testibus, venerabili patre Roberto Bathon. et Wellens. Episcopo Cancellario nostro, Richardo de Burgo Comite Ultoniæ, Johanne de Vesey, Ottone de Grandisono, Roberto de Tybetot, Ricardo de Brus, Roberto Filio-Johannis, Johanne de Weston, Roberto de Giffard, et aliis. Dat. per manum nostram, apud Caernarvon, XXI. die Octobris anno regni nostri duodecimo<sup>a</sup>. [*Inspeximus*, in the *Record of Caernarvon*, p. 133 Ellis; and in *Br. Willis, Bangor, Append. VIII.* 190, 191, from *Rot. Wall.* 12 *Edw. I. memb. 1.*]

<sup>a</sup> A confirmation of a third part of the tithes of the King's demesnes, mills, and lead mines, in "Englesend," is granted to the Bishop of Bangor and his successors as part of their rights in past times, Dec. 10, 1286 (Writ of Edward I. to Reginald de Grey, Justiciary of Chester, from *Rot. Wall.* 14 and 15 *Edw. I. memb. 9* and 10; in

*Br. Willis, ib. IX.* 191, 192). And a petition of Bishop Anian, "Domini Regis Capellanus in Wallia," to Edmund Earl of Cornwall, acting in the King's place in England, to enforce observance of this grant upon R. de Grey, Justiciary of Chester, dated in A.D. 1288, is in *Prynne (Records, III.* 1294).

XXIII. A.D. 1284. [October?]. *Receipt for money, paid by Edward I. in compensation for injury to the see of Bangor.*

*Universis quorum interest*, ANIANUS PERMISSIONE DIVINA BANGORENSIS EPISCOPUS, salutem æternam in Domino. Noveritis nos recepisse ducentas libras et quinquaginta libras per manus Prioris de Rothlan, Roberti Gardiani de Lamas<sup>a</sup>, et domini Radulphi de Brocton., inquisitorum dampnorum ex parte illustris Edwardi Regis Angliæ et suorum Ecclesiis Walliæ et personis ecclesiasticis illatorum, et hoc pro dampnis nobis illatis in ultima guerra. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus duximus apponendum. [*Rymer, I.* 648.]

<sup>a</sup> Llanvaes.

XXIV. A.D. 1284. Nov. 2. *Chester. Similar Receipt from Archdeacon, Dean, and Chapter, of S. Asaph.*

*Universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis*, ARCHIDIACONUS, DECANUS, ET CAPITULUM ASSAVEN., salutem in Domino. Quoniam princeps magnificus et dominus noster, dominus Edwardus, Dei gratia Rex Angliæ illustris, pro dampnis et oppressionibus Ecclesiæ nostræ Assaven. tempore guerræ præteritæ illatis, sua largiflua bonitate, centum libr. sterlingorum nobis de elemosina sua contulit per



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manus inquisitorum, S. Prioris Rudlan., et Gardian. de Lanmays, et domini R. de Brothton.; prædictum dominum Regem super præfatis centum libr. pro dampnis Ecclesiæ nostræ omnibus quietum clamamus imperpetuum per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium nos Archidiaconus et Decanus prædicti sigilla nostra præsentibus apposuimus. Dat. apud Cestriam in die Animarum, anno regni Regis E. duodecimo. [Rymer, I. 650.]

XXV. A.D. 1284. Nov. 3. Chester. *Similar Receipt from Convent of Strata Florida.*

*Omnibus ad quos præsentis litera pervenerint, FRATRES G. ET J. PROCURATORES DOMINI ABBATIS ET CONVENTUS DE STRATA FLORIDA, salutem in Domino. Quum magnificus princeps dominus noster Edwardus, Dei gratia illustris Rex Angliæ, pro dampnis et oppressionibus nostræ domui tempore guerræ præteritæ illatis, sua largiflua bonitate, septuaginta octo libras sterlingorum nobis de elemosina sua contulit per manus inquisitorum, scilicet, Prioris Radolam, et Gardiani de Lanmaes, et domini R. de Brochton.; prædictum autem dominum Regem super prædictis septuaginta octo libris, pro omnibus dampnis nobis et domui nostræ illatis, quietum clamamus imperpetuum per præsentis. Et quia sigillum proprii Abbatis tunc temporis non habuimus, sigilla venerabilium de Est Marschell et de Lyn Egwestel Abbatum in testimonium præsentibus procuravimus apponi. Dat. in Abbatia Cestriæ, in crastino Animarum, anno regni Regis Edwardi duodecimo. [Rymer, I. 650<sup>a</sup>.]*

<sup>a</sup> An acknowledgment in identical terms by the Abbat in person follows in *Rymer (ib.)*, dated in 1284.

XXVI. A.D. 1284. Nov. 5. Chester. *Similar Receipt from the Black Friars of Rbuddlan.*

*Omnibus Christi fidelibus præsentis literas inspecturis, PRIOR FRATRUM PRÆDICATORUM RODOLAN., salutem in Domino. Quum princeps magnificus et dominus noster, dominus Edwardus, Dei gratia Rex Angliæ illustris, pro omnibus dampnis conventui nostro per ultimam guerram illatis, sua largiflua bonitate, per manus inquisitorum XVII. libras sterlingorum et X. solid. nobis de elemosina sua contulit; prædictum dominum Regem super præfatis XVII. libr. et X. solid. pro omnibus dampnis nobis illatis quietum clamamus imperpetuum per præsentis.*

## [PROHIBITION OF THE ORDINATION OF WELSHMEN.]

In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Dat. apud Cestriam, Dominica proxima post festum Omnium Sanctorum, anno regni Regis Edwardi duodecimo. [*Rymer*, I. 650.]

A.D. 1284. Nov. 26. *Edward I. and Queen Eleanor at S. David's.*

ANN. CAMB. *in an.*—Eodem anno Rex Edwardus venit causa peregrinationis apud Sanctum David una cum domina Regina Angliæ nomine Elianora die Dominica in crastino B. Katerinæ Virginis. [p. 108 ed. Williams; and see also *Ann. Menev. in Wharton, A. S., II. 651.*]

A.D. 1284.[?]. *Prohibition of the Ordination of Welshmen*<sup>a</sup>.

Item nullus Wallensis aliquem filium suum ad aliquos ordines promovebit nisi unum; et hos ad primam tonsuram tantum. [*Record. North-Wall.*, in *Book of Caernarvon*, p. 131, from *Harl. MSS.* 696.]

<sup>a</sup> This appears to belong to the period of the Statute of Rhuddlan. Possibly it was done with Peckham's sanction (see his letter above, pp. 570, 571). It may however possibly belong to the time of Owen Glyndwr and the reign of Henry

IV. Archbishop Reynolds in 1322 rejects Irish, Welsh, and Scotch clergy, unless upon "great necessity," and after special enquiry into the individual case (*Wilk.*, II. 512).

A.D. 1285. *Articles of the Bishops against the King (Edward I.), with the Answers thereto*<sup>a</sup>.

\* \* \* \* \*

XIII. Item quod Ecclesiæ Walliæ suæ libertati pristinæ dimittantur<sup>b</sup>.

Resp. ad XIII. Rex intelligit, quod sunt plus liberæ quam fuerint ab initio.

*Replies to the King's Answers.*

\* \* \* \* \*

Item in resp. ad XIII. art. de libertate Ecclesiarum Walliæ: utinam ita esset, ut responsum est; sed prælati earum partium aliud asseverant<sup>b</sup>. [*Wilk.*, II. 116, 117: from *Reg. of Bishop Giffard of Worcester.*]

<sup>a</sup> See the document at length under the English Church.

<sup>b</sup> See above in Peckham's letter of July 3, 1284, on p. 569, No. XIII.

A.D. 1285. May 10. *Westminster. Licence to the Bishop of Bangor to make a Will.*

REX etc. *omnibus ad quos* etc. salutem. Sciatis, quod concessimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris venerabili patri Aviano Bangorensi Episcopo, quod, licet Episcopi Walen. ex antiqua consuetudine testamentum aliquod condere non possent temporibus retroactis, idem tamen Episcopus de omnibus bonis et catallis suis libere condere possit testamentum suum, et executores ejusdem testamenti constituere pro voluntate sua; et quod executores predicti Episcopi post decessum suum de omnibus bonis et catallis illis plenam et liberam administracionem habeant ad execucionem testamenti predicti inde faciendam, sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum, justic., ballivorum, et ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque. In cujus etc. T. R. apud Westm., X. die Maii. [Rymer, I. 654.]

A.D. 1286. April 2. *Maesyllan. Grant of Indulgence by Bishop Anian of Bangor on behalf of the Convent of Beddgelert.*

Inspeximus of *Universis Christi fidelibus has literas visuris vel audituris,*  
 Charters of the ANIANUS PERMISSIONE DIVINA BANGORENSIS ECCLESIE  
 Convent, and MINISTER HUMILIS, salutem æternam in Domino. No-  
 grant of Indul- veritis nos vidisse cartas varias diversorum principum  
 gence to all who shall help it by Priori et Conventui de Valle beatæ Mariæ de Snaudo-  
 alms. nia: videlicet, chartam Lewelini magni super totam terram Kynde-  
 wewic. de Rennaut; et chartam Lewelini filii Griffini super omnes  
 terras filiorum Ithael de Penard; et chartam Lewelini filii Griffini  
 super totam terram hominum de Trehan apud Kenynbeind et Le-  
 cheitaur; et chartam domini Oweni super totam villam quæ vocatur  
 Tref Ybeyrds apud Kynind Meney; et chartam domini Lewelini filii  
 Griffini super totam terram illam et locum de Beckellers; et chartam  
 domini David super totam terram, quam habuerunt Jerberd vab Yer-  
 feint et Freraul apud Epennant. Et super dictis terris vidimus  
 litteras Papales confirmatorias, bullatas, non cancellatas, non abo-  
 litas, nec in aliqua parte vitiatas. Ad hæc sciant universi, quod  
 dicta domus beatæ Mariæ senior domus religiosa est de tota Wallia,  
 excepta insula Sanctorum Bardigeye; et melioris hospitalitatis et

[CONVENT OF BEDDGELERT ON THE ROAD FROM IRELAND.]

communioris indigentibus et transeuntibus Anglicis et Walensibus, de Anglia et West-Wallia transeuntibus ad Norwalliam, et de Ybernia et Norwallia euntibus ad Angliam<sup>b</sup>. Sed in damnum non modicum et defectum communem omnium, dicta domus incendio casuali penitus destructa, licet hospitalitatis tempore maximam pateretur ruinam, per tamen Regem pium, catholicum, liberalem, Dei gratia, dominum Edwardum ad plenum fuisset restorata. Et quia pium est oppressis et afflictis subvenire: nos, de Dei misericordia et de intercessione Ejusdem Genetricis et omnium Sanctorum confidentes, omnibus benefactoribus dictæ domus undique subvenientibus, qui de bonis a Deo collatis pias elemosynas vel favores contulerunt, XL. dies de injuncta sibi pœnitentia misericorditer relaxamus, dum sint vere convicti et confessi. In cujus etc. Dat. apud Maesyllan, in octabis Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ, anno Domini MCCLXXXVI. [Rymer, I. 664.]

<sup>a</sup> For the Augustinian Priory of Black Canons at Beddgelert, see *Dugd. Mon.* VI. 200.

<sup>b</sup> It follows, that the transit from England to

Ireland at this time was no longer exclusively by Milford Haven, but by Anglesey.

A.D. 1287. July 23. Hereford. *Mandate of Edward I. King of England to call out soldiers against the Welsh Rebellion of Rhys ap Meredith.*—[Among others,—] Item mandatum est Episcopo Menevensi vel ejus senescallo, quod totum posse quod perquirere potest [ita quod illud contra adventum comitis Cornubiæ, locum Regis in Anglia tenentis, promptum habeat] apud Kermerdyn, armis competentibus bene munitum, ad proficiscendum etc. ut supra. [Rymer, I. 676.]

*Philip de Staunton elected but never consecrated to the See of Llandaff.*

I. A.D. 1287. Sept. 7. Dax. *Edward I. King of England to Edmund Earl of Cornwall.*

Election of Philip de Staunton to the see of Llandaff informally signified to the King; who however ap-  
EDWARDUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIÆ, DOMINUS HIBERNIÆ, ET DUX AQUITANIÆ, dilecto consanguineo et fideli suo Edmundo Comiti Cornubiæ, tenenti locum suum in eodem regno. Cum magister Philippus de Staunton, Precentor Wellensis, ad nos venerit, et nobis presentaverit quas-

[BISHOP ELECTED BUT NOT CONSECRATED TO LLANDAFF.]

proves the election, and empowers you to signify that approval to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to restore the temporalities of Llandaff to the aforesaid Philip.

dam literas ex parte Archidiaconi et Capituli Ecclesiæ Landavensis super electione de ipso facta in Episcopum ejusdem loci, sigillis Archidiaconi memorati, Precentoris, et quorundam aliorum canonicorum ejusdem Ecclesiæ sigillatas (sicut per inspectionem literarum illarum, quas vobis mittimus, plene poteritis intueri); nos, literis illis inspectis, pro eo quod commune sigillum Capituli non fuit appensum eisdem, licet bene personam acceptemus electam, et ipsum regimini prefatæ Ecclesiæ idoneum reputemus, [et] pro ipso eciam faceremus libenter quicquid sine præjudicio nostri et libertatum nostrarum optentarum hucusque facere bono modo possemus, electioni de ipso factæ noluimus assentire, nec eidem pro consuetudine qua usi sumus concedere literas de consensu. Set quia idem magister Philippus nobis dedit intelligi, quod ipsi et alii Canonici electores sui non potuerunt sigillum illud habere commune, impediante Bogone de Clare Cancellario predictæ Ecclesiæ, qui idem sigillum in custodia sua habuit, et electioni prædictæ se opposuit minus juste; et noluimus, quod prefata Ecclesia per fraudem aut maliciam diu destituatur pastore et regimine quam deceret: vobis mandamus, quod, visis præsentibus, vocatis et assumptis vobiscum venerabili patri J. Eliensi Episcopo Thesaurario nostro, cui super hoc scribimus, et aliis de Consilio nostro quos contigerit esse præsentis, literas supradictas quæ ex parte dictorum Archidiaconi et Capituli nobis missæ fuerunt quasque vobis mittimus, [proferatis\*]; et intellecta de processu electionis predictæ et totius facti plenius veritate, gratiam, quam prefato electo quo[a]d assensum electionis ejusdem possemus vel deberemus de consilio vestro facere, in hoc casu vice nostra faciatis eidem: ita quod per machinationem aut maliciam alicujus ipsius electio non turbetur aut contra justiciam differatur. Cum autem Archiepiscopus electionem confirmaverit supradictam, volumus et mandamus, quod electum ipsum taliter confirmatum ad sacramentum fidelitatis nobis debite admittatis, et temporalia Episcopatus predicti restitui faciatis eidem; ad quod non oporteat ipsum pro negotio electionis ejusdem ad nos iterato reverti. In tantum etiam festinetis negotium, quod electus ipse de cursu temporis vel de alio quocumque dampnum aliquod non incurrat seu periculum in hac parte. Teste meipso, Aquis, septimo die Septembris, anno regni nostri quintodecimo. [Br. Willis, Llandaff, 122-124, from the *Bundela Brevium* 15 Edw. I.; also in *Prynne*, III. 1286 b.]

[BISHOP ELECTED BUT NOT CONSECRATED TO LLANDAFF.]

\* Some such word seems to have dropped out of the MS.

† After all his journey to Bordeaux and the King's favour, Philip was not consecrated. See below under A.D. 1288, July 9; A.D. 1290,

Nov. 2; A.D. 1295, March 5, etc. Probably the Clares hindered it. And before May 27, 1295, Philip died: see below under that date. W. de Brewys died March 19, 1287.

II. A.D. 1287. Sept. 12. Bourdeaux. Robert Bishop of Bath and Wells to Edmund Earl of Cornwall.

Same in tenor with the preceding letter. *Nobili viro domino et amico suo carissimo domino Edmundo Comiti Cornubie, tenenti locum domini nostri Regis in Anglia,* R. PERMISSIONE DIVINA BATHONIENSIS ET WELLENSIS ECCLESIE MINISTER, salutem et paratam ad beneplacita voluntatem.

Ex tenore litterarum vestrarum (quas vobis remittimus) perpendimus evidenter, qualiter vir providus et discretus, magister Philippus de Staunton, Precentor Wellensis, clericus noster et socius perdilectus, electus extiterit in Episcopum Landavensem; Domino Bogone de Clare nullatinus permittente litteras, domino Regi mittendas super electione hujusmodi, communi sigillo Capituli consignari. Sed electores magistri Philippi prædicti præmissas litteras, domino nostro Regi (ut præmisimus) transmittendas, suis sigillis propriis consignarunt. Quibus eidem domino nostro porrectis, personam electam protinus accepit; set licet eidem literas vestras præ tactas vobis transmissas facti seriem continentes miserimus (eo quod procul ad invicem distabamus), quia tamen sibi directe non fuerunt nominatim, et quia sigillum commune Capituli appositum non extitit literis sibi missis, nec ei constitit de impedimento per dominum Bogonem opposito, nisi per literas non sibi sed nobis transmissas, consensum suum electioni predictæ distulit adhibere, eum vobis committens qui habetis noticiam et experientiam hujus facti. Cum igitur assensus ille totaliter in manibus vestris existat, sicut in literis regiis poteritis intueri, sinceritatem vestram quantumcumque valemus fervencius exoramus, quatinus memoratum magistrum Philippum, quoad regii consensus articulum et literas Regis super illo domino Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo dirigendas, necnon, confirmationis munere assecuto, quoad restitutionem temporalium, juxta mandatum regium vobis inde directum, celeriter absque dilacionis incommodo expedire velitis; eo libencius et liberius, quod de premissis omnibus vobis constat, ac notoria et manifesta existunt, quasi in auribus singulorum. Si autem dictus magister Philippus personaliter ad presenciam vestram non venerit, quesumus ut ipsius nuncium ad vos suo nomine veni-

[DIOCESAN SYNODS THRICE A YEAR IN S. DAVID'S.]

entem expediatis, celeriter et benigne literas necessarias sibi fieri facientes. Ex quo enim dominus noster approbavit suam personam, non est necessaria ipsius personalis præsentia coram vobis. Bene et diu valete. Dat. Burdegalie, II. idus Septembris. [*Br. Willis, Llandaff*, 120–122, from *Bundela Brevium* 15 Edw. I.; also in *Prynne*, III. 1286.]

A.D. 1287. Nov. 19. Endowment of Treasurer at S. David's, by Bishop Beck. [*Harl. MSS.* 1249, p. 165.]

A.D. 1287. *Statute of Bishop Beck of S. David's respecting Diocesan Synods.*

S. DAVID'S STATUTES.—Et cum synodi hactenus in diocesi Menevensi non fuerint celebratæ, sed ut frequentius celebratio synodi habeatur; statuit (dominus Episcopus), quod synodus in tribus solemnioribus capitulis, scil. post festum Sancti Michaelis, [post festum] Nativitatis Domini, et post octavas Pasch., solempniter celebretur; eisque quilibet Archidiaconus intersit: et in loco solempniori totius Archidiaconatus dicta synodus cum missa de Sancto Spiritu cum devotione et qua decet reverentia celebretur. [*Harl. MSS.* 1249, p. 16<sup>a</sup>.]

\* In A.D. 1287 a collegiate church was founded at Llanddewi Brefi (*Dug. Mon.* VI. 1475); Llangadoc was transferred to Abergwili (*Id.*, *ib.* VI. 1376); and a Hospital was founded

at Llawardyn (Llan-huadein?)—(*Id.*, *ib.* VI. 783); all by Bishop Beck. See also *Jones and Freeman's S. David's*.

A.D. 1288. July 9. *See of Llandaff still vacant.*

Revocavit dominus (Jo. Arch. Cant.) commissionem factam mag. Tho. de Sancto Audomaro, Canonico Hereford., super officio officialitatis Landaven. sede vacante, et commisit idem officium mag. Aniano Galen., Canonico Assavensi. [*Reg. Peckb.* fol. 133 a.]

A.D. 1289. Aug. 21. *Reate. Pope Nicholas IV. to the Abbat and Convent of Aberconway.*

NICHOLAUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *dilectis filiis Abbati et Conventui Monasterii de Aberconwete in Wallia, Cisterciensis ordinis, Bangorensis diocesis*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte carissimi in

Confirms the translation of Aberconway to Maynan.

[BULL OF A POPE ELECT CONFIRMED BY A SUCCEEDING POPE.]

Christo filii nostri Edwardi Regis Angliæ illustris fuit propositum coram nobis, quod felicitis recordationis Honorius Papa, prædecessor noster, ante consecrationem et benedictionem suam, intellecto quod monasterium vestrum ob certas causas rationabiles in loco ubi tunc erat non poterat commode remanere, præfatus prædecessor, nondum benedictus et consecratus, ad devotam ipsius Regis supplicationis instantiam, transferendi præfatum monasterium de præmisso loco ad locum in quo nunc situm esse dinoscitur, per litteras suas bullatas bulla sua, quæ nomen suum nondum exprimebat, vobis concessit liberam facultatem: sicque vos litterarum ipsarum auctoritate, sicut asseritis, de priori loco præfatum monasterium transtulistis. Licet igitur quoad hujusmodi actum seu gratiam eadem litteræ sic bullatæ plenam immo plenissimam in se habeant potestatem; maxime cum sedes Apostolica, ante consecrationem et benedictionem electi in summum Pontificem, cum defectiva bulla electi nomen nullatenus exprimente bullare litteras suas consueverit ab antiquo:—ut tamen de mentibus rudium error omnis totaliter evellatur, vestris et ipsius Regis devotis supplicationibus inclinati, quod per easdem litteras super hoc factum est ratum et firmum habentes, id (prout tenemur) auctoritate Apostolica approbamus et præsentis scripti patrocínio communimus; nichilominus declarantes seu decernentes hujusmodi translationem dicti monasterii eandem vim eundemque vigorem habere, ac si per litteras dicti prædecessoris, integra bulla bullata, alias tamen legitime facta esset. Nulli ergo etc. Dat. Reatæ, XII. kal. Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno secundo. (*Plumbeo sigillo sub filis sericis flavi rubeique coloris.*)—[*Dugd. Mon. VI. 1627*; and in *Rymer, II. 712.*]

A.D. 1289. Sept. 2. *Raleigh. Writ to enquire into condition and guardianship of the daughters of Llywelyn and David, nuns of the Order of Sempringham.*

REX, dilecto et fidei suo Thome de Normanvill, salutem. Volentes super statu et custodia filiarum Leulini filii Griffini et David fratris ejus (sub habitu monialium in ordine de Sempringham commorantium) per vos certiorari ad plenum; vobis mandamus, quod ad loca, in quibus predictæ filie commorantur, personaliter accedentes, ipsas videatis: et facto tam super statu quam custodia earundem diligenti examine, nos inde in proximo parlamento nostro distincte et aperte



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reddatis in omnibus certiores. Et hoc omnibus quorum interest scire volumus per presentes. In cujus etc. Teste Rege apud Ra-legh., II. die Septembris. [Rymer, I. 712.]

\* They were sent to Alvingham in Lincolnshire, by mandate dated Nov. 11, 1283, at Ludlow (Dugd. Mon. VI. 949).

A.D. 1289. Oct. 7. *Bull of Pope Nicholas IV. to Edward I. respecting his going to the Crusade.*

[The tithes and obventions granted to the King in relation to his promised Crusade, include Wales by name. See the entire document under the English Church: and in Rymer, I. 714, 715.]

A.D. 1289. Nov. 10. *Confirmation of Privileges to S. Asaph.*

\* See above, pp. 509, 510.

*Custody of Temporalities of Llandaff, "sede vacante," is in the Crown.*

I. A.D. 1290. Nov. 2. *Clipston. Agreement between Edward I. King of England and Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, respecting the right of the Crown to the Temporalities of Llandaff diocese, "sede vacante."*

Grants a life interest to Gilbert de Clare in the said temporalities, upon an absolute acknowledgment of the King's right.

*Universis Christi fidelibus etc.* EDWARDUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIÆ etc. salutem. Memorie hominum labili adeo fallax insidiatur oblivio, ut ea que modernis temporibus plana sint et aperta, tractu temporis obscura erunt et incerta, nisi scripture testimonio fulciantur.

Et ob hoc proinde decrevit legum auctoritas sententias diffinitivas in scriptis proferri; ne ea, que juris tramite ordinata sunt et recte deposita, processu temporis in recidive contencionis scrupulum relabantur. Suborta siquidem inter nos ex parte una, et Gilbertum de Clare Comitem Gloucestriz et Hertfordiz ex altera, super advocacione cathedralis Ecclesie Landavensis, et custodia temporalium predictæ Ecclesie, ac collacionibus dignitatum et prebendarum in eadem, sede Landavensi vacante, materia questionis; anno Domini MCC. nonagesimo, in crastino Animarum, apud Clipston, pro nobis proponi fecimus contra Comitem predictum, quod prefata

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advocacio Ecclesie Landavensis, custodia temporalium, et collaciones dignitatum et prebendarum in eadem Ecclesia, sede Landavensi vacante, non ad dictum Comitem set ad nos et corone nostre dignitatem, sicut in ceteris Ecclesiis cathedralibus regni nostri Anglie, de jure et regni consuetudine pertinebant. Et quod progenitores nostri Reges Anglie, qui pro tempore fuerunt, premissis uti consueverant pleno jure. Et quod pie memorie H[enricus] progenitor noster, qui proxime regnavit ante nos, in vacacione predictæ Landavensis Ecclesie per mortem Helye, quondam loci illius Episcopi, commisit custodiam temporalium Walerando Teutonico Militi; qui, finita administracione, ad scaccarium prefati patris nostri reddidit raciocinia. Et in eadem vacacione contulit unam prebendam vacantem magistro Willielmo de Burgo tunc Thesaurario Warderobæ suæ, et aliam prebendam Albredo de Fescampo tunc subthesaurario ejusdem Warderobæ, et Archidiaconatum Landavensem cuidam Thome tunc Capellano pie memorie Alienore matris nostre. Adjectumque fuerat ex parte nostra, et quod Episcopi Landavenses, qui pro tempore fuerunt, tenuerunt baroniam suam et terras et possessiones a progenitoribus nostris Angliæ Regibus, et a nobis, nichilque a dicto Comite seu ipsius progenitoribus: et quod, Ecclesia Landavensi vacante, Canonici ejusdem non a Comitibus set a Regibus petunt licenciam eligendi. Unde pro nobis propositum extitit, quod idem G. Comes Gloucestrie et Hertfordie in presenti vacacione ejusdem Ecclesie, per mortem bone memorie W. de Brewes nuper Landavensis Episcopi, premissas custodiam temporalium et collaciones dignitatum et prebendarum, nullo jure suo utens de facto, cum de jure non posset, in injuriam et derogacionem corone nostre sibi usurpavit. Et quia idem Comes, habita super hoc deliberacione pleniori, confitebatur premissa, que opposita fuerant ex parte nostra, vera esse, advocacionemque dicte Ecclesie Landavensis, custodiam temporalium, et collaciones dignitatum et prebendarum, ad nos et corone nostre dignitatem pleno jure pertinere; ut idem Comes premissis custodia temporalium et collacionibus dignitatum et prebendarum utatur, sede Landavensi vacante, ad vitam suam dumtaxat, sibi concessimus graciose: ita plane, quod per factum hujusmodi nobis aut nostris heredibus per heredes seu successores prefati Comitis super premissis nullum penitus prejudicium generetur. Dat. etc. [Rymer, I. 742; and in *Br. Willis, Llandaff*, 131-134, from *Patent. 28 Edw. I. memb. 2.*]

II. A.D. 1290. Nov. 2. *Clipston. Grant of Temporalities of Llandaff diocese, "sede vacante," to Gilbert de Clare and his wife Joanna, for life.*

Same tenor with  
previous docu-  
ment.

REX, etc. *Archiepiscopis* etc. salutem. Sciatis, quod, cum nos exigeremus et vendicaremus versus dilectum et fidelem nostrum Gilbertum de Clare, Comitem Gloucestriæ et Hertfordiæ, advocationem et custodiam Episcopatus Landavensis cum pertinentiis, una cum collationibus prebendarum et dignitatum ejusdem, tempore vacationis Episcopatus illius; et idem Comes, nobiscum super hoc placitare nolens, id quod ad ipsum pertinet de advocatione et custodia Episcopatus predicti, una cum collationibus prebendarum et dignitatum ejusdem tempore vacationis Episcopatus illius, nobis reddidit ut jus nostrum; prout in scripto ejusdem Comitis nobis inde confecto plenius continetur: nos, eidem Comiti et charissimæ filiæ nostræ Johannæ uxori suæ gratiam facere volentes specialem in hac parte, dedimus et concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris eidem Comiti et Johannæ advocationem et custodiam Episcopatus predicti cum pertinentiis, habendam et tenendam de nobis et heredibus nostris eisdem Comiti et Johannæ in perpetuum. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod predicti Comes et Johanna habeant et teneant de nobis et heredibus nostris advocationem et custodiam Episcopatus prædicti, cum pertinentiis, una cum collationibus præbendarum et dignitatum Episcopatus illius singulis temporibus vacationum ejusdem, ad totam vitam utriusque ipsorum Comitis et Johanne; ita quod post decessum eorundem Comitis et Johanne advocatio et custodia Episcopatus predicti, una cum collationibus prebendarum et dignitatum ejusdem temporibus vacationum Episcopatus illius, ad nos vel hæredes nostros integre revertantur, quiete de hæredibus eorundem Comitis et Johanne, imperpetuum: sicut predictum est. Hijs testibus, venerabili patre R[oberto] Bathoniensi et Wellensi Episcopo, Willielmo de Valencia avunculo nostro, Henrico de Lacy Comite Lincolnæ, Johanne de Warena Comite Surriæ, Roberto Tibetot, Reginaldo de Grey, Waltero de Bello-Campo, Petro de Chaumprent, Ricardo de Bosco, et aliis. Dat. per manum nostram apud Kinges-Clipston, secundo die Novembris. [*Br. Willis, ib. 134, 135; ex Rot. Cart. aº. 18 Edw. I. No. 8.*]

III. A.D. 1290. *After Nov. 2. Record of Suit between Edward I. King of England, represented by Malcolm de Harlegh his Escheator, against Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hertford and others, touching the custody of the Temporalities of the See of Llandaff "sede vacante."*

PLACITA PARLIAM. 18<sup>o</sup> EDW. PRIMI.—Ma[l]colomus de Harlegh monstravit Consilio Domini Regis per quandam petitionem, quod, cum post mortem Willi. de Brewose quondam Landavensis Episcopi custodia pred. Episcopatus nomine domini Regis sibi esset commissa, et idem Malcolomus maneria quæ fuerunt pred. Episcopi ratione custodie sibi commisse in manum domini Regis seisire voluisset, Gilbertus de Clare Comes Glouc. et Hertford. manerium de Landath cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et eciam manerium de Lankaderwader et omnia que fuerunt pred. Episcopi infra dominium ipsius Com. de Clamargan seisire fecit in manum suam, et seisinam illam adhuc occupat; et archidiaconatum de Landath et prebendas a tempore mortis pred. Episcopi vacantes in Ecclesia pred. pro voluntate sua contulit, et adhuc confert, cum illas vacare contigerit; in prejudicium corone domini Regis et exheredationem suam manifestam: cum idem comes per ipsum Malcolomum ex parte domini Regis sepius fuisset requisitus, quod seisinam pred. maneriorum ratione custodie sibi commisse eidem liberaret, et quod dominum Regem archidiaconatum pred. et prebendas pred. conferre permetteret. Dicit eciam, quod Comes Hereford qui nunc est, fecit seisire post mortem pred. Episcopi in manum suam villam de Donestowe; et eciam quod Willielmus de Brewose senior post mortem pred. Episcopi seisire fecit in manum suam villam de Bishopeston in Gower, et adhuc detinet, in prejudicium corone; ut predictum est, etc. Dicit eciam, quod Edmundus frater domini Regis, post mortem pred. Episcopi, cepit de tenentibus manerii de Loncylis Cressemy, quod fuit pred. Episcopi, LXXV. solidos, qui ad ipsum dominum Regem pertinebant ratione custodie pred.; et quod Comes Norfolc. et Mareschall. domini Regis Anglie qui nunc est, post mortem pred. Episcopi seisire fecit in manum suam manerium de Macherne in Netherwente, et proficua ejusdem manerii et exitus cepit: set cum idem tam frater domini Regis quam Comes Norff. per ipsum Malcolomum requisiti fuerint, pred. Comes Norff. seisinam ejusdem manerii ipsi Ma[l]colomo liberare fecit cum omnibus inde perceptis tempore seisine sue etc. Et eciam

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pred. Edmundus frater domini Regis pred. LXXV. solidos ipsi Ma[l]colomo fecit liberare, etc.

Et Comes Glouc. et alii veniunt. Et Comes Hereford. bene cognoscit, quod pred. villa de Donestowe post mortem pred. Episcopi seisata fuit in manum suam per ballivos suos, ipso ignorante. Et dicit, quod post seisinam illam Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesie Landauens. protulerunt coram ipso Comite quandam cartam sub nomine cujusdam Humfridi de Boun antecessoris sui quondam Comitis Hereford. factam, qui testabatur, "quod idem Humfridus quondam Comes etc. concessit, dedit, et carta sua pred. confirmavit, Decano et Capitulo Ecclesie Landavensis predictam villam de Donestowe, tenend. sibi et successoribus suis in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam imperpetuum." Propter quod ipse liberare fecit seisinam pred. ville pred. Decano et Capitulo juxta formam carte predicte. Et dicit, quod ipse nichil clamat in predicta villa ratione custodie tempore vacationis pred. Episcopatus. Immo totum jus suum, si quod habeat vel temporibus futuris habere contigerit, hoc totum domino Regi et heredibus suis pro se et heredibus suis concedit, relaxat, et quietum clamat imperpetuum. Ideo predictus Ma[l]colomus custos habeat breve, quod seisure faciat predictam villam in manum domini Regis, nomine custodie predicti Episcopatus; et quod domino Regi de exitibus et proficuis inde provenientes respondeat etc. Et Comes Norfolc. bene cognoscit, quod balliui sui ipso ignorante et sine precepto suo post mortem predicti Episcopi seisiverunt in manum suam predictum manerium de Macherne, et seisinam suam predictam inde per aliquod tempus continuaverunt; set dicit, quod statim postquam predictus Malcolomus petiit seisinam ejusdem manerii nomine domini Regis sibi liberari, quod seisisina illa liberata fuit cum omnibus exitibus et proficuis per ipsum Comitem aut suos tempore seisine sue inde perceptis. Preterea dicit, quod ipse nichil clamat in predicto manerio; nec aliquid habere clamat tempore vacationis predicti Episcopatus vel alio. Ideo predictum manerium remaneat in custodia domini Regis ratione vacationis Episcopatus predicti, etc. Et similiter predictus Edmundus frater domini Regis dicit, quod ipse nichil clamat de cetero in predicto manerio de Loncilio Cressemy nomine custodie tempore vacationis predicti Episcopatus; ideo custodia ejusdem manerii remaneat domino Regi tempore vacationis de cetero, etc. Et Willielmus de Brewose quoad villam de Bishopston dicit, quod revera balliui sui in partibus

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illic, ipso ignorante, predictam villam post mortem predicti Episcopi seisiverunt in manum suam, et per aliquod tempus seisinam illam continuaverunt: ita quod postea Robertus Tynetot veniens in partibus illis intellexit, quod predicta villa esse deberet in manu domini Regis nomine custodie ratione vacationis sedis Episcopatus predicti; et fecit seisire villam illam in manum domini Regis, et homines ipsius Willielmi inde amovit, et tradidit villam illam Willielmo de Brewose juniore tenend., ita quod responderet domino Regi de exitibus et proficiis inde provenientibus. Qui quidem Willielmus junior sic tenet adhuc predictam villam. Preterea dicit, quod antecessores sui temporibus duarum vacationum predicti Episcopatus prox. precedentium fuerunt in seisina predictae ville nomine custodie sede vacante etc. Et hoc paratus est verificare etc. Et ideo Willielmus senior, quesitus si clamet jus in custodia predictae ville sede predicti Episcopatus vacante, dicit, quod de jure illius custodie erga dominum Regem non vult contendere; set petit, quod, si domino Regi et ejus Consilio visum sit quod ipse Willielmus habeat jus in custodia predictae ville predicta sede vacante, quod dominus Rex ut bonus dominus sibi faciat inde quod sibi placuerit. Ideo expectet et sequatur gratiam domini Regis, cum nichil dicat vel ostendat quare predicta custodia de jure sibi pertineat, etc.; et stet interim predicta commissio, etc. Et Comes Glouc. dicit, quod omnes terre et tenementa infra patriam de Glamorgan existentia sunt de dominio suo: ita quod tam custodia terrarum et tenementorum predictorum ad predictum Episcopatum spectantium cum predictam sedem vacare contigerit, quam aliarum terrarum quarumcunque in patria illa, cum custodia contigerit earundem, ad ipsum pertinet ratione domini sui in partibus illis, et ad nullum alium. Et dicit, quod omnes antecessores sui a tempore quo non extat memoria semper habuerunt custodiam predictarum terrarum, et prebendas predictae Ecclesie de Landath sede vacante contulerunt; absque hoc quod dominus Rex vel ejus progenitores unquam aliquam custodiam predictarum terrarum habuerunt, seu prebendas Ecclesie predictae contulerunt: nisi casualiter sic evenisset temporibus retroactis, quod sedes predicti Episcopatus vacasset tempore quo ipse vel aliquis antecessorum suorum Comitum fuit infra etatem et in custodia progenitorum domini Regis; ita quod ipsi progenitores habuerunt inde custodiam, ut custodiam de custodia, ratione minoris etatis ejus seu alicujus antecessorum suorum. Dicit etiam, quod quidam Ricardus de Clare quondam Comes Glouc. pater suus, cujus heres

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ipse est, fuit in seisinâ de predicta custodia predictorum maneriorum tempore vacationis predictæ sedis nuper preterite; et quod ipse post mortem suam, in instanti vacatione predictæ sedis, intravit in custodia predictorum maneriorum ut in jure et hereditate sua; et de quo jure predictus pater suus obiit seiscitus, et non per aliquam occupationem domino Regi factam. Postea apud Kingeschipton, die Lune prox. post festum Sancti Luce Evangeliste anno decimo octavo predicto<sup>a</sup>, Comes Glouc. et Hertford reddidit domino Regi id quod ad ipsum pertinuit de advocacione et custodia Episcopatus predicti, una cum collationibus prebendarum et dignitatum ejusdem tempore vacationis Episcopatus illius, ut jus ipsius domini Regis; prout scriptum ipsius Comitis, quod domino Regi inde fecit, plenius testatur, etc. Et idem dominus Rex postea<sup>b</sup> de gratia sua speciali dedit et concessit pro se et heredibus suis eidem Comiti et Johanne uxori sue karissime filie ipsius domini Regis advocacionem et custodiam Episcopatus predicti cum pertinentiis, habend. et tenend. de se et heredibus suis eisdem Comiti et Johanne, cum collationibus prebendarum et dignitatum Episcopatus illius, singulis temporibus vacationum ejusdem ad totam vitam utriusque eorum Comitis et Johanne; ita quod post decessum ipsorum Comitis et Johanne advocatio et custodia Episcopatus predicti una cum collationibus prebendarum et dignitatum ejusdem temporibus vacationis Episcopatus illius ad ipsum Regem et heredes suos integre revertentur, quæta de heredibus eorundem Comitis et Johanne imperpetuum; salva domino Regi et heredibus suis in singulis vacationibus Episcopatus predicti fidelitate ipsius [quem] in Episcopum ejusdem loci contigerit confirmari: prout carta ipsius domini Regis eisdem Comiti et Johanne inde facta plenius testatur, etc. [Ryley's Placita, pp. 59-62; and in Br. Willis, Llandaff, 124-130.]

<sup>a</sup> Oct. 23, 1290.

<sup>b</sup> Sc. Nov. 2, 1290; above, p. 592. See also a grant of Edw. II., Westminster, March 4, 1311 (in *Dr. James's Collect.* No. 24, pp. 133, 134, *Bodl. Libr.*, from a book belonging to Llandaff Cathedral called *Textus Ecclesie*; and see also Br. Willis, *Llandaff*, 153-159), which, after reciting the suit of Edward I. against Gilbert de Clare the Earl of Gloucester and Hertford aforesaid, and the grant mentioned above in the text (viz. that of Nov. 2, 1290), and adding, that "predicti Comes et Johanna, jamdiu est, dies suas clausurunt extremas;" proceeds to declare, that "Nos, attendentes quæ dampna Ecclesia Landavensis prædicta per vastam et destructionem boscorum et nemorum ac aliorum

ad Episcopatum Landaven. pertinentiam temporibus vacationum ejusdem per escaetores seu alios custodes Episcopatus istius præter nostram et hæredum nostrorum scientiam et voluntatem pati posset, in futurum providentes, concessimus Episcopo et Capitulo prædictæ Ecclesiæ custodiam Episcopatus illius et temporalium quoties vacare contigerit (salvis nobis et hæredibus nostris feodis militum(?)) si quæ teneantur de Episcopatu prædicto et advocacionibus ecclesiarum et escaetis), reddendo nobis et hæredibus nostris pro qualibet vacatione Episcopatus illius si per unum integrum annum duraverit quater viginti et tresdecim libras novem solidos et octo denarios, ad quos Episcopatus loci illius taxare annuatim," etc.

A.D. 1291. The college of Holyhead or Caer Gybi was founded before this year (*Dugd. Mon. VI.* 1475).

A.D. 1291. *March 15, Orvieto, and March 17, Orvieto.* Two Bulls of Pope Nicholas IV. upon the same subject with that of Oct. 7, 1289, also include Wales (*Rymer, I.* 746, 747).

A.D. 1291. *July 14. Bangor<sup>a</sup>. A Diocesan Synod held by Bishop Anian.*

Constitutiones domini Aniani Episcopi Bangoriensis in sinodo sua celebrata in ecclesia beatæ Mariæ de Garthbranan apud Bangoriam, in crastino Sanctæ Margaretæ Virginis, anno millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo primo, sub continuatione et prorogatione dierum tunc sequentium, toto clero diocesis Bangorensis ad hoc convocato. [On the fly-leaf of the *Bangor Pontifical*, and printed in *Br. Willis, Bangor*, 199.]

\* The Constitutions themselves are not entered. The document which precedes the above entry is an Indulgence granted by Anian May 27, 1270. S. Mary's of Garthbranan was at this time the parish church of Bangor, but has been destroyed since the Reformation. For

the Pontifical, given to the cathedral of Bangor by Bishop Ednam in 1485, and restored to it (after being many years lost) by Bishop Humphreys in 1701, but which originally belonged to Bishop Anian, see *Maskell, Mon. Rit. Ecol. Angl., I.* Dissert. CXV. sq.

A.D. 1291. *Annualis Valor omnium et singularum Possessionum et Reventionum, tam Spiritualium quam Temporalium, omnium et singulorum Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum, Abbatum et Priorum; anno 18 Edw. I.<sup>a</sup>* (commonly called the *Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.*)—[Published by Record Commission 1802.]

Ecclesia Assavensis, pp. 285-290 (and in *Br. Willis, S. Asaph, Append. XXIII.*).

Ecclesia Bangorensis, pp. 290-294 (and *id., Bangor, Append. IX.*).

Ecclesia Landavensis, pp. 278-285.

Ecclesia Menevensis, pp. 272-277.

\* This title is from Bishop Moore's MS. copy in Cambridge University Library, as quoted by Browne Wilks; who however prints the returns of only two of the Welsh dioceses, S. Asaph and Bangor. The Record Commission prints the whole *in extenso*, and from the original MS.;

under the title of "*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, auctoritate P. Nicolai IV. c. A.D. 1291.*" It appears by the Contents of the *Lb. Rub. Assav.*, that the previous so-called Norwich Taxation of A.D. 1254 included certainly the diocese of S. Asaph.



A.D. 1293. Feb. 5 × May 17. *Temporalities of S. Asaph belong to the Crown "sede vacante."*

PLACIT. PARLIAM. 21 EDW. I.—Johannes de Warenn. Comes Surr. et Sussex supplicavit domino Regi, quod, cum idem dominus Rex terras de Bromesfeld cum omnibus suis pertinenciis eidem Comiti concessisset et dedisset tenendas sibi et heredibus suis cum omnibus juribus et libertatibus ad easdem terras pertinentibus adeo libere et quiete sicut domini terrarum illarum terras illas antequam conquestebantur per ipsum Regem tenuerunt; et cum domini illi ante conquestum illarum terrarum omni tempore vacationis Episcopatus de Sancto Assaph custodiam omnium terrarum et tenementorum infra dominium de Bromesfeld existentium et ad predictum Episcopatum pertinentium habuerunt et habere consueverunt; et cum sedes dicti Episcopatus jam sit vacans, propter quod custodia terrarum et tenementorum infra dominium de Bromesfeld existentium et ad Episcopatum predictum spectantium, durante vacatione predicta, ad ipsum Comitem pertinet, prout ad alios dominos de Bromesfeld hactenus pertinuit;—quod dominus Rex custodiam earundem terrarum et tenementorum infra dominium suum predictum existentium et ad Episcopatum predictum spectantium, et que terre et tenementa per mortem ultimi Episcopi loci predicti seisisita fuerunt in manum domini Regis, sibi velit reddere, etc. Ad quam supplicationem per ipsum dominum Regem et Consilium suum unanimiter est concordatum et responsum, quod custodie omnium terrarum et tenementorum ubicumque existentium ad Episcopatum aliquos [pertinentium et] infra regnum suum existentium tempore vacationis eorundem Episcopatum ad ipsum dominum Regem ratione corone et dignitatis sue pertinent, ut de jure corone sue, et non ad alium; licet terre aut tenementa aliqua eisdem Episcopatibus pertinentia infra libertatem seu dominium aliorum fuerint seu extra. Et licet domini terrarum de Bromesfeld aliquo tempore vacationis Episcopatus predicti custodiam terrarum et tenementorum ad predictum Episcopatum pertinentium et infra dominium suum existentium usurpaverunt et attraxerunt temporibus aliquorum principum Walliæ super ipsos principes, dominus Rex nunc per conquestum suum terras de Bromesfeld, simul cum aliis terris et tenementis que Dei auxilio conquestus est in partibus predictis et que principes Walliæ tenuerunt, reperquisivit, et corone sue annexit; adeo integre et

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plenarie cum omnibus suis iuribus et libertatibus, sicut terre et tenementa illa corone Anglie annexa fuerunt antequam in manus principum Walliæ devenerunt, et sicut cetera tenementa in regno ubicumque ad quoscumque Episcopatus pertinentia de eadem corona tenentur. Et de iure corone et etiam de communi consuetudine regni custodie omnium terrarum et tenementorum quorumcumque Episcopatum in regno existentium, tempore vacationis eorundem Episcopatum, ad ipsum dominum Regem et non ad alium in regno pertinent. Et licet dominus Rex concederet et daret prefato Comiti terras de Brommesfeld cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, non tamen per hoc intelligendum est, quod dominus Rex dedit et libertates et iura ad coronam et dignitatem suam pertinentia, et que de corona non poterunt seperari; veluti custodiam Episcopatum seu terrarum et tenementorum ad Episcopatus pertinentium. Et similiter, quia Comiti Gloucestræ et aliis clamantibus nuper custodiam quarundam terrarum ad Episcopatum Landaf. existentium<sup>a</sup> et infra dominium suum existentium tempore vacationis ejusdem Episcopatus ad se pertinere, de communi consilio responsum fuit, quod in custodia Episcopatum tempore vacationis eorundem seu terrarum aut tenementorum aliquorum ad eosdem Episcopatus pertinentium, licet infra dominium suum extiterint, nichil clamare potuerunt, propter privilegium regium et corone dignitatem, ad quam specialiter pertinet Episcopatum vacantium custodia; dictum est prefato Comiti Warenn., quod ad istam suam petitionem nichil sibi fiat plus quam aliis fiebat; quia de similibus simile est iudicium etc.<sup>b</sup> [Ryley, *Placita*, 21 *Edw. I.* pp. 119, 120.]

<sup>a</sup> *Leg.* "spectantium," or "pertinentium."

<sup>b</sup> In 1362 Edward the Black Prince claimed the custody of the temporalities of S. Asaph, sede vacante, "quæ ad Cantuariensem metropolim longa consuetudine acquisita spectare, omnium pene tam laicorum quam clericorum in illa diocesi testimonio, Archiepiscopus in iure aliquamdiu cum Principe contendens probavit, causamque obtinuit" (Parker, in *Vita Islip*, quoted by Wharton, *De Episc. Asaph.* p. 337). See also Parker, *ib.* p. 41, ed. Drake. In a memorandum of the rights of the Archbishop "post mortem suffraganeorum suorum" (Cotton. MSS. Vitell. E. 17, ap. Wharton, *A. S.*, I. 88, and Dr. Willis, *S. Asaph*, *Append.* XLV.), it is stated, that, among other sees, "item de Episcopia Assavensi et Bangorensi defunctis idem Archiepiscopus sede plena, et Prior Cantuariensis sede vacante, debet habere palefridos suos cum fræno et sellas et capam pluviam cum capello, et similiter omnia sigilla et annulos suos secundo

meliorez, sicut de aliis Episcopis Provincie Cantuariensis defunctis."

The following appears to have preceded and perhaps caused the claim of the Prince of Wales in 1362:—

A.D. 1357. Oct. 20. *Inquisition whether the Bishop of S. Asaph being consecrated but as yet not having received his temporalities, or the Prince of Wales as Custos of the temporalities of the See, should appoint to the Deanery of S. Asaph, vacant (in this instance) by the promotion of the Bishop.*

Archiepiscopus mittit ad inquirendum de Decanatu Assavensi 13 calend. Novemb. 1357. Inquisitores dicunt, quod Decanatus Assavensis incepit vacare in quindena Michaelis ultima præterita post consecrationem domini Lewelini de Madoc in Episcopum Assavensem; et quod Decanatus ille non est dignitas electiva sed dativa; et quod provisio illius dignitatis hac

## [LICENCE FROM THE CROWN TO ADMINISTER TO A BISHOP'S WILL.]

vice pertinet ad Principem, ratione temporalium Episcopi Assavensis in possessione ejus existentium, vel ad Episcopum Assavensem ratione sue consecrationis, licet ipsorum temporalium a dicto Principe [restitutionem] non habeat: sed ad quem illorum illa provisio pertinet, penitus ignorant. Edwardus Princeps Walliæ præsentat dominum Robertum de Walshum ad Decanatum Assavensem, Octobris 1357 (*Br. Willis, S. Asaph, Append. XXXIII., from Reg. Islip*).

Llywelyn ap Madoc, Dean of S. Asaph, was

elected to the see by the Chapter, but July 19, 1357, provided by the Pope to the see at Avignon, and consecrated also by the Pope and at Avignon. He received the spiritualties from the Archbishop of Canterbury Oct. 13, 1357. And the question then arose, whether he as Bishop, consecrated but not yet having received his temporalities, or the Prince of Wales as Custos of the temporalities until restored, was to present to the vacant Deanery.

A.D. 1293. *Feb. 23. [Derby?]. Licence from the Crown to the Executors of the Will of Anian Bishop of S. Asaph to administer to his goods and chattels*<sup>a</sup>.

Cum Rex per literas suas patentes concessisset bonæ memoriæ A. nuper Assavensi Episcopo defuncto, quod ipse cum sibi liberet libere posset suum condere testamentum, et quod executores testamenti ejusdem Episcopi testamentum hujusmodi debitæ executioni valerent demandare, prout in literis nostris prædictis plenius continetur; mandat Reginaldo de Gray Justiciario Cestriæ, quod executores testamenti ejusdem Episcopi de bonis et catallis, quæ fuerunt ipsius Episcopi in balliva sua die quo obiit, liberam administrationem habere permittat, juxta tenorem literarum prædictarum: accepta tamen sufficiente securitate ab executoribus testamenti illius, de debitis (si quæ idem Episcopus Regi debuit) Regi reddendis. Teste Rege apud Derleye, 23 die Februarii.

Eodem modo mandatum est Roberto de Staundon Justic. Regis North-Walliæ. Teste ut supra. [In *Frynne, Records, III. 572*, from *Fines 21 Edw. I. memb. 23.*]

<sup>a</sup> See below under Oct. 12, 1294.

A.D. 1293. *After April 20. Custody of Temporalities of S. David's, "sede vacante," belongs to the Crown.*

PLACIT. PARLIAM. 21 EDW. PRIM.—Humfridus de Bohun Comes Heref. et Essex supplicavit domino Regi, quod cum bone memorie Thomas Episcopus Menevensis ultimo defunctus quedam maneria de eodem Comite et infra libertatem suam de Breghenowgh tempore suo teneret, quorum custodia ad ipsum Comitem durante vacatione sedis Episcopatus predicti ratione tenure pred. infra dominium suum pertineat et quorum custodiam ballivi ipsius domini Regis in partibus

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illis in manum suam seisiverunt et tenent in exheredationem ipsius Comitis, quod dominus Rex custodiam eorundem maneriorum sibi reddere velit. Propter quod dominus Rex, habito super hoc tractatu diligenti cum Consilio suo, per testimonium fide dignorum tam de Consilio suo quam aliorum intellexit, quod pred. Episcopus dum vixit omnino deadvocavit, tam maneria que sunt de Episcopatu pred. infra pred. libertatem, quam alibi ubicumque, de alio quocumque tenere preterquam de domino Regis et her. suis ut de corona. Et si dominus Rex custodiam maneriorum illorum que sunt infra libertatem pred. Comitis pred. ei modo liberaret, sic Ecclesiam pred., quam idem dominus Rex sede vacante in omnibus tenetur conservare illesam et jura et libertates suas contra quoscumque defendere, in servitutum redigeret; maxime cum prefatus Episcopus dum vixit maneria illa de eodem Comite tenere deadvocavit. Et similiter, cum custodia Episcopatum maneriorum et terrarum et aliorum quorumcumque ad Episcopatus spectantium est de jure corone et ratione prerogative et dignitatis sue ad ipsum dominum Regem et non ad alium pertinet, concordatum est quod pred. Comes quoad istam suam supplicationem nichil capiat, etc.\* [Ryley, *Placita*, p. 128.]

\* As in the case of Llandaff, the custody of the temporalities of S. David's, *sede vacante*, was ultimately leased by the Crown to the Chapter of S. David's at an annual rent (*Grant to Precentor and Chapter of S. David's of lease of temporalities during vacancy*, Pat. 51 Edw. III. p. 1. memb. 17, A.D. 1377, and 12 Ric. II. p. 2. memb. 16, A.D. 1389).

For Llandaff, see above, p. 596; for S. Asaph (where the case was different), above, p. 599.

For Bangor, there is a writ of Edw. III., dated at New Sarum, Oct. 26, 1327, to enquire into the right claimed by the Dean and Chapter of Bangor to half the profits of the see during a vacancy, and if that right is established, to deliver such half to them; addressed to John de Cheverdon, the King's Escheator in North Wales (*Rot. Claus. 2 Edw. III. memb. 3*, in *Br. Willis, Bangor, Append. XIV. pp. 214, 215*).

A.D. 1293. May 8. Westminster. Mandate to Justiciary of North Wales to seize the Temporalities of S. Asaph into the King's hand, "*sede vacante*."

REX etc. Multum miratur, nec immerito movetur, de eo quod Robertus de Staundon Justiciarius suus Northwall., post mortem bonæ memoriæ Aniani nuper Episcopi de Sancto Assaph., temporalia Episcopatus ejusdem tam infra terram Henrici de Lascy Com. Lincoln. de Dynbegh, quam alibi infra ballivam suam existencia, in manum Regis non cepit; maxime cum ex hoc coronæ et regiæ dignitati futuris temporibus præjudicium manifestum per hujusmodi negligentiam et incuriam de facili poterit imminere. Rex igitur,

[CONFIRMATION BY CHAPTER OF CANTERBURY, "SEDE ARCHIEP. VACANTE," OF BISHOP ELECT.]

hujusmodi præjudicium et periculum vitare volens, prædicto Justiciario mandavit, firmiter injungens, quod statim visis litteris suis omnia temporalia Episcopatus prædicti, tam infra terram prædicti Comitis quam alibi infra ballivam suam existencia, sine dilacione capiat in manum Regis; ita quod de exitibus inde provenientiibus a die mortis prædicti Episcopi usque ad diem ad quem breve Regis venerit et liberatum fuerit, de prædictis temporalibus electo loci prædicti liberandis, ad scaccarium Regis plenarie respondere possit. Et hoc, sicut grave dampnum vitare voluerit, nullo modo omittat. Teste Rege apud Westm., 8 die Maii<sup>a</sup>. [In *Prynne, Records, III.* 571, from *Fines 21 Edw. I. memb. 16.*]

<sup>a</sup> Leoline de Bromefield was consecrated to the see of S. Asaph May 17, 1293.

A.D. 1293. May 9. Canterbury. Confirmation of Llywelyn Bishop elect of S. Asaph by the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury, "sede Archiepisc. vacante."

HENRICUS, PERMISSIONE DIVINA, etc., *veneranda discretionis viro magistro Lewelino de Bromfeld Assaven. electo*, salutem, et prospere procedere in jugo Domini. Cum electionem nuper factam in Ecclesia Assaven. de persona vestra in ejusdem ecclesiæ Episcopum et pastorem, præsentatam nobis ex parte capituli ejusdem Ecclesiæ, quam diligenter examinatam invenimus per omnia rite et canonice celebratam, auctoritate Ecclesiæ nostræ Cantuar. metropolitice duximus confirmandam; vobis plenam spiritualium totius Assaven. dioc. administrationem concedimus per præsentem, sperantes, Deo propitio, quod sub regimine vestro pax prospera et tranquillitas tam in clero quam populo vobis subdito vigeant jugiter circumquaque. Dat. in capitulo nostro, 7 idus Maii, anno Dom. M.CC.XCIII. [*Wilk., II.* 195, from *Reg. H. Prior. Cant.* fol. 45 a; and also in *Lib. Rub. Assav.*, and in *Prynne, III.*]

A.D. 1293. May 16. Canterbury. Commission of Prior and Chapter of Canterbury for the consecration of Llywelyn of S. Asaph, and of the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

*Venerabili in Christo patri domino R. Dei gratia London. Episcopo*,  
HENRICUS PERMISSIONE EJUSDEM PRIOR ECCLESIE CHRISTI CANTUAR.

[CONSECRATION OF THE SAME CHAPTER TO CONSECRATE.]

ET EJUSDEM LOCI CAPITULUM, salutem in Eo, Qui est omnium salus vera. Ut venerandis viris magistris W. de Marchia Bathon. et Wellen., et Lewelino de Bromfeld Assaven. Ecclesiarum electis, in Ecclesia nostra Cantuar. die Dominico in festo Pentecostes, anno Dom. M.CC.XCIII., vice et auctoritate nostra et Ecclesiæ nostræ Cantuar. metropoliticæ, sede Cantuar. vacante, munus consecrationis canonice possitis impendere; specialem vobis concedimus et committimus tenore præsentium potestatem. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus literis sigillum capituli nostri duximus apponendum. Dat. in capitulo nostro, 17 cal. Junii, anno Domini supradicto. [Wilk., II. 195, from the same; also in *Lib. Rub. Assav.*]

A.D. 1293. Nov. 1. *Westminster. Licence from Crown to the Prior of Beddgelert to elect a Prior before the Justiciary of North Wales in place of the King in person.*

REX, *fideli et dilecto suo Roberto de Stanndon Justiciario suo North Wall.*, salutem. Accedens ad nos dilectus nobis in Christo frater Hugo, canonicus Prioratus Vallis beatæ Mariæ de Bethkelerd, nobis ex parte Supprioris et Conventus ejusdem Prioratus supplicavit, quod, cum Ecclesia sua prædicta per cessionem fratris Philippi nuper Prioris ejusdem loci pastoris sit solacio destituta, alium sibi eligendi in Priorem et pastorem eis licenciam concedere dignaremur. Nos, pro eo quod præfatus canonicus literas patentes sigillo Capituli Prioratus illius signatas et vacationem dictæ domus testificantes nobis non detulit, ut moris est, petitioni suæ nullatenus annuentes, set paupertati ejusdem domus compacientes et eis gratiam volentes facere specialem, vobis dedimus potestatem, quod, cum præfatus Hugo seu alius canonicus dictæ domus ad vos accesserit ex parte prædictorum Supprioris et Conventus cum literis patentibus sigillo Capituli sui signatis, juxta formam transcripti quod vobis mittimus sub pede sigilli nostri conceptis, hujusmodi licenciam petiturus, eisdem Suppriori et Conventui licenciam illam nostro nomine concedetis; ita quod, cum electus ille in forma debita vobis postmodum fuerit præsentatus, electioni de ipso factæ assensum regium vice nostra præbeatis, significantes loci diocesano, quod id quod suum est in hac parte exequatur. Volumus eciam et vobis tenore præsentium damus potestatem, quod, si contingat electionem hujusmodi per loci diocesani canonice confirmari, tunc accepta ab ipso electo fidelitate in

[PRAYERS OF THE CHURCH FOR THE KING GOING INTO FRANCE.]

casu isto nobis debita in hac parte restituatis temporalia, etc. In cujus, etc. Teste Rege apud Westm., primo die Novembris. [In *Prymne, Records, III.* 572, from *Pat. 21 Edw. I. memb. 3.*]

A.D. 1294. Feb. 14. *S. Alban's. Letter of Edward I. to the Archbishop of York and other Bishops, requesting their prayers and those of their flocks for the King about to pass over into France.*

[For the document, see under the English Church, and in *Rymer, I.* 796. "Consimiles litteræ diriguntur ..... Assaven. Episcopo, ..... Bangor. Episcopo, custodi Episcopatus Landavensis sede vacante, M. Meneven. electo." See also below under A.D. 1295, May 4. A letter to the like effect, but referring not to France but to the troubles of the kingdom generally, sent to the General of the Order of Franciscans, Nov. 23, 1294, Worcester, is in *Rymer, I.* 815. And similar letters occur continually during the reign of Edward I.]

A.D. 1294. Oct. 12. Licentia per Edw. Regem concessa Leolino Episcopo Assav. ad condendum testamentum, dat. 12 Oct. anno regni sui 22. [Contents of *Lib. Rub. Assav.*, in *Peniarth MSS.* 26, and in *Nichols.*]

A.D. 1294. Dec. 8. Letters of Protection to Anian, custos of the spiritualties of Llandaff. [*Pat. 23 Edw. I.*]

A.D. 1294. *The Bishops of S. Asaph entitled to the Goods and Chattels of persons dying intestate within their demesne.*

Lewelinus Episcopus Assavensis attachiatus fuit ad respondendum domino Regi, quanta bona et catalla quorumcunque intestatorum decedentium in Cantred de Englefield domino Regi pertinentia occupet. Idem Episcopus bona et catalla cujusdam Madoci ap Philip, qui obiit intestatus, ad valentiam IIIJ. librarum in Cantredo predict. inventa, et domino Regi pertinentia, cepit absque aliquo warranto, in contemptum domini Regis. Tandem per sacramentum VII. virorum, etc., compertum fuit, quod predictus Lewelinus Episcopus, a tempore quo in Episcopatu Ecclesiæ Assavensi ordi-

[BISHOPS OF SALAZAR ENTITLED TO GOODS OF PERSONS DYING INTTESTATE, ETC.]

natus exstitit, omnia bona et catalla quorumcunque decedentium intest. infra terras et dominium Episcopatus inventa semper hucusque habere consuevit; et inde invenit Ecclesiam suam seisitam, etc.: et omnes antecessores sui Ecclesiæ prædictæ, ut de jure, etc., bona et catalla infra terras et dominium Episcopatus inventa, ex tempore quo non exstat memoria, tam temporibus Principum quam Regum, habuerunt absque alicujus calumpnia; quousque Paulinus Poyner, nuper Constabularius Castri de Rudlan, — re Tibbotrus nuper Justiciarius Cestriæ, bona et catalla predicti Madoci in terra Comitum Lincoln., etc. Ideo concessum est, quod Episcopus predictus habeat bona predicti Madoci et aliorum intestatorum infra dominium Episcopi, etc., salvo jure domini Regis<sup>b</sup>.

*Furatum nomina.*

David ap Richard Blethyn ap Ithael ap Madoc Kenwrdwy.

Jor. Vychan ap Jervase ap David.

Heylin ap Jor. ap Gwallanks.

Jor. Vychin ap Jor. ap Ithael.

Ken Vychan de Halkyn Tydor ap Heilyn.

Griffith ap Gorou.

Eynon Lloyd ap Heilyn.

Robert Goch Gorou ap Pledui. [*Br. Willis, S. Asaph, Append.*XXVIII., from the *Placita Quo Warranto* 22 Edw. I. c]

<sup>a</sup> Apparently meant for "Robertus de Tibetot." Br. Willis is responsible, both for this, and for the Welsh names below.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 512, § 2.

<sup>c</sup> Bishop Anian of Bangor in 1298 preferred the complaint following:—"Monstrat Episcopus Bangor. suo illustrissimo domino, domino Edwardo Dei gratia Regi Angliæ, quod ipse sentit se et libertatem Ecclesiæ gravatum in articulis subscriptis. Primo, quod non creditur literis suis de testamento probatis coram ipso seu officiali suis. Secundo, de mortuariis et vestibus et palefridis decedentium ab intestato, tam clericorum quam laicorum; de quibus habere consuevit temporibus retroactis. Tertio, de excommunicationis capiendis, viz. quod excommunicati capiuntur de cetero, sicut capi consueverunt temporibus principum maxime Wallensium. Quarto, quod quidam ministri vestri male observant cartas libertatum quas vestra magnifica benevolentia eidem Episcopo et Ecclesiæ sue concessit.

Quinto, quod Vicecomes de Caernarvon prohibuit, quod homines vestri venirent ad mercatum suum apud Bangor ad vendendum aut emendum mercaturas, sicut facere consueverint. Et quia idem Episcopus est senex et valetudinarius, nec habet ad aliud refugium nisi ad Deum et ad vos, petit de salute anime vestre super hiis et articulis aliis per vestram benignam dominationem remedium adhiberi. Petit etiam, quod homines sui habeant communem pasturam in terris vestris; sicut habere consueverunt temporibus principum. Item petit, quod officiales sui non impediuntur facere correccionem in villis vestris novis apud Conwey, Caernarvon, et Bellum Mariscum, et aliis villis; sicut hactenus fecerunt, et adhuc facient, licet aliqui ministri vestri minantur eisdem" (*Br. Willis, Bangor Append.*, X. 210, 211; and *Prymme, Records*, III. 811: ex *Bundela Petitionum in Turri Londin. de annis 26 et 27 Edw. I.*).



A.D. 1295. Feb. 6. *Aberconway. Robert Archbishop of Canterbury to Llywelyn Bishop of S. Asaph.*

Excommunicate  
Madoc and his  
followers, and in-  
terdict his land,  
if they do not  
desist from war  
within eight  
days.

ROBERTUS PERMISSIONE DIVINA CANT. ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMAS, *venerabili in Christo fratri L. Dei gratia Assaueu. Episcopo*, salutem, et sinceram in Domino charitatem. Applicantes nuper in Angliam, Deo duce, vehementis admirationis spiritu conturbati clamosa insinuatione intelleximus, qualiter Maddocus, filius Lewelini, principatum Walliæ obripere satagens, et innumeri sui complices et fautores, natione Wallenses, sese in angelos Satanæ transformantes, furoris audacia debacchati, adversus magnificum principem dominum E. Dei gratia illustrem regem Angliæ regnumque ipsius, fallaci dolos ingenio continuantes, conspirationes inierunt, seditiones clanculo concitaverunt, et excidia gentis Anglorum jugiter procurarunt. Nos igitur, ob quædam negotia nos et Ecclesiam nostram contingentia, ad præfatum dominum Regem accessimus in partibus Wallicanis, ubi nefanda dictorum grassantium virorum scelera notorie in præmissis didicimus esse vera, et quotidianis deliramentis funestas manus suas extendere satagunt ad pejora. Aliena siquidem occupant et invadunt, vastant prædia, possessiones diripiunt, villas et castra atque domos demoliuntur et incendunt; in christos Domini, præsertim natione Anglos, inhumaniter irruunt, et ipsos passim et absque delectu conditionis, sexus, aut ætatis, temporum etiam, aut locorum, variis generibus flagitiorum trucidant pariter et affligunt, et ultimo supplicio addicunt insontes; in insidiosis nemorum abditis nunc latitando, nunc velut depopulatores agrorum hac et illac vagando, nunc hostilibus aggressibus, tanquam stratores seu stratilites publici, strages, ut præmittitur, perpetrando: et ut compendioso stylo illud quod dolentes referimus perstringamus, nihil salubrius nihilque jucundius ipsos arbitrari constanter asseritur in hac vita, quam, Dei timore postposito, contra naturalem æquitatem Anglorum saluti insidiari, et eorum sanguinem effundere machinari; sicut patrati sceleris modernis temporibus evidentia manifestat, et ipsa occisorum per eos cadavera certa prætendunt indicia, quæ, sicut nostris conspeximus oculis, per loca diversa putrescunt etiam inseputa, et cœli volatilibus et terræ reptilibus exponuntur dilaceranda, et absque debita humano generi reverentia miserabiliter devoranda.

## [EXCOMMUNICATION OF MADOC.]

Nolentes igitur, sicut nec debemus, tanta Dei et hominum offendicula sub dissimulationis et conniventiae chlamyde pertransire, quin pastoralis officii nostri debitum efficaciter prosequamur, cum multis grassantibus opus pene sit exemplo, ne oberrantium in deviis, quos ad viam revocare tenemur, sanguis a nobis in tremendo iudicio per districtum Iudicem requiratur; vobis in virtute sanctae obedientiae et sub poena distractionis canonicae firmiter injungimus et mandamus, quatenus praefatos Maddocum nominatim, et caeteros suos complices et fautores, viros utique sceleratissimos, degeneres, et deliros, quos non est dubium ratione praemissorum ipso facto in majoris excommunicationis sententiam damnabiliter incidisse, sic excommunicatos esse publice et solenniter nuncietis, et denunciari faciatis, adhibita cautela, si qua vos terreant, competente. Moneatis insuper seu moneri faciatis infra octo dies a tempore receptionis praesentium dictos Maddocum nominatim et caeteros complices et fautores in genere, secunda et tertia monitione (et [id] pro termino peremptorio assignamus, et per vos volumus assignari), ut a seditio-nibus, conspiracybus, machinationibus, homicidiis, incendiis, demolitionibus, et rapinis, praefati Regis et regni inquietationibus, pacis et tranquillitatis ejusdem perturbationibus, omnino desistant; fidem et fidelitatem, quam quandoque praefato domino Regi promiserant, praestito juramento, inviolabiliter observare studeant in futurum; de commissis omnibus et singulis, quae ut praemisimus in se censentur gravissima, quatenus facti et naturae impossibilitas non repugnant, satisfacere studeant competenter; et ut excessus suos tam notorios tamque manifestos humiliter agnoscendo, pacem atque veniam [consequantur<sup>a</sup>], maxime cum quorundam per eosdem patratorum scelerum dispendia in hac vita nequeant totaliter resarciri: sub poena excommunicationis majoris, quam nominatim in praefatum Maddocum, ac caeteros complices et fautores in genere, necnon interdicti, quod in personas eorundem eodem modo proferimus, et cui interdicto totam terram Walliae sibi adharentem ex nunc ut ex tunc supponimus in his scriptis; si monitionibus vestris, necnon nostris in omnibus suis articulis, quantum est possibile, non paruerint, seu si eas infra tempus praedictum contradixerint, aut neglexerint totaliter adimplere. Si vero infra praedictum tempus non parendo, sententias excommunicationis et interdicti incurrerint memoratas, saepe dictum Maddocum nominatim, et omnes suos complices et fautores in genere auctoritate nostra excommunicatos et interdictos, necnon

[COMMISSION TO ABSOLVE MADOC, ETC. UPON SUBMISSION.]

totam terram Walliæ sibi adhærentem suppositam esse ecclesiastico interdicto, baptismo parvulorum et pœnitentiis morientium duntaxat exceptis, publice et solenniter denunciatis, et denunciari faciatis, locis et temporibus consuetis<sup>b</sup>; ut homines, qui variis flagitiorum generibus in Deum delinquant, variis pœnarum acrimoniis percellantur: ut sic, quos Dei timor a malo non revocat, saltem ecclesiasticæ et condignæ coerceant disciplinæ. De die vero receptionis præsentium, et monitionis per vos factæ, et quid feceritis in præmissis, nos per literas vestras patentes, harum seriem continentes, ubicunque fuerimus in civitate, dioc., vel provincia Cantuar., absque moræ dispendio aperte et distincte curetis reddere certiores. Valete. Dat. apud Aberkunwey, 8 idus Febr. A.D. M.CC.XCIV.<sup>c</sup> consecrat. nostræ primo. [*Wilk., II. 202, from Reg. Wimbelsley, fol. 159 a.*]

<sup>a</sup> Some such word must have dropped out in the MS.

<sup>c</sup> i. e. 1295. Wilkins has been misled into antedating the document by a year.

<sup>b</sup> "consuetis," is apparently added by Wilkins.

A.D. 1295. [*Probably in February or March.*] *Commission of Robert Archbishop of Canterbury to absolve Madoc or his adherents if they submit to the King.*

Commission to absolve and remove interdict upon submission. ROBERTUS, PERMISSIONE DIVINA, etc., *tali* ..... salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Cum nos nuper, ex officii nostri debito procedentes, Maddocum filium Lewelini nominatim, et in genere suos complices, tanquam pacis et tranquillitatis domini nostri Edwardi, Dei gratia illustris Regis, et regni Angliæ, injuriosos et notorios (ut nulla tergiversatione celari poterit) perturbatores et principatus Walliæ illicitos usurpatores seu invasores, majoris excommunicationis sententia involutos fuisse, nostris literis, in Wallia et extra Walliam fecerimus nunciari; necnon canonica monitione præmissa sub certa forma, si monitionibus nostris non paruerint, eosdem Maddocum nominatim, et cæteros suos complices in genere, excommunicavimus et interdiximus, atque sic excommunicatos et interdictos denunciari fecimus, justitia exigente; totamque terram Walliæ, præfato Maddoco adhærentem, ecclesiastico supposuimus interdicto: attendentes quod Ecclesia sancta Dei nulli claudit gremium redeunti, ut<sup>a</sup> præfatos Maddocum et cæteros suos complices fautores in præmissis, postquam ad pacem præfati domini Edwardi, illustris Regis Angliæ, venerint, et ad eam plene per eum et ex certa scientia admissi fuerint, a sententiis excommunicationum prædictarum absolvendi; necnon interdictum, quantum

[COMMISSION TO ABSOLVE MADOC, ETC. UPON SUBMISSION.]

ad personas eorum attinet, in forma juris relaxandi; vobis tenore præsentium committimus vices nostras. Proviso tamen, quod excommunicationum prædictarum absolutionem vel interdicti relaxationem hujusmodi ad personas alias, quam ut præmissum est, nullatenus extendatis. Quod si secus factum fuerit, prout est, et erit, et ex abundanti irritum decernimus et inane. Et nihilominus interdicti, in ipsam terram Walliæ auctoritate nostra positi, relaxationem nobis adhuc specialiter reservamus. Commissionibus vero alii vel aliis per nos in præmissis factis communiter aut divisim non intendimus per præsentem commissionem aliquammodo derogare; [et] si quid auctoritate nostra per quemcunque seu quoscunque conjunctim vel divisim factum fuerit, in hac parte ratum habemus et habebimus, et inviolabiliter volumus observari. Datum, etc. [*Wilk.*, II. 203, from *Reg. Winchelsey*, fol. 159 b.]

<sup>a</sup> "ut," it seems, should be omitted.

A.D. 1295. *March 3.* [*Leek?*]. *Llywelyn Bishop of S. Asaph to Robert Archbishop of Canterbury.*

We have pro-  
claimed your  
mandate accord-  
ing to your let-  
ter.

*Venerabili in Christo patri, et domino suo reverendo, domino R. Dei gratia Cant. Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati, SUUS, SI PLACET, CAPELLANUS L. EJUSDEM PER-*

MISSIONE ASSAVEN. ECCLESIAE MINISTER HUMILIS, salutem et omnimodam obedientiam cum reverentia et honore. Dominationis vestræ literas Dominica in Quinquagesima<sup>a</sup> recepimus, sub eo, qui sequitur, tenore: ROBERTUS, PERMISSIONE DIVINA CANT. ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMAS, *venerabili in Christo fratri L. Dei gratia Assaven. Episcopo*, salutem et sinceram in Domino charitatem. Applicantes nuper in Angliam, etc. ut supra. Quoniam igitur propter dicti Maddoci potentiam ad ipsius præsentiam, vel in terras sibi adhærentes, nobis aut nostris nullus patebat accessus; præsens mandatum vestrum cum omni diligentia secundum sui formam et tenorem in locis vicinis, viz. apud Oswaldestre, Bolam, Wrichesham, Mohant, et Kayrws<sup>b</sup>, diebus solennibus, astante fidelium multitudine copiosa, sumus personaliter executi. Dat. apud La Lec<sup>c</sup>, V. non. Martii, A.D. superius annotato<sup>d</sup>. [*Wilk.*, II. 203, from *Reg. Winchelsey*, fol. 159 b; and in *Br. Willis, S. Asaph, Append. XXIV.*]

<sup>a</sup> Feb. 13, 1295.

<sup>b</sup> Sc. Oswestry, Welchpool ("Polam" in *Br. Willis*), Wrexham, Mold, and Caerwys.

<sup>c</sup> So printed by Wharton.

<sup>d</sup> See below also on p. 620.

[PAPAL PROVISION TO THE SEE OF LLANDAFF.]

*Appointment of Bishop of Llandaff by Papal Provision. Custody of Temporalities, "sede vacante," belongs to the Crown.*

I. A.D. 1295. March 5. Croydon. Robert Archbishop of Canterbury to Edward I. King of England.

By virtue of a Papal provision dated at Aquila Oct. 2, 1294, we have appointed John of Monmouth to the see of Llandaff, and confirmed him. Restore him the temporalities of the see.

*Magnifico principi domino Edwardo, Dei gratia illustri Regi Angliæ, Domino Hiberniæ, et Duci Aquitaniæ, R. PERMISSIONE DIVINA CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMAS, salutem in Eo per Quem Reges regnant et principes dominantur. Cum nuper essemus apud sedem Apostolicam personaliter constituti, et ejusdem sedis auctoritate confirmati ac etiam consecrati ac palleati, sanctissimus pater noster Cælestinus Papa quintus, audito et intellecto quod cathedralis Ecclesia Landavensis metropolitico nobis jure subjecta diuturno tempore permansit pastoris regimine destituta, ita quod ejus provisio secundum Generalis statuta Concilii ad dictam sedem extitit legitime devoluta, volens eandem Ecclesiam, quæ ex hujusmodi vacatione diutina gravia sustinuit in spiritualibus et temporalibus detrimenta, a dispendiis a prolixiore vacatione imminentibus preservare, ordinationem ipsius Ecclesiæ Landavensis hac vice nobis duxerat committendam; concedendo nobis potestatem proficiendi eidem Ecclesiæ personam idoneam, quæ tanto congruat oneri et honori, in Episcopum et pastorem. Tenorem autem mandati Apostolici in hac parte de verbo in verbum præsentibus duximus inserendum:—*

CÆLESTINUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, *venerabili R. Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi*, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Militanti Ecclesiæ disponente Domino licet immeriti presidentes, circa curam omnium Ecclesiarum solertia reddimur indefessa solliciti, ut juxta pastoralis officii debitum commissi nobis gregis Dominici curam utiliter gerere (Divina cooperante clementia) studeamus; et quam assidue circa singularum commoda vigilemus, tamen erga illa quæ deplorant viduitatis incommoda propensiori cura et majori propulsamur instantia, ut eis preficiamus viros et secundum cor nostrum idoneos in pastores. Sane ad audientiam Apostolatus nostri pervenit, quod cathedralis Ecclesia Landavensis, metropolitico tibi jure subjecta, per septennium jam permansit et adhuc permanet pastoris regimine destituta; propter quod ejus provisio ad sedem Apostolicam

[PAPAL PROVISION TO THE SEE OF LLANDAFF.]

est secundum Generalis statuta Concilii legitime devoluta. Nos igitur, volentes eandem Ecclesiam, quæ gravia ex hujusmodi vacatione sustinuisse dicitur in spiritualibus et temporalibus detrimenta, per nostræ providentiæ studium a dispendiis sibi ex prolixiori vacatione imminuentibus preservare, ac cupientes illum eidem Ecclesiæ præesse pontificem per quem [in<sup>a</sup>] utrisque (Deo auctore) valeat salubriter gubernari, gerentes quoque de [tuæ<sup>b</sup>] circumspectionis industria fiduciam in Domino plenior, Fraternitati tuæ ordinationem ipsius Ecclesiæ hac vice tenore præsentium duximus committendam; concedentes tibi preficiendi eidem Ecclesiæ personam idoneam, quæ tanto congruat oneri et honori, in Episcopum et pastorem, ac faciendi eidem personæ a capitulo ipsius Ecclesiæ et clero et populo civitatis et diocesis Landavensis aliisque suis subditis humiliter obedire, necnon et contradictores super hoc (si qui fuerint) vel rebelles per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compescendi, plenam et liberam autoritate Apostolica potestatem. Dat. Aquile, 6 non. Octobris pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Nos igitur, cupientes debito devotionis obsequio mandatis Apostolicis obedire et ea executioni debitæ mancipare, ad magistrum Johannem de Monemuta, Canonicum Lincolnix, doctorem in Theologia, multiplicibus virtutum præmiis insignitum, in spiritualibus et temporalibus circumspectum, nostræ considerationis aciem convertentes, de ipso licet tunc absente, eidem Ecclesiæ Landavensi, deliberatione prævia diligenti, ut præmittitur, diutius per mortem bonæ memoriæ Willielmi de Brewes ultimi Episcopi in eadem vacanti, autoritate Apostolica providimus; et ipsum in eadem Ecclesia Landavensi præfeci[mus] in Episcopum et pastorem: sperantes quod eadem Landavensis Ecclesia per ipsius Johannis industriæ et circumspectionis studium præservabitur a noxiis et adversis, et spiritualibus et temporalibus proficiet incrementis. Cumque postmodum nostra provisio et ordinatio supradicta prefato magistro Johanni fuisset notificata loco et tempore oportunis, nolens Divinæ resistere voluntati, quin potius iugo Domini satagens subicere collum suum, provisioni et ordinationi dictæ Ecclesiæ de se factæ pure et expresse consensit, coram nobis personaliter constitutus. Cum itaque (sicut novit Majestatis vestre celsitudo) sit virtutis opus Ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas, presertim pontificali preditas dignitate, benignis prosequi gratia et favore; Serenitatem regiam rogamus attente, quatenus eidem magistro Johanni, quem pro electo

R r 2

[PAPAL PROVISION TO THE SEE OF LLANDAFF.]

et confirmato hinc convenit regiam Majestatem [tenere], regalia seu temporalia ejusdem Ecclesiæ Landavensis, quæ per vos vacationis ejus tempore teneri dicuntur, liberare dignemini; ac ipsum et Ecclesiam predictam sibi commissam sic vobis placeat habere in suis opportunitatibus commendatos, ut vestræ Celsitudinis fultus auxilio, in curæ pastoralis officio sibi commissio possit, Deo propitio, ulterius prosperari; et vobis exinde a Deo perhennis vite premium pervenire. Dat. apud Croyndon, 3 non. Martii, anno Domini 1294<sup>c</sup>, consecrationis nostre primo.—Dorso; Johanni de Langeton Cancellar. suo; per Regem. [Br. Willis, *Llandaff*, 136–140; and Prynn, *Records*, III. 575, 576; ex *Bundela Brevium et Epistolarum in Turri London.* 21<sup>d</sup> *Edw. I.*]

<sup>a</sup> "ut," in MS.

<sup>b</sup> "suse," in MS.

<sup>c</sup> Old style. Celestin V. was consecrated Pope Aug. 29, 1294, and Robert Winchelsey Arch-

bishop of Canterbury Sept. 12, 1294, at Aquila. The latter provided John to Llandaff Oct. 14, 1294 (*Reg. Winchelsey*, ap. *Richardson*).

<sup>d</sup> This obviously should be "23."

II. A.D. 1295. *About March 5. Consent of John of Monmouth to become Bishop of Llandaff<sup>a</sup>.*

IN DEI NOMINE, AMEN. *Ego Job. de Monemuta, Canonicus Lincoln.,* nolens Divinæ resistere voluntati, neque mandatis seu præceptis superiorum meorum licitis et honestis aliquantulum refragari (cum durum sit contra stimulum calcitare) sed iisdem pro fragilitatis meæ viribus humiliter obedire, ad honorem Dei et beatæ Mariæ Virginis et omnium Sanctorum, provisioni de me quamvis minus digno in Episcopum Landav., per venerabilem patrem Rob. Dei gratia Cantuar. Arch. ac auctoritate sedis Apostolicæ nuper factæ, in hiis scriptis nolens volens consentio; et collum meum suavi jugo ac servituti Domini in hac parte submittere non formido. [*Reg. Winchelsey*, fol. 160; in *Atterbury's Hist. of Convocation*, p. 608; and in *Br. Willis, Llandaff*, p. 142.]

<sup>a</sup> As referred to in the preceding letter.

III. A.D. 1295. *April 4. Aberconway. Edward I. King of England to Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hertford.*

REX, dilecto et fidei suo Gilberto de Clare, Com. Gloucestris et Hertford., salutem. Cum vobis et charissimæ filiz

Deliver the temporalities of the

[TEMPORALITIES OF LLANDAFF, "SEDE VACANTE," BELONG TO THE CROWN.]

see of Llandaff  
now in your  
hands, to John  
of Monmouth,  
provided to that  
see by the Arch-  
bishop of Can-  
terbury, and who  
has sworn fealty  
to us.

nostræ Johannæ consorti vestræ concesserimus custodiam Episcopatus Landaven., necnon et omnium dominiorum et tenementorum ad Episcopatum illum spectantium; et in dominico seu feodo vestro existentium, tempore vacationis Episcopatus ejusdem; habendum vobis et præfatæ filiæ nostræ ad totam vitam vestram tempore illo, salva nobis fidelitate ipsius quem in ejusdem loci Episcopum contigerit confirmari; prout in literis nostris patentibus vobis et præfatæ consorti vestræ inde confectis plenius continetur: ac venerabilis pater R. Cantuariens. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, cathedrali Ecclesiæ Landaven. de venerabili viro magistro Johanne de Monemuth autoritate Apostolica providerit, et ipsum in ejusdem loci præfecerit Episcopum et pastorem; sicut per literas ejusdem Archiepiscopi patentes nobis constat: nos, hujusmodi provisionem et perfectionem acceptantes, cepimus fidelitatem ipsius magistri Johannis, et temporalia Episcopatus prædicti in manu nostra existentia, prout moris est, restituimus eidem. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod temporalia Episcopatus prædicti in dominico seu feodo vestro ex concessione nostra existentia, sicut prædictum est, eidem magistro Johanni sine dilatione liberatis. Teste Rege apud Aberconwey, quarto die Aprilis. [*Prynne*, II. 559; and *Br. Willis*, *Llandaff*, 140, 141: from *Pat. 23 Edw. I. no. 15<sup>a</sup>*.]

\* See also *Rot. Claus. 23 Edw. I., memb. 6 in dorso*.

IV. A.D. 1295. *April 4. Aberconwey. Edward I. King of England to Malcolm de Harley. Also to the Knights, etc. within the See of Llandaff.*

Deliver temporalities of see of Llandaff to John of Monmouth, provided to that see by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and who has sworn fealty to us.

REX, dilecto clerico suo Malculmo de Harley Escaetori suo *citra Trentam*, salutem. Cum venerabilis pater R. Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, cathedrali Ecclesia Landavensi de venerabili viro magistro Johanne de Monemuth providerit, et ipsum in ejusdem loci prefecerit Episcopum et pastorem; sicut per literas ejusdem Archiepiscopi patentes Regi constat: Rex, hujusmodi provisionem et perfectionem acceptans, cepit fidelitatem ipsius magistri Johannis, et temporalia Episcopatus prædicti, prout moris est, restituit eidem. Et ideo mandatum est prefato Malculmo, quod eidem magistro Johanni temporalia Episcopatus prædicti liberet;



[MASS AND LITANIES FOR THE HOLY LAND, ETC.]

sicut predictum est. Teste Rege apud Aberconewey, 4 die Aprilis.—*REX, Militibus etc. de Episcopatu Landaven. etc.* In cujus rei etc. Teste ut supra. [*Br. Willis, Llandaff, 143; and Prymme, Records, III. 635, 636; from Pat. 23 Edw. I. memb. 15<sup>a</sup>.*]

\* Pope Celestine abdicated Dec. 13, 1294. And Robert did not proceed to consecrate John of Monmouth, until he had obtained from the new Pope Boniface VIII. (by letter Oct. 10,

1295) a confirmation of the Papal provision for John (*Reg. Winchelsey, ap. Richardson*); whom he consecrated at length Feb. 10, 1296.

A.D. 1295. May 4. *Slyndon. Robert Archbishop of Canterbury to Anian Bishop of Bangor.*

Cause Masses and Litanyes etc. to be said in all the churches and parishes of your diocese, for the Holy Land, and for the good estate of the King and kingdom.

ROBERTUS, PERMISSIONE DIVINA CANTUAR. ARCHIEPISCOPUS, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMAS, *venerabili fratri domino [Aniano] Dei gratia Bangorensi Episcopo*, salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Nostræ sollicitudinis aciem ad expeditiva peramplius, ut oportet, undique dirigentes, finali remedio congruum et inevitabiliter opportunum esse conspicimus, ut iram Dei, per humana demerita frequenter accensam, mitigari placabilibus hostiis vigilantia studio procuremus: ad quod Divinæ clementiæ promptitudo nos excitat, et instantis temporis indubitata necessitas admonet et inducit; dum, regnis et populis fidei Christianæ per eorum discordias et stragem innumeram mutua prosecutione concussis, præsidium Terræ Sanctæ, in augmentum fidei nostræ a populari potentia, Divino juvamine succedente, speratum, in magna parte minuitur, et animarum periculum indubitatis indiciiis creditur imminere. Viam itaque ad remedia super his procuranda pensantes, præcipuum et primum esse debere perpendimus, ut, delictorum rubigine vigilanter excussa, populus habilitatus ad gratiam devotioni debitæ firmiter applicetur; et, meritoriis actibus subsecutis, charitatem argenteam et fere jam exulem revocari tantaque cessare pericula faciat summus Iudex: ad quod populus ipse per prælatorum suorum debitæ sanctitatis et devotionis exemplum efficacius inducetur. Ut igitur tantæ necessitatis negotium morosa dissimulatione non pereat, sed Ecclesia super his manum, ut convenit, diligenter apponat, viam salubris obsequii in nobis primitus inchoantes, ut convenit, placere Deo virtutum operibus ardenti conamine studeamus. Eoque in nobis affectuose præmisso, Fraternitati vestræ committimus et mandamus, quatenus vestris subditis, tam clero quam populo, diebus et locis, quæ ad id

opportuna videritis, celeriter convocatis, proposito verbo Dei, et expositis quæ præmittuntur periculis in Ecclesia, necessitate urgente, quæ ad remedia super his imploranda jam imminet, tam clerus quam populus ad expiationem excessivam et devotionem congruam excitetur; exponendo eisdem, quæ citra ea, ut inferius tangitur, sunt provisæ. In vestra siquidem cathedrali ecclesia, et singulis collegiatis et parochialibus ecclesiis vestræ diocesis, missam peculiarem pro Terræ Sanctæ subsidio, necnon et pro statu Regis et regni Angliæ, cum officio "Salus populi," et orationibus propriis, ad præmissa faciatis in hebdomada,—quarta viz. et sexta feria, si a festo cum regimine chori vacaverit et aliud impedimentum rationabile non subsistat, alioquin aliis feriis ad hoc aptis,—solenniter celebrari; et tam in ipsis quam aliis feriis, missis de die, festorum duplicium solennitatibus duntaxat exceptis, immediate ante "Pax Domini," presbyteri taliter celebrantes, flexis a clero et populo genibus, psalmos, "Deus venerunt, Deus misereatur, Ad Te levavi," cum precibus et orationibus interclusis, rotunde pronuncient sine nota. In civitatibus etiam et villis mercatis, ac aliis in quibus populi pariter habitantes de facili poterunt convenire, per vicos ejusdem, si id aeris patiatur serenitas, alioquin in ipsis ecclesiis, qualibet sexta feria fiat solennis cum pulsatione campanarum processio; et decantatione solita letaniæ, missa solenni in ecclesia ad id congrua, ut superius tangitur, postea subsecuta. In villis vero campestribus, ubi populus distanter inhabitat, processio similis cum presbytero et ministris ejusdem ac etiam comitiva præsentis, circa cœmeterium, si id tempus patiatur, alioquin in ipsa ecclesia, cum missa sequenti, ut prætangitur, celebretur; et parochiani, qui propter locorum distantiam eidem processioni interesse non poterunt, quarta et sexta feria dicant quinquies, "Pater noster," et "Ave Maria." Presbyteri etiam, diaconi, et subdiaconi, manentes in ipsa parochia non curati, eisdem feriis, si processioni prædictæ interesse non valeant, septem psalmos pœnitentiales, cum letania, aliisque orationibus, quas eorum voluntati relinquimus, dicant humiliter et devote. In vestris etiam oratoriis seu capellis, ut a vobis incipiat devotionis occasio, [cum<sup>a</sup>] missis et cæteris quæ fieri convenit in eis, præmissa fieri faciatis. Religiosos autem exemptos, cujuscunque status vel conditionis existant, ut præmissa in suis ecclesiis similiter faciant, modo, quo convenit, inducatis. Omnibus vero catholicis vere contritis et confessis dictas processiones sequentibus, quadraginta,—psalmos vero pœnitentiales, ut

[MASSS AND LITANIES FOR THE HOLY LAND, ETC.]

supra, dicentibus, viginti,—orationes autem Dominicas, cum salutationibus Virginis gloriosæ prædictis dicentibus, decem,—dies indulgentiæ, singulis vicibus quibus ea sic fecerint, de Dei pietate, et Sux sanctissimæ matris, et S. Thomæ Martyris aliorumque sanctorum meritis confidentes, concedimus gratiose. Memoratam quoque indulgentiam, ad devotionem fidelium excitandam, favorabiliter amplietis, prout vobis Divinitus fuerit inspiratum; pro vestris etiam parochianis ratificantes indulgentias, super his per quoscunque ad id potestatem habentes concessas, ac etiam in posterum concedendas; quas indulgentias, et ratificationem ipsarum, faciatis temporibus et locis congruis publicari: ea omnia tam diligenti conamine et modo laudabili prosequi facientes, ut exinde fructuosus Divina clementia speretur effectus, et vobis cedere valeat ad incomparabile commodum et cumulum meritorum. Presbyteris vero parochialibus schedulæ, præmissorum substantiam, quatenus ad eos et eorum subditos pertinent, continentes, tradantur, prout vestra circumspecta discretio duxerit ordinandum. Valete. Datum apud Slyndon, IV. non. Maii, anno Domini M.CC.XCV. et consecrationis nostræ primo. [From *Reg. Winchelsey*, fol. 167 a; in *Wilk.*, II. pp. 213, 214.]

\* Some such word seems to have dropped out.

A.D. 1295. May 27. Oxford. Collation of a Canonry at Llandaff, by Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, by Papal authority, the See of Llandaff being vacant.

ROBERTUS, PERMISSIONE DIVINA, etc., dilecto filio magistro Simoni de Mepham, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Cum nobis sit ab Apostolica sede gratiose concessa potestas faciendi recipi in singulis ecclesiis nostræ provinciæ cathedralibus et collegiatis singulos clericos in canonicos et in fratres, et providendi eorum cuilibet de præbenda, si vacet, vel quam cito vacaverit, dummodo ex hoc juri alii in eisdem ecclesiis competenti nullum præjudicium generetur; volentes hujusmodi concessionis obtentu tuam honorare personam, canonicatum in Landavensi ecclesia, et præbendam de N. in ea per mortem magistri Philippi de Stanton, nuper canonici et præbendarii præbendæ prædictæ, vacantem, cum plenitudine juris canonici in dicta ecclesia Landavensi, et omnibus ad canoniam et præbendam ipsam spectantibus, tibi etiam auctoritate prædicta conferimus per præsentem. In cujus rei testimonium has literas tibi patentes concedimus,

[INTERCESSION OF KING WITH POPE FOR THE BISHOP OF S. DAVID'S.]

sigilli nostri munimine roboratas. Datum apud Otteford, VI. calend. Junii, anno Domini M.CC.XCV. [From *Reg. Winchelsey*, fol. 179; in *Wilk.*, II. 214.]

A.D. 1295. *August 16. Westminster. Edward I. King of England to Pope Boniface VIII.*

He testifies to the character of David Martin, elect of S. David's, and requests the Pope to favour him.

*Sanctissimo Patri in Christo B. Divina providentia sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ ac universalis Ecclesiæ summo Pontifici, EDWARDUS etc., devota pedum oscula beatorum. Ne personam vel statum dilecti nobis in Christo magistri David Martini Menevensis electi, pro negotio electionis suæ apud sedem Apostolicam constituti, penes dominationem vestram obtenebraverit alicujus sinistra suggestio, ad serenationem vestræ conscientiæ in hac parte vestræ cupimus innotescere Sanctitati, quod prædictus electus, qui de nobili prosapia duxit originem, semper fuit (ut veraciter datum est nobis intelligi) bonæ conversationis et vitæ; cujus progenitores hucusque progenitoribus nostris et nobis laudabiliter servierunt, et ergo nos fideliter se gesserunt. Nos igitur, præfatum electum favore benivolo prosequentes, vestræ clementiæ supplicamus instanter, quatenus eundem electum in negotiis suis hujusmodi nostri contemplatione rogatus habere dignemini favorabiliter commendatum. Conservet vos Dominus ad regimen Ecclesiæ Suæ sanctæ per tempora prospera et longæva. Dat. apud Westm., XVI. die Augusti<sup>a</sup>. [In *Prynne, Records*, III. 635, from *Rot. Claus. 23 Edw. I. memb. 7 dorso*.]*

\* David Martin was consecrated at Rome in December 1296. He had been elected by Congé d'Eslire of May 18, 1293, and his temporalities were restored to him Oct. 11, 1293 (*Writ of Edw. I. to Ralph de Broughton*, in *Prynne*, III. 572, from *Pat. 21 Edw. I.*). But an appeal was entered against his election, on behalf apparently of one David de S. Edmundo,

who was also elected and confirmed to the see in 1293 (*Chron. Oseiens.*). And David Martin was finally elected only upon January 1, 1295 (*Rymer*, and see *Richardson*). His temporalities were again restored to him January 24, 1297 (*Writ of Edw. I. to Robert Dymmock*, *Prynne* 769, *Pat. 25 Edw. I.*, setting forth that the Pope had provided him to the see).

I. A.D. 1295. *Aug. 24. Westminster. Edward I. King of England to Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hertford.*

Surrender the temporalities of Llandaff to John of Monmouth

*REX, dilecto et fideli suo Gilberto de Clare Comiti Gloucestris et Hertfordis, salutem. Cum nuper versus vos erigeremus et vendicaremus advocacionem et custodiam*

[TEMPORALITIES OF LLANDAFT, "SEDE VACANTE," BELONG TO THE CROWN.]

without delay, according to our writ of April 4. Episcopatus Landavensis cum pertinentiis, unâ cum collationibus prebendarum et dignitatum Episcopatus predicti tempore vacationis ejusdem; ac vos postmodum id quod ad vos pertinuit de advocacione et custodia et collationibus prædictis nobis reddideritis per vestras patentes literas, ut jus nostrum: nos, qui postmodum vobis et charissimæ filiæ nostræ Johannæ consorti vestræ concessimus custodiam Episcopatus prædicti necnon omnium terrarum et tenementorum ad Episcopatum illum in dominio et feodo vestro existentium, habendam vobis et eidem filiæ nostræ ad totam vitam vestram tempore vacationis prædictæ, salva nobis fidelitate electi quem in ejusdem loci Episcopum contigerit confirmari (prout in literis nostris patentibus vobis et dictæ consorti vestræ inde confectis plenius continetur); cumque venerabilis pater R. Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus predictæ Ecclesiæ Landavensi de venerabili viro Johanne de Monemuth autoritate Apostolica providerit, et ipsum in ejusdem loci præfecerit in Episcopum et pastorem (sicut per literas patentes ejusdem Archiepiscopi nobis inde directas nobis constat); per quod cepimus fidelitatem ipsius magistri, et temporalia Episcopatus prædicti in manu nostra existentia (prout moris est) restituimus eidem; et vobis mandavimus, quod temporalia Episcopatus prædicti in manu vestra infra dominium et feodum vestrum ex concessione nostra existentia, sicut prædictum est, eidem magistro Johanni sine dilatione liberaretis; quod ad mandatum nostrum hactenus facere distulistis, sicut idem electus nobis suggestit, de quo non modicum miramur; præsertim cum, postquam fidelitatem suam ceperimus, et temporalia illius Episcopatus sibi restituerimus, ut dictum est, nichil in temporalibus predictis ratione concessionis nostræ predictæ ultra mandatum nostrum prædictum, quod inde recepistis, vindicare possitis quomolibet vel habere: vobis iterato mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quod temporalia Episcopatus prædicti, in manu vestra ex concessione nostra in forma prædicta existentia, præfato magistro Johanni, prout alias vobis mandavimus, sine ulteriore dilatione restituatis; taliter vos habentes in hac parte, ne in defectum vestri manum ad hoc aliter apponere debeamus. Teste Rege apud Westm., XXIV. die Augusti. [Br. Willis, Llandaff, 144, 145, from Rot. Claus. 23 Edw. I. memb. 6 dorso.]

II. A.D. 1295. *August 30. Westminster. Record of Surrender and Acknowledgment on the part of Gilbert de Clare, respecting his right in the temporalities of Llandaff, "sede vacante."*

Gilbert de Clare surrenders the temporalities of Llandaff to John of Monmouth, and admits that he and his wife have only a life-interest in them *sede vacante*. Cum electus Landavensis domino Regi sæpius supplicaverat, quod seisinam terrarum et tenementorum que sunt temporalitate Episcopatus predicti sibi reddere faceret, ex quo fidelitatem suam ceperat; et dominus Rex super hoc Gilberto de Clare Comiti Gloucestriæ et Hertfordiæ, cui et Johannæ uxori suæ filiæ ipsius Regis custodiam predicti Episcopatus tempore vacationis ejusdem concessit ad terminum vitæ eorundem Comitis et Johannæ, tam viva voce injunxerat quam per literas suas eidem postea mandaverat, quod seisinam predictarum terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinentiis eidem electo redderet: tandem coram ipso domino Regi in Consilio suo apud Westm. in crastino Decollationis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, anno regni ipsius domini Regis vicesimo tertio, præfatus Comes,—audito scripto suo, per quod prefato domino Regi id quod habuit in advocacione et custodia predicti Episcopatus tempore vacationis ejusdem reddidit [ut] jus suum, et etiam audito tenore scripti, per quod idem dominus Rex postea de gratia sua speciali concessit prædictis Comiti et Johannæ advocacionem et custodiam predicti Episcopatus ad totam vitam utriusque ipsorum Comitis et Johannæ, habendum et tenendum de ipso Rege et hæredibus suis, ita quod post decessum eorundem Comitis et Johannæ [ad dominum Regem et heredes integre revertantur quiete de heredibus eorundem Comitis et Johannæ<sup>a</sup>] in perpetuum, et salva ipsi domino Regi et heredibus suis in singulis vacationibus predicti Episcopatus fidelitate ipsius quem in Episcopum ejusdem loci contigerit confirmari (prout in predicto scripto ipsius Regis eisdem Comiti et Johannæ inde confecto plenius continetur),—concessit, quod seisinam terrarum et tenementorum que sunt temporalitatis predicti Episcopatus, et que in custodia sua fuerunt per concessionem domini Regis predictam, plenarie et integre predicto electo reddet, et habere faciat, ad mandatum ipsius domini Regis<sup>b</sup>. [*Br. Willis, Llandaff, 146, 147; and in Prynnæ, Records, III. 636: from Rot. Claus. 23 Edw. I. memb. 6 dorso.*]

<sup>a</sup> These words, which must have been omitted by the copyist, are supplied from the previous grant, above p. 592.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 596, note <sup>b</sup>.

[REFUSAL OF CLERGY TO PAY TAX OR SUBSIDY TO THE CROWN.]

A.D. 1297. *January* 11. Testimoniale literarum Papæ una cum injunctioe per Rob. Cant. Arch. dat. III. idus Jan. a<sup>o</sup>. 1296<sup>a</sup>. Quarum literarum tenor est inhibitio totius cleri Angliæ, Walliæ, et Scotiæ, ne ullum tribuant sive tributum sive subsidium sive ullam aliam solucionem laicis principibus; una cum excommunicatione omnium laicorum qui tales soluciones vel ullas pecuniarum summas levare vel recipere præsumperint, a<sup>o</sup>. 1296. [*Contents of Lib. Rub. Assav.*, in *Peniarth MSS.* 26, and *Nichols.*]

\* See the "Constitutio Bonifacii VIII. Papæ de non solvendis collectis," as set forth in the letter of Archbishop Winchelsey (of like tenor

to that referred to in the text) to the Bishop of London Jan. 5, 1297 (*Wilk.*, II. 222-224).

A.D. 1297. *Sept.* *Constitutions of Llywelyn Bishop of S. Asaph*<sup>a</sup> (*Contents of Lib. Rub. Assav.* in *Wharton, De Episc. Assav.*).

\* No doubt in a diocesan synod.

A.D. 1305. *February*<sup>a</sup>. [Llywelyn, Bishop of S. Asaph, repeats the excommunication of Madoc, at that time a prisoner in London (*Reg. Winchelsey*, ap. *Wharton, De Episc. Assav.*).]

\* See above, p. 609. The last three articles, above, are added, although beyond the period of

Welsh independence, as fitly closing the Church History of Wales.

## APPENDIX A.

### ANCIENT WELSH LITURGIES.

#### I. From a *Missa de Sancto David*, 11th century.

Deus Qui beatum confessorem Tuum David atque pontificem, angelo nuntiante, Patricio prophetante, triginta annos antequam nasceretur predixisti; quesumus, ut cujus memoriam recalemus, ejus intercessione ad eterna gaudia perveniamus, per secula seculorum.

Hostias laudis et preces devotionis, quas Tibi in honore beati confessoris Tui David atque pontificis, Omnipotens Deus, deferimus, placatus intende; et quod nostrum non optinet meritum, Tua clementia et illius pro nobis frequens intercessio efficiant.

#### *Post Communionem.*

Repleti, Domine, sacramenti participatione, quesumus ut sancti David confessoris Tui atque pontificis meritis, cujus gloriosam celebramus festivitatem, ineffabilis misericordie Tue patrocinia sentiamus.

[In fin. *V. S. David*, auct. Ricemarch (*Cambro-Brit. SS.* 144, from MSS. Cott. Vesp. A. XIV.), written A.D. 1088 x 1096<sup>a</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> At the end also of Giraldus Cambrensis' re-written edition of Rhyddmarch's Life, c. A.D. 1200, which is divided into "Lectiones" to be read in church, is the following *Responsio*, partly addressed directly to S. David himself (who is commonly said to have been canonized in the interval between the earlier fragment and this):—

Gloriose presul Christi David, suscipe vota servorum tuorum, et pro nobis intercede ad Dominum magnum.

Deus Qui Ecclesie Tue beatum David pontificem Tuum mirabilem tribuisti doctorem, concede propitius, ut hunc apud Te semper pium mereamur intercessorem, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. Amen.

#### II. From a *Missa de Sancto Teilo*<sup>a</sup>.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, virtutum omnium fons et origo, Qui per beatum Theilaum gloriosissimum confessorem Tuum atque pontificem ingentis vipere seuisiam in mare demersisti; da quesumus, ut antiqui hostis nequicia superata, Diuini amoris igne succensi, pie petitionis consequamur effectum.



*Secreta.*

Beati Theliai confessoris Tui atque pontificis supplicatione, munus oblatum, Domine, quesumus fiat nobis imperpetuum salutare, per Christum Dominum.

*Postcom.*

Quesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut meritis reparati sanctissimi confessoris Tui atque pontificis Theilai, pro quo Tue gentis belligere munitiua tria funera mirifice prodidisti, triplici seneritate hostium superata, mereamur Indiuidue Trinitatis percipere visionem, per Dominum.

*Another form of the Postcommunio<sup>b</sup>.*

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, Qui de beato corpore sancti Thelyai confessoris Tui atque pontificis tria corpora consecrasti, et per illud miraculum pacem et concordiam inter inimicos reformasti; concede propitius per eius suffragia pietatis Tue ueniam consequamur, per Dominum nostrum. Amen.

<sup>a</sup> Written in a 15th century hand upon a blank leaf at the end of a MS. Sarum Missal in the possession of H. Bradshaw, Esq., of King's Coll. Camb., which belonged in that century to the Hungerford family.

<sup>b</sup> Written in a 14th century hand on the

left hand corner at the top of a fly-leaf at the end of the original MS. of the *Lb. Landavensis* now at Owston, co. York. For the allusions in both collects, see the legend of S. Teilo in the *Lb. Landav.* pp. 104, 110.

### III. A Sequence, (probably) Welsh and of the 10th or 11th century<sup>a</sup>.

Arbe<sup>1</sup> terna Diua summa,  
Apostolorum pectora  
Sonans summa  
Cœli regna,  
Bi<sup>2</sup> bis bina proclamata,  
Tripoda tentrix fidei mensa,  
Orientalis Regina!  
Trinis linguis resultet iubila!  
Probet maxima federa,  
Erectos nae experi<sup>3</sup> atque uoluens sidera!  
Mater una Ecclesia, quaterna, singula,  
Ad corporis instar uirtute acti trina,  
Sensu, intellectu uiget, et memoria,  
Solimandio, Alexandria, Roma.

[ANCIENT WELSH LITURGICAL]

Eo<sup>4</sup> his ut caput Christi recolentes,  
 Arectos, et aromam, manus, pedes,  
 Tangamus Crucis pipum.  
 Plagis gesta difusa  
 Mistice relegunt noua uetera.  
 Bis senos intima,  
 Prosper Patraarcha<sup>5</sup>,  
 Israelitica fabili prosapia,  
 Sena profluxerat sensiaz<sup>6</sup> milia.  
 Tandem derelicta  
 Mater fugitiua,  
 Q[ua] peperit et deflens pignora.  
 Audita denique uox est irama<sup>7</sup>  
 Flaminis uetustati lactis ubera:  
 Q[ua] f[r]eti, presentemur absque macula  
 Regis intrando uita.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. "Orbe."<sup>2</sup> So in MS.<sup>3</sup> So in MS.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps for "ergo." The whole sentence is corrupt. And the divisions of lines are not marked, down to the word "milia."<sup>5</sup> So in MS.<sup>6</sup> i. e. "centies."<sup>7</sup> i. e. "in Rama."

<sup>a</sup> This corrupt and scarcely intelligible sequence (deciphered with the kind help of Mr. Bradshaw of King's Coll. Camb.) is written on a fly-leaf at the end of the Welsh *Juvenius*, now in Cambr. Univ. Library, Ff. 4. 32; for the history of which see above on pp. 198, 207. It is later in date than the two hymns on the same page, which were certainly

written (in Ireland) in the latter part of the 9th century. Its contents resemble closely in enigmatic grandiloquence what would probably have been the sacred compositions of the countrymen of Taliessin. And as the MS. certainly found its way back to Wales after its 9th century sojourn at Armagh, this sequence is probably an early Welsh imitation of Notker of S. Gall.

IV. A Sequence<sup>a</sup>, from Taliessin's "Elegy of the Thousand Sons," xvii. (in *Skene's Four Books of Ancient Wales*, vol. ii. p. 113).

Qui venerunt angli  
 In Natali Dñi,  
 Media i[n] nocte, in laudem,  
 Cum pastoribus in Bethleem;—  
 Nivem<sup>b</sup> angli de celo,  
 Cum Michael archanglo,  
 Qui precedunt precelio<sup>c</sup>  
 Erga animas in mundo;—  
 Am nivem<sup>d</sup> angeli.  
 Precedunt confirmati,  
 Unistrati<sup>e</sup>, baptizati,  
 Usque in diem Judicii;—

[ANCIENT WELSH LITURGIES.]

Quando fuit Christus crucifixus, ut Sibi  
 Ipsi placuisset, venissent ibi in auxilium  
 Plusquam duodecim legiones angelorum  
 Toto orbe terrarum,  
 Jesus Christus videntem <sup>f</sup> in agonia in mundo,  
 Ut sint <sup>g</sup> nostri auxilium,  
 Duodecim milia, mili[t]antem,  
 Ante tribunal stantem :—  
 Qui laudantie <sup>h</sup> laudantium  
 Tues <sup>i</sup> mores, Rex Regum.

\* Embodied in Taliessin's poem, and kindly pointed out by Bishop Forbes of Brechin. It is as corrupt and unintelligible as that preceding it.

<sup>b</sup> ? novem. Or possibly the Welsh word "nifer"—number, which begins nearly all the short poems of the collection of which this sequence is one.

o ? proelio.

d ? amplius novem.

e ? ministrati.

f ? Jesum Christum videntes.

g ? sit.

h ? laudantes.

i ? Tuos.

[A Latin version of S. Matthew's Gospel is prefixed to the original MS. of the *Liber Landavensis* (at Owston, co. York), which is almost wholly *Vulgate*, but retains a few faint traces of the *Old Latin*: e.g. in III. 7 (*futura* interlined), V. 15 (*supra*), VII. 23 (*omnes* interlined), VII. 27 (*gus*), XXIV. 20 (om. *in*). It is of A.D. 1100 or thereabouts.

The 13th century Bangor Pontifical (see above, p. 597) does not appear, judging by Mr. Maskell's notes to his *Monumenta Eccl. Anglic.*, to differ (speaking generally) from the Sarum family of Offices, more than in small variations, not sufficient to constitute it a peculiar Use <sup>a</sup>. It omits however the white vestment at Baptism (*Maskell*, I. 24). It has a special form for Communion of the Sick (*ib.* 66, 67). It differs very slightly in the form of Espousals (*Id.*, *Pref. to Anc. Lit. of Ch. of Eng.*); and also in the service for Burial (*Id.*, *Mon. Eccl. Angl.*, I. 115, 117, 122). In the Ordination Services there appear to be more numerous but not important variations (*Id.*, III. 154 sq.). Neither can the Oswestry Missal <sup>b</sup>, judging by Mr. Maskell's own text of the *Ordinarium Missæ* and *Canon*, printed from it by him (*Anc. Lit.*, etc.), claim to be anything more than a variation of the Sarum form. Nor has it, even apart from this, the slightest claim to any connection with Bangor, but rather (if with any Welsh diocese) with S. Asaph. For S. David's, see above, p. 459.]

<sup>a</sup> A considerable portion of it has also been recently and carefully collated with the corresponding formularies of an Exeter Pontifical by Mr. Stowe of Wadham College, with a similar

result to that noted above. It contains a service for S. Thomas Becket.

<sup>b</sup> See Maskell, *Anc. Liturg. of Ch. of Eng.*, *Pref.* lxxix.—lxxxii.

## APPENDIX B.

### SEPULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN WALES.

A.D. 700-1100.

I. To the memory of persons to whose date and history there exists independent testimony.

1. c. A.D. 700 x 750. At *Llanddewi Brevi* in *Cardiganshire*.

✠ HIC IACIT IDNERT FILIUS I[ACOBI]  
QUI OCCESUS FUIT PROPTER P[REDAM]  
SANCTI.

*Gibson's Camden, II.* 769, 770: supposed to belong to the last Bishop of Llanbadarn: see *Gir. Camb., Itin. Camb. II.* 4, p. 863; and above, p. 146. The identity however of Idnerth with the murdered Bishop of Llanbadarn seems to be a conjecture, although a not improbable one.

2. c. A.D. 750-800. At *Doltrebeddw* near *Pentrevoelas*  
in *Denbighshire*.

BROHEMAGLI  
IAM IC IAEIT  
ET UXOR EIUS CAUNE.

*Arch. Camb., Old Series, II.* 30. See the genealogy of Cyngen King of Powys in Eliseg's inscription below: whence it may be inferred that Brochmael died about the latter part of the 8th century. The locality seems to render his identity with the Brochmael of the inscription probable. Cyngen's grandfather is mentioned as "Brochwel Ysgythrog" in the *Gwentian Brut* (in an. 814).

3. A.D. 808-854. Near *Valle Crucis, Llangollen*, in *Denbighshire*,  
upon a large upright stone.

CONCENN FILIUS CATTELI, CATTELI  
FILIUS BROHCMAIL, BROHMAIL FILIUS  
ELISEG, ELISEG FILIUS GUOILLAUC.  
CONCENN ITAQUE PRONEPOS ELISEG  
EDIFICAUIT HUNC LAPIDEM PROAVO

VOL. I.

S S

[SEPULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN WALES.]

SUO ELISEG: IPSE EST ELISEG QUI NECR..  
 .. AT HEREDITATEM POVOS \* \* IPC .. MORT.  
 CAUTEM PER VISSI \* \* EP. O. T. ESTATE ANGLO  
 \* \* \* \* \* IN GLADIO SUO PARTA IN IGNE  
 \* \* \* \* \* IMQUE RECITUERIT MANESC. P.  
 \* \* \* \* \* MDET BENEDICTIONEM SUPE..  
 \* \* \* \* \* ELISEG \* ✠ IPSE EST CONCENN  
 \* \* \* \* \* TUS . C . EMEIUNGE . MANU  
 \* \* \* \* \* È AD REGNUM SUUM POVOS  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* BANI \* \* \* QUOD  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* . AIS . NCAVESMEC  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* . EIN \* \* MONTEM  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* IL . E . \* \* \* \* \* MONARCHIAM  
 \* AIL MAXIMUS BRITANNIAE.  
 \* \* NN \* PASCEN \* \* \* MAVI \* ANNAN  
 \* BRITUA T \* M FILIUS GUARTHI  
 \* QUE BENED: ... QUE BENED: ... GERMANUSQUE  
 \* PEPERIT EI SE \* IRA FILIA MAXIMI  
 \* GIS QUI OCCIDIT REGI ROMANO  
 RVM ✠ CONMARCH PINXIT HOC  
 CHIROGRAFUM REGE SUO POSCENTE  
 CONCENN ✠ BENEDICTIO DÑI IN CON  
 CENN \* IN TOTA FAMILIA EIUS  
 ET IN TOTA REGIONE POVOIS  
 USQUE IN \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

"Catell" or Cadell King of Powys died in 808 (*Ann. Camb. and Brut y Tywysog.*) or 810 (*Ann. Menev. ap. Wharton, II. xxxi.*); and Cyngen (Concenn) his son (see *Ann. Camb. and Brut* A.D. 814 and 815) in 850 or 854 (see above, p. 206). Elisege therefore must have lived about A.D. 700–750. For Pascent son of Gwrthenau = Vortigern, see *Nennius*, and above, p. 164. And for the stone and inscription, *Arch. Camb., Old Series, I. 32, New Series, II. 295*. Parts of it are not decipherable; and much of that which is supposed to be deciphered, is very uncertain.

4. c. A.D. 850–885 (or 894). At *Llantwit* in *Glamorganshire*.

IN NOMINE DI PATRIS ET ...  
 SPERETUS SANTDI ANC  
 CRUCEM HOVELT PROPE  
 RABIT PRO ANIMA RES PA  
 TRES EIUS.

[SEFULCRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN WALES.]

At the foot of a richly carved wheel cross: figured in frontispiece to *Iolo MSS.* (Llandovery 1848). Howel King of Glamorgan was reigning A.D. 884 (*Asser, M. H. B.* 488), and died (in Rome) A.D. 885 (*Ann. Camb.* and *Brut y Tywysog.*) or 894 (*Brut, Gwent.*). Asser calls his principality Glewys-sig, but the genealogies in the *Iolo MSS.* speak of it as Glamorgan. See also Wakeman in *Arch. Camb., Old Series, IV.* 18: and above, p. 207.

## 5. Same date and place.

IN NOM  
INE DI SU  
MMI INCI  
PIT · CRU  
X · SAL  
VATO  
RIS QUA  
E PREPA  
RAUIT  
SAMSO  
NI · APA  
TI PRO  
ANIMA  
SUA ET P  
RO ANI  
MA IU  
THAHE  
LO REX ∴  
ET ART  
MALI  
TECA  
✠ IN

On an upright stone: figured in *Iolo MSS.* p. 364. The last line must be read backwards. Juthael King of Gwent was killed A.D. 848 (*Ann. Camb.* and *Brut y Tywysog.*). But Arthmael or Arthfael was probably (from his office) not the King of that name who was Howel's grandfather, nor yet the King (probably of Gwent) who was contemporary with Bishop Cyfeiliawg of Llandaff, 872–927, and therefore with Howel (*Lib. Landav.* 227). Neither was Samson of course the Bishop of Dol, who preceded his namesake in the text in the abbey of Llantwit by some 300 years, and who died in Brittany.. Both names are not unusual. See however Wakeman in *Arch. Camb., Old Series, IV.* 20, 21; and the *Iolo MSS.* as above. The office of "Decanus," however, cannot have been that of a Cathedral Dean, there being no such

## [SEFULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN WALES.]

office at all in the old S. David's, nor at Llandaff (apparently) until the 10th century (see above, p. 295).

6. Same date and place: three inscriptions on a cross.

✠ ILTET: SAMSON: RETIS }  
SAMUEL ✠ EGISOR ✠ } on the same side of the cross.

SAMSON POSUIT HANC CRUCEM PRO ANMLA<sup>a</sup> EIUS }  
reverse side.

RETIS ought possibly to be REGIS: possibly it means son of Rhys. The stone is figured in the frontispiece to *Cambro-Brit. SS.* (Llandovery 1853). *Egisor* conjecturally = *excisor* = engraver.

<sup>a</sup> (sic).

7. c. A.D. 850–900. At *Llaniestin* in *Anglesey*.

HIC IACET SANCTUS YESTINUS CUI  
GWENLLIAN FILIA MADOC ET GRYFFYT AP  
GWILYM, OPTULIT IN OBLACŌEM  
ISTAM IMAGINEM P: SALUTE ANIMARUM S.

At the corners of a stone, in the middle of which is an effigy (*Rowlands, Mona Antiq.* 155; *Arch. Camb., O. S. II.* 324). S. Yestin is supposed by Rees (*Welsh SS.* 232), being son of Geraint of Cornwall, to have lived in the 6th century; but he more probably belongs to the 9th.

The inscription at *Llanfihangel y Traethau* in *Merionethshire* is to the memory of Gwladys mother of Olave in the time of Owen Gwynedd, A.D. 1137–1169 (*Wakeman, in Arch. Camb., O. S. III.* 226, *IV.* 22); and is of the 15th century (Professor Westwood).

II. Inscriptions to the memory of persons otherwise unknown, but belonging (like the foregoing) to the period of Saxon and of Irish influence, c. A.D. 700–1100.

i. In *Anglesey*.

1. At *Hen Eglwys*.

FILIUS AU \* \* \* [A]NIMA REQUIES.

On a stone much defaced (*Arch. Camb., 1st Series, I.* 67).

2. At *Bromweg* near *Newborough*.

N  
I  
FILIUS  
CUUR  
CINI

## [SEPULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN WALES.]

ERE  
XIT  
HUNC  
LAPI  
DEM

(*Arch. Camb., O. S. I.* 429.)

ii. In *Caernarvonshire*.1. At *Cefn Amwlch*.

SENACUS  
PRSB  
HIC IACIT  
CUM MULTITU  
DINEM  
FRATRUM

And on the lower part of the stone

.. FRE ET ..

Probably 10th or 11th century (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, V.* 54).

## 2. At the same place.

MERACIUS  
PBR  
HIC  
IACIT.

Probably of similar date with the foregoing (*Arch. Camb., ib.*).

iii. In *Flintshire*.

At *Caerwys* (now at *Downing, Whitford*).

HIC IACIT MULI  
ER BONA NOBILI...

(*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, I.* 153.)

iv. In *Merionethshire*.

At *Abermo* near *Barmouth* (now in *Llanaber Church*).

COELECTUS MONEDO REGI..

(*Arch. Camb., New Series, IV.* 215: mentioned also by Pennant.)

v. In *Cardiganshire*.

At *Llanlleir*.

A broken half of an inscribed stone, illegible, with a wheel-cross (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, IX.* 258, 259).



vi. In *Brecknockshire*.1. At *Fstradgynlais*.

Two imperfect inscriptions, HIC IACIT . . . and . . . A DIUNE . . . (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, I. 7, 8*).

2. At *Llandeuaelog* near *Brecon*.

## ✠ BRIAMAIL FLOU . . .

Under the figure of a warrior, sculptured on a stone surmounted by an ornamental Latin cross, and with interlaced ribband patterns on its sides, in the churchyard, in Hiberno-Saxon letters, 8th or 9th century (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, IV. 306*).

3. At *Llanfrynach*.

## IOHIS . .

In Anglo-Saxon letters, on a stone bearing a figure as in prayer with Greek crosses and ribband work incised; 10th century at the earliest (*Westw. in Arch. Camb., New Series, III. 274, 275; 3rd Series, II. 51, 140*).

4. At *Llanhamlech*.

## IOHANNIS MORIDIC SUREXIT HUNC LAPIDEM.

On a stone with patterns incised, including a cross: built into the wall of the parsonage: 10th or 11th or possibly 12th century (*Westw. in Arch. Camb., New Series, III. 274, 275; IV. 334*).

5. At *Gaer* near *Brecon*.

\* \* \* \* \*

ALANCINA CIVIS ET  
CONIUNX EIUS H EST

On a stone (called the *Maen y Morwynion*) bearing two human figures in relief, the upper part of the inscription effaced (*Jones, Breckn. II. 103; Arch. Camb., New Series, IV. 311*).

vii. In *Glamorganshire*.1. At *Brynkeffneithan*.

PROP  
ARAVI  
T GAIC

At the foot of a wheel-cross; 8th or 9th century (*Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, XI. 65*).

2. At *Margam*.

INOMI  
NEDĪS  
UMI  
CRUX  
CRITDI  
PROP  
ARABIT  
GRUTNE  
PRO ANMA  
AHEST

At foot of a wheel-cross; 8th or 9th century (*Arch. Camb., New Series, II. 147*).

3. At *Merthyr Tydfil*.

✠ ARTBEU

8th or 9th century, according to *Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, IV. 163*. Artgen occurs among the legendary sons of Brychan. Artgen prince of Ceredigion died A.D. 807 (*Ann. Camb. and Brut y Tywysog.*). And Arthgen, son of Sulien Bishop of S. David's (see above, pp. 297, 298, 361), must have died a few years before or after A.D. 1100. Date seems to exclude the first (supposing him to have existed), and locality the second. And the assumed date of the monument is inconsistent with the third. Sulien's other sons appear to have left S. David's on their brother Rhyddmarch's death (see above, pp. 298, 350, 361), so that Arthgen may well have died in Glamorgan.

4. At *Baglan* near *Neath*.

✠ BRANCUF.

On a stone ornamented with an interlaced cross, now in the churchyard wall; 9th or 10th century (*Westw. in Arch. Camb., New Series, II. 145*).

viii. In *Caermarthenshire*.1. At *Llanfymydd* near *Llandeilo Vawr*.

EIUDON.

On a highly ornamented stone (*Arch. Camb., New Series, V. 303, 3rd Series, I. 64*).

2. At *Llandyssilio* near *Narberth*.

EUOLENUS  
FIL.

[SEFULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN WALES.]

LITOGENI  
HIC IACIT.

(Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VI. 53).

ix. In *Pembrokeshire*.1. On *Caldy Island*.✠ ET SINGNO CR  
UCIS IN ILLAM  
FINGSI ROGO  
OMNIBUS AM  
MULANTIBUS  
IBI EXORENT  
PRO ANIMA  
CATUOCONI

At the foot of a large ornamented Latin cross; 8th or 9th century (Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, I. 258).

2. At *Pen Arthur* near *S. David's*.

XPS. [Beneath this, a large ornamented Greek cross within a circle, and beneath the cross, in Anglo-Saxon letters] GURMARC.

9th century (*Westw.* in Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, II. 51; and *Jones and Freeman, S. David's*, 234).3. At *Nevern*.

h	<sup>a</sup>	<sup>n</sup>	h
	e		

d	n	s
---	---	---

Initial letters, unintelligible, on a richly carved cross, of a date from (possibly) 7th to 11th centuries (Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, VI. 47).

4. At *Carew*.An inscription, undecipherable, on both sides of a richly carved cross, of like date with the foregoing (Arch. Camb., *ib.*; and *New Series*, II. 319).5. At *Penally* near *Tenby*.HEC EST CRUX  
QUAM ÆDIFICA  
VIT MAIL DOMNC \*  
\* \* \* \* \*At the foot of a richly incised stone possibly as late as the 12th century (Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, X. 328)<sup>a</sup>.

## [SEPULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN WALES.]

\* In addition to these inscribed monuments, there are also Christian monuments of this period without inscriptions; to which fresh research is continually adding others to those already known: e. g.

i. A cross at *Maen Achwynfan* near *Newmarket* in *Flintshire* (*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, V. 47; XI. 364).

ii. An incised cross at *Ystradfellth* on *Pen y Mynydd*, and ornamented stones (9th and 10th century) at *Llangynys*, *Llangammarch*, and *Pennarth*, all in *Breconshire* (*ib.*, *New Series*, IV. 334).

iii. A figure as in prayer, at *Gnoll Castle* near *Neath* (*ib.*, 3rd Series, XI. 63), some stones with crosses (on one, *TOME*) at *Port Talbot*

(*ib.*, III. 56-61), a rude delineation of the crucifixion on a stone at *Llangan*, and the cross of *S. Einion* (with others) at *Margam* (the two last communicated by Professor Westwood), all in *Glamorganshire*.

iv. A stone with incised cross (formed of five circles crosswise within a sixth) at *Llandysilio* (*ib.*, 3rd Series, VI. 57), an interlaced cross at *Llandello Vawr* (*ib.*, V. 136), a cross at *Llangyndarn*, all in *Caermarthenshire*.

v. Incised crosses at *Penpriak*, *Capel Colman* (10th century), *Pontfaen* (of later date), at *Boakerton*, of 14th century (*ib.*, VII. 208-212), and at *Bridell* (probably however of an earlier date, *ib.*, VI. 314), all in *Pembrokeshire*.

## APPENDIX C.

### ANOMALOUS WELSH (ECCLESIASTICAL) LAWS.

[The following additions, variations, and explanations, of the ecclesiastical portion of Howel Dda's Code, are taken from the second volume of Mr. Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws of Wales* (8vo. edition), the contents of which are arranged by him in Books, as here cited, under the title of ANOMALOUS LAWS. They are of later, and some of them much later, date than the Code itself, and are extracted from Welsh supplements to, and comments upon, that Code. Mere repetitions are omitted. For the MSS., see Mr. Owen's Preface, and above, p. 211, note.]

#### I. *From MSS. of which one is dated early in the 12th century.*

(BK. IV. C. i. § 11, 24-29.)

XI. Hyn odenyon adyeyc rac lu gueylyd Escob ac argluyd a mud abedar adyn agenuyeyt a greyc ueyc-yauc. [II. 4.]

XXIV. Teyr gorset breynyauc<sup>1</sup> adele bod gorsed er argluyd agorset Escob agorsed abat pop un onadunt a dele dale y orset truydau ehun<sup>2</sup>.

XXV. O deruyd yhur un onadunt gueneuthur cam y gur ellall ne dele neb onadunt gneuthur yaun namyn eghorset yargluyt ehun.

XXVI. O deruyt y hur er argluyt gneuthur cam ygorset er Escob nac aet o honey heb gueneuthur yaun; ac euelle gur er Escob eghorset yr ar-

XI. These persons are exempt from the oath of an absolver: a Bishop, a lord, one who is dumb, one who is deaf, a person of a different language, and a pregnant woman. [II. 5.]

XXIV. There are to be three privileged<sup>1</sup> courts: the court of a lord; the court of a Bishop; and the court of an abbat: each is to hold his own court independently of the others<sup>2</sup>.

XXV. If a man subject to one of them do a wrong to a man of the other, no one of them is bound to make satisfaction, except in the court of his own lord.

XXVI. If a man subject to the lord commit an offence in the court of the Bishop, let him not depart from it without making satisfaction;

## [ANOMALOUS WELSH (ECCLESIASTICAL) LAWS.]

gluyt ac euellu gur er [abat yn y gorsedeu ereill.]

XXVII. Er argluyt pan uo maru er Escob adele yda [oll,] eytyr guysc<sup>1</sup> er egluys<sup>2</sup> ay lleureu [ae charegleu] ay thyr: ac essef acaus eu henne pop da [auo] heb perchennauc [ido] dyfeyt brenyn eu<sup>b</sup>. I abat haken ny deleyr [arglwyd] namen ybedyu<sup>c</sup>; kany's keuoet maru er abat eclas ar kanonguyr adele yda ef.

XXVIII. Pop dadel [or] auo ereg-thut ehun eneyt or clas adele barnu udunt.

XXIX. Pop dadel [or] auo erug abat ac argluyd egneyt erargluyt adele barnu hykyd ac huy. [II. 8, 10.]

and, in like manner, a man subject to the Bishop, in the court of the lord; and, in like manner, a man subject to the abbat, in the other courts.

XXVII. When a Bishop dies, the lord is to have his property, except the dress<sup>2</sup> of the church<sup>3</sup>, its books, its chalices, and its land: because every property without an owner is a waif to the King<sup>b</sup>. From an abbat, however, the lord is to have only his ebediw<sup>c</sup>; for, when an abbat dies, the community and the canons are to have his property.

XXVIII. Every dispute that may arise among themselves, is to be decided by judges from the community.

XXIX. Every dispute that may take place between an abbat and a lord, is to be decided by the judges of the lord in conjunction with them. [II. 9, 11.]

<sup>1</sup> brenhinawl = kingly *D.Q.*

<sup>2</sup> gwisgoed = dresses *F.G.Q.*

<sup>3</sup> egluysen = churches *K.*

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 276.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 274.

<sup>c</sup> See above, p. 224.

## (BK. IV. C. iv. § 18, 30-32.)

XVIII. O deruyt y dŷn uynet yn uach achŷn teruynu yr haul y uynet [ef] yn clauur neu yn uynach neu yn dŷwŷll<sup>a</sup> nŷ tŷbŷco ef dŷlŷu o hanau atep [ygkyfreith] nŷnŷ adŷwedun dŷlŷu o hanau [ef] kŷwŷrau aedewŷs trauo bŷu: ac un or lleoed [yw hwn] nŷ dŷlŷ y mab bot yn lle y tat; sew achans nas dŷlŷ canŷt edewŷs dŷm oŷ da ydau namŷn [y] ewellŷs nŷ dŷlŷ ynteu seuŷll trostau odŷm namŷn y ewŷllŷs<sup>1</sup>. [II. 30, 32.]

XVIII. If a person become a surety, and, before the termination of the suit, he should become leprous, or a monk, or blind<sup>a</sup>; and should suppose that he is no longer responsible in law: we say, that he must fulfil his promise whilst he lives: and this is one of those cases where a son is not to stand in lieu of his father; because he has left none of his property to him, but his will only; therefore the son is not

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to be responsible as to anything,  
excepting his will<sup>1</sup>. [II. 31, 33.]

[BK. VII. C. XI. § 30 repeats this, with the last clause changed into—*namyn sawet yr Eglwys—*  
*but let the Church stand.*]

<sup>1</sup> yr Eglwys = the Church U.

\* See above, pp. 264, 266.

XXX. Puŷbŷnnac a dŷco creŷrŷeu<sup>a</sup>  
y dadlew ac eu ceŷssŷau or pleŷt  
arall a oed ŷhŷy erbŷn ŷ creŷrŷeu a  
doeth canthau ew; nŷnŷ adŷwedun  
na dŷlŷ ew ŷ creŷrŷeu hŷnnŷ ŷnŷ  
darfo ŷ dadlew o hŷnnŷ allan cŷfred-  
ŷn uŷd ŷ creŷrŷeu ŷ baub ŷnŷ maes.

XXXI. Nŷt reŷt creŷrŷeu ŷn dad-  
lew a wnelher ŷ meun mŷnwent [nac  
yn eglwys] can ŷw plas ŷ creŷrŷeu.

XXXII. O deruŷd bot kŷureŷth  
ŷn dadlew ac na bo creŷrŷeu ŷnŷ  
maes; nŷnŷ adŷwedun na dŷlŷr oet  
ŷ geŷssŷau ŷ creŷrŷeu namŷn tra  
gatwo ŷr ŷnat<sup>1</sup> ŷ uraudle a hŷnnŷ  
ŷn ewŷllŷs ŷr ŷnat<sup>2</sup>. [II. 34, 36.]

<sup>1</sup> yneit eu = judges F.

<sup>2</sup> eneit = their F.

\* See above, pp. 258, 260, 262.

XXX. Whoever shall bring relics<sup>a</sup>  
into court, and the party opposed to  
him seek the use of the relics so  
brought by him; we say, that he is  
not to have those relics, until the  
pleadings be finished: afterwards,  
the relics are common to every one  
in the field.

XXXI. Relics are not necessary  
in causes carried on in the church-  
yard, or in the church; because it is  
the place of the relics.

XXXII. If there be a court assem-  
bled, and no relics in the field; we  
say, that no further time is to be  
granted for procuring them, than  
during the continuance of the judge<sup>1</sup>  
in the judgment seat; and that is  
at his option<sup>2</sup>. [II. 35, 37.]

## II. From MSS. dated at the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century.

(BK. VII. C. I. § 40.)

Nŷt oes llys ar egnat nac ar  
kŷghaus o kŷfreŷth en herwŷd eu  
buched; canŷ dele lleŷgŷon barnu  
ar pechodeu<sup>1</sup> neb ac na dele den  
a uo lleŷ ŷ urdeu noc effeŷrŷat barnu  
ar pechodeu<sup>1</sup> nac eu ŷachau.

There is no objecting to a judge,  
nor to a pleader, by law, in regard  
to their moral conduct; for laics are  
not to judge the sins<sup>1</sup> of any body;  
neither is a person of less degree  
than a priest to judge of sins<sup>1</sup>, or to  
absolve them.

<sup>1</sup> buchet = life G.

III. *From a MS. dated in the middle of the 14th century.*

(BK. V. C. i. § 19, 20, 26, 27.)

XIX. Pwy bynnac a gaffo nawd gwedy gwnel brat arglwyd, amynnu o honaw ymduwyn mal y dywetto kyfreith y hwnnw y barn kyfreith colli tref y dat, kyt dihango y eneit herwyd y nawd agafas.

XX. Oderuyd bot creir ardyn, ac arueu yny law, acheissaw o honaw aruot ac wynt, ny dyly y greir; os y greir adewis ynteu, gwahaner y arueu ac ef, achattwer yn lle ny chollont<sup>a</sup>.

XXVI. O deruyd y radwr wneuthur kam y dyn arall, kymerer iawn y ganthaw mal y gan dyn arall: [a gvnaet yr eglwys a uynho ac ef].

XXVII. O deruyd y radwr kaffel cam y gan leyc, diwycker idaw wrth vrawt yr eglwys; onyt y agheu adaw or cam: os hynny aderuyd, diwycker yr eglwys y gwarthrud ae sarhaet<sup>b</sup>; athaler yr genedyl y alanas<sup>1</sup>. [II. 46, 48.]

XIX. Whoever shall obtain sanctuary after committing treason against the lord, and seek to reconcile himself in the way the law may direct; to such the law adjudges the forfeiture of his patrimony, although he shall escape with life, by the sanctuary he has obtained.

XX. If a person bear a relic, and have arms in his hand, and he seek to make use of them, he is not entitled to his relic; but, if he trust to his relic, let his arms be taken from him, and let them be kept where they shall not be lost<sup>a</sup>.

XXVI. If a graduate do a wrong to another person, let reparation be accepted from him, as from another person: and let the Church do as it may will with him.

XXVII. If a graduate receive a wrong from a laic, let reparation be made to him according to the decision of the Church; unless his death be the consequence of the wrong: if that happen, let reparation be made to the Church, for its reproach and its saraad<sup>b</sup>; and let the galanas<sup>1</sup> be paid to the kindred. [II. 47, 49.]

<sup>1</sup> y corff ar eneit = body and life F.<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 238.<sup>b</sup> For "galanas" and "saraad," see above, p. 224.

(BK. V. C. ii. § 37, 60, 69, 70, 90-92, 97, 98, 114, 121.)

XXXVII. Tri lle y dyly arglwyd erlit gweli tanawt kynny chaffo y neb y dywetter wrthaw iawn: vn o

XXXVII. Three places wherein the lord is to pursue for tongue-wound, although the person spoken



honunt yw pwybynnac a ymgeinho  
ae gilyd yndadleu neu ym mynwent  
neu yn eglwys neu yn llys ef adyly  
camlwrw kyn ny chaffo y neb yd  
ymgeiner ac ef iawn <sup>a</sup>.

LX. [Rei adyweit na dylyir dam-  
dvg creireu eglvys ae hoffer: nini  
adywedvn y dylyir, sef ae damdvg,  
y claswyr ar personeit; kanys vynt  
yssyd berchenogyon ar yr eglvys  
vynteu adilyant damdvg ychreireu  
kyn bvynt ygkadv lleygyon pan gol-  
ler.]

LXIX. O deruyd y vn o swydo-  
gyon y llys gwadu mach, neu y wr  
or teulu a vo ar vwrd y Brenhin  
ygkapel y Brenhin y dyly y wadu;  
kanys yno ydyly ef y dwfyr swyn ae  
vara offeren <sup>b</sup>.

LXX. O deruyd y wr diatlam  
namyn kylch idaw, neu y uonhedic  
canhwynawl<sup>c</sup> gwadu mach; kyfreith  
adyweit panyw ynyr eglwys y gordi-  
wedir kyfreith arnaw yn phlwyfog-  
aeth, ydyly y wadu; kannyt mwy y  
dyly y dwfyr swyn ae vara offeren  
yn un eglwys noegilyd.

XC. Oderuyd yalltut <sup>d</sup> kymryt ur-  
deu neu yspydwryaeth neu diwhyll  
arall heb ganhat y arglwyd, ny rydha  
hynny ef y wrth y geithiwet kyt dylyo  
Eglwys vot yn ol y amharch.

XCI. Oderuyd ysgymunaw dyn  
py achaws bynnac yd ysgymuner, [a  
bot yr arglwyd yn mynnu y anreith

to obtain no satisfaction: one of  
them is, whoever shall wrangle with  
another in court, or in a churchyard  
or church, or in a palace, he is  
liable to a camlwrw, although he  
who is wrangled with obtain no  
satisfaction <sup>a</sup>.

LX. Some say that the relics and  
furniture of the church are not to be  
sworn to: we say they are, and that  
the community and the parsons are  
to swear to them; for, as they are  
the owners of the church, they are  
to swear to the relics, although they  
might have been in the possession  
of laics when lost.

LXIX. If one of the officers of  
the court deny a surety, or a man  
of the household who shall be at the  
King's table; in the King's chapel  
he is to deny it; because it is there  
he receives his holy water and sacra-  
mental bread <sup>b</sup>.

LXX. If a man without a resi-  
dence, only upon progress, or an  
innate boneddig<sup>c</sup>, deny a surety; the  
law says, that it is in the church where  
the law establishes him as a parish-  
ioner, he is to deny it; since he has  
no more claim to his holy water and  
sacramental bread in one church than  
in another.

XC. If an alltud<sup>d</sup> assume orders,  
or hospitalry, or other function, with-  
out the permission of his lord, that  
will not release him from his bond-  
age; and the Church should proceed  
for its disrespect.

XCI. If a person be excommuni-  
cated, whatever the cause for which  
he may be excommunicated, and the

## [ANOMALOUS WELSH (ECCLESIASTICAL) LAWS.]

ef yny lle:] kyfreith adyweit nadyly ef bot yn anreith odef, yny vo ysgymun vn dyd amis.

lord willeth his spoil on the spot; the law says, that he is not to suffer spoliation, until he shall have been excommunicated a month and a day.

XCII. O deruyd y yscolheic wneuthur lledrat, a barnu y diurdaw herwyd kyfreith sened; kyfreith a varn na byd <sup>1</sup>eneit vadeu ef am y' gweithret hwnnw; kanny dylir deu boen am yr vn achaws.

XCII. If a scholar commit a theft, and it be adjudged to degrade him according to the law of the synod; the law adjudges, that <sup>1</sup>his life is not to be forfeited on account of that deed; since there ought not to be two punishments for one cause.

XCVII. Py dir eglwys bynnac awarchattwer ynoes tat, a hendat, agorhendat, ac ynteu ehun yn pedwryd, athalu twng<sup>e</sup> ac ebediw<sup>f</sup> yr abat, heb dwryf heb eniwet ygan yneb ae holo, tref tadawc vyd ar y tir hwnnw: sef vyd twryf ac eniwet, llosgi tei neu lad kelein: o byd priodawr ae gwna, ny chyll dim yrdaw, kyfoet ampriodawr ae gwarhattwo. Namyn vn peth agychwyn pawb a llys a llan: diaspat uch annwfn yr neb a dehor, ae o wystyloryaeth ae o alanas y alltuded: honno hagen y kychwynnir racdi ae y ar beth ae y ar gwbyl.

XCVII. What church land soever shall have been occupied during the life of a father, and grandfather, and great-grandfather, the fourth being in possession, and paying tunc<sup>e</sup> and ebediw<sup>f</sup> to the abbat, without disturbance, without injury by him who may claim of him, becomes an inheritor of that land: disturbance and injury is, the burning of houses, or the killing of a person: if done by a proprietor he loses nothing by this, although the occupier be a non-proprietor. But one thing causes the removal of every body, court as well as church: a cry over the abyss, in behalf of him who is lapsing, either while a hostage, or for murder, to a state of alienism: that causes a removal, either from part, or from the whole.

XCVIII. Ryd vyd teruynu bop amser na chaet vo kyfreith nac agoret o ny byd rodi randir<sup>s</sup> yndaw. Ar llann bieu teruynu, ar llys; ar llys ar y kyuoeth, sef ae twg drostunt, maer<sup>h</sup> y llys. Os abat aderuyna, tir y llys ehun, segenuab ae twng dros-taw. Os deu dir ogymreint gyhyt a

XCVIII. Determining boundary is free at any time, whether the law be shut or open, unless there be the yielding of a randir<sup>s</sup> therein. And to the Church belongs to fix boundary to the court; and the court to the country, and the maer<sup>h</sup> of the court is to swear for them. If an

## [ANOMALOUS WELSH (ECCLESIASTICAL) LAWS.]

vyd dywyn, henhafgwy'r kyffredin y dwyn y deruyn; ac onys medrant, rannu eu hamrysson yn deud hanner. Os gogymreint vyd y deudir, abot ynhwy gwarchadw y neill rei nor rei ereill arnaw, teruynet yr hwyaf y warchadw<sup>l</sup>.

CXIV. O deruyd ymderuynu y rwg perchen dwy vagyl, ae wynt yn abadeu, ae wynteu yn Esgyb; yr uchaf y vreint bieu teruynu: os gogyfuch vydant, yr hwn a vo kynwarchadw onadunt bieu teruynu gan y lw oe vagyl ae euegyl, ac eu bot yny lle pan dygher udunt<sup>k</sup>.

CXXI. O deruyd daly lledrat yn llaw dyn, aphan dalyer, daly y arwaessaf<sup>l</sup> o honaw ynteu, o offeiryat neu o radwr arall, neu o greuyddyn, adyuot hwnnw oe gymryt oe law; kyfreith adyweit na dylir y rodi attaw, kannydyly ef ymrodi ygkyfreith arglwyd, ac ynteu a chreireu arnaw: sef ynt y greireu, y vrdeu; ae dillat creuyd y arall; ac wrth hynny ny allant wynteu vynet ymreint lleidyr; ac wrth hynny ny at kyfreith udunt wy bot yn arwessaf y ledrat; kanny dylyir dwyn kyfreith ledrat o orsed arglwyd y gabidwl Escob<sup>m</sup>. [II. 58, 66, 68, 74, 76, 82, 84.]

abbat is to meer the land of his own court, a habited monk is to swear for him. If it be two lands coequal in privilege, coequal in extent, the oldest men in common are to assign its boundary; and, if they cannot effect it, the matter in contention is to be equally shared. If the two lands be of coequal privilege, and the conservancy of the one party be longer than that of the other thereon, let the longest in conservancy fix the boundary<sup>l</sup>.

CXIV. If there be joint meering between two possessors of croziers, whether they be abbats, or Bishops; the highest in privilege has the right of meering: if they be coequal, he who has prior occupancy has the right of meering, by his oath upon his crozier and his gospel, which are to be at the place when they shall be sworn upon<sup>k</sup>.

CXXI. If theft be found in the hand of a person, and when he shall be caught, he find his arwaessav<sup>l</sup>, whether a priest, or other graduate, or any religious person, and such one come to take it from his hand; the law says, that it is not to be given to him, since he is not to surrender himself to the law of the lord, he having relics upon him: that is, relics to the one are his degrees; and to the other, his sacred vestments; and on that account they cannot assume the character of a thief; and, therefore, it is, that the law will not allow them to be arwaessavs for theft; since the law of theft is not to be removed from the

## [ANOMALOUS WELSH (ECCLESIASTICAL) LAWS.]

court of a lord to the chapter of a Bishop<sup>m</sup>. [II. 59, 67, 69, 75, 77, 83, 85.]

<sup>v</sup> yn anreith odef or = he is not to suffer spoliation *F*.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 240.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 256.

<sup>c</sup> "inmate *boneddig*" = "a free Welshman of indigenous descent" (*Owen's Glossary*)

<sup>d</sup> See above, p. 260.

<sup>e</sup> "Tung," or "Punt Tung," = "fealty pound," the dues paid to the lord from a free

manor in lieu of supplies in kind (*Owen's Glossary*).

<sup>f</sup> See above, p. 224.

<sup>g</sup> See above, p. 244.

<sup>h</sup> See above, pp. 272, 274.

<sup>i</sup> See above, p. 274.

<sup>j</sup> See above, p. 268.

<sup>k</sup> See above, p. 254.

<sup>l</sup> See above, p. 268.

<sup>m</sup> See above, p. 268.

IV. *From MSS. dated about A.D. 1400.*

(BK. VI. c. i. § 22, 59, 60, 73, 74.)

XXII. Ny eill priodawr rodi tir y sant nac y eglwys hep ganyat yr arglwyd: os ryd ny dyly yr Escob y gyssegru yn tir kyssegredic ef nae amdiffynnnv yn ardelw<sup>a</sup> Eglwys.

LIX. Pwy bynnac a ymgynhenno yn dadleu neu yn eglwys neu ymynwnt, neu yn llys, yr arglwyd a dyly camlwrw<sup>b</sup> o pob vn or tri lle hynny, kynny chaffo y dyn y dywetter wrthaw dim; ac arglwyd bieu erlit y camlyryeu hynny.

LX. O deruyd dodi geir kyuarch duw Gwener kyn hanner dyd, ef a ellir dodi y gyfreith ar y Sul, ac ar y Llun; os gwedi hanner dyd duw Gwener y daw y geir kyuarch, ny ellir dodi oet y gyfreith nac ar Sul nac ar Lun, a hynny o anryded y Sul: sef yw geir kyfarch, pan o vyno yr ygnat pa le y bu yr arwaessaf neu y borth.

LXXIII. O deruyd ydyn damtwg peth agwerth kyfreith arnaw [a bot yn uwy y damtwng nor gwerth ky-

XXII. A proprietor cannot give land to a saint, nor to a church, without the lord's consent: if he give it, the Bishop is not to consecrate it, nor defend it by arddelw<sup>a</sup> of the Church.

LIX. Whoever shall brawl in a suit, in church, or in churchyard, or in court, the lord is to have a camlwrw<sup>b</sup> for each of those three places, although the person spoken to shall have nothing; and to the lord belongs the exaction of those camlwrws.

LX. If interrogation be made before midday on Friday, the law can be appointed for the Sunday, and for the Monday; if after midday on Friday the interrogation be made, the time of the law cannot be appointed on Sunday, nor Monday, and that from the honour of the Sunday: interrogation is, when the judge shall ask, where was the arwaessaf, or the aid.

LXXIII. If a person appraise a thing, which has a legal worth thereon, and the appraisalment be more

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## [ANOMALOUS WELSH (ECCLIASTICAL) LAWS.]

freith;] ygneit adilyant edrych ac cam y damtygwyt, ac os cam gwne-  
ler arnaw kyfreith anudon, sef yw  
hynny, [naw] vgeint camlwrw, ar  
Eglwys yny ol.

LXXIV. O deruyd y dyn wneu-  
thur cam vn keinawc werth ac ef  
arnawd, achreir arnaw; ef adily  
colli cwbyl oe anreith yr achos y  
nawd hwnnw, ony cheiff nawd [arall]  
o newyd; sef achos yw hynny y  
nawd awnaethosti amreint yndi ny  
dyly vn nawd gan honno. [II. 102,  
114, 118.]

than the legal worth; judges are to  
see whether it be wrongly appraised,  
and if it be wrongly done, he is to  
pay the penalty of perjury, that is, a  
camlwrw of nine score pence, and  
the Church after him.

LXXIV. If a man do wrong to  
the worth of one penny while in  
sanctuary, and a relic upon him; he  
is to lose the whole of his property  
on account of that sanctuary, unless  
he obtain a new sanctuary; because,  
the sanctuary whose privilege he  
broke is not to renew it. [II. 103,  
115, 119.]

\* "*arddeiw*" = "voucher" (*Owen's Glossary*).

b See above, p. 240.

## (BK. VIII. C. XI. § 1, 18.)

I. Pwybynhac a diholer o urawt  
kyfreith un weith ae uot yn flemhawr  
ac yn diaberwr a iawn adiebryt  
arglwyd gantaw gwedy tygu kyuoeth  
yr arglwyd o honaw; or keffir gwedy  
hynny dros yr oet auarnawd kyfreith  
idaw, gwedy kerdet drachefyn naw  
cam y kyuoeth yr arglwyd ytyg y  
tir, bit eneit uadeu kyn kaffer ar tir  
Eglwys neu nodua amynwent na  
chreireu nyt ryd idaw ony bei y caffel  
ar hyt ford y Brenin yn dyfot y  
ymdiuwyn ac ef, am y gweithret y  
diholet ymdanaw aryd oed yr Brenin  
kymryt iawn gantaw am y cam awn-  
aeth idaw. Ac am uynet ae diebryt  
gantaw ny dyly eglwys na chreireu  
ynodi ef sef achos nas dyly, tygu  
kyuoeth yr arglwyd awnaeth ef y  
Duw ar creireu, ahynny yn dadylua  
yn kyhoedawc, awneuthur yn uwyt  
wahard yn llys ac yn llan; ac gwedy  
hynny y deuth y kyuoeth yr arglwyd

I. Whoever shall be once banish-  
ed by sentence of law, and become  
a fugitive and a vagabond with de-  
tention of the lord's right, having  
forsworn the lord's territory; if he  
be afterwards found, beyond the  
time adjudged to him by law, hav-  
ing walked nine paces into the ter-  
ritory of the lord whose land he  
forswore, let him be executed, al-  
though he shall be found upon  
Church land, or sanctuary and  
churchyard, or with relics: he is  
not free unless found upon the  
King's way coming to reconcilia-  
tion with him for the deed for which  
he was banished: and it is free for  
the King to take right from him for  
the wrong he did to him. And as  
to the detention, neither church nor  
relics are to protect him, because he  
forswore the lord's territory by God  
and the relics, and that in public

## [ANOMALOUS WELSH (ECCLESIASTICAL) LAWS.]

heb ganyat arglwyd nac Eglwys achau deuth anudon kyhoedawc atygawd ar neb atygho anudon kyhoedawc un weith ny dyly yr eglwys nar creireu y amdiffyn o godiwedir kyn ymdiuwyn agwy. Ac wrth hynny y dywedir: ny rypeirch ny ryparcher cany pherchis ef y creireu ny dylyir perchi y creireu vrthaw ynteu<sup>a</sup>.

court, and was food-forbidden in court and in church; and afterwards he entered the lord's territory without the leave of lord, or Church; and, by so doing, he perjured himself; and whoever shall once publicly perjure himself, is not to be protected by church or relics, if overtaken before reconciliation with them. And thence it is said: he shall not be respected who does not respect: as he respected not the relics, the relics are not to be respected on him<sup>a</sup>.

XVIII. Ac yn ol yr hawl ar attep<sup>b</sup> y kyuyt yr ygnat trwy kanyat yr arglwyd, ac y geilw ar y kedymdeithon hynny, yr effeirat adeuwr neu tri ygyt ac ef, ac y dechreuant yn kyntaf canu Pater noster<sup>c</sup>, ac ydyt yr effeirat gwedi y erchi y Duw rodi synwyr adosparth yr ynat ae gedymdeithon y uarnu brawt iawn amy dadyl honno, ae dianc rac barnu cam. [II. 196, 198, 202.]

XVIII. And after the claim and answer<sup>b</sup> the judge rises, by the permission of the lord, and calls upon those companions, the priest and two or three men with him, and they commence with chaunting the Paternoster<sup>c</sup>, and the priest puts up a prayer to implore God to grant sense and discretion to the judge and his companions to judge right judgment in that suit, and to escape wrong judgment. [II. 197, 199, 203.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, pp. 236-240.

<sup>b</sup> See above, pp. 258, 260.

<sup>c</sup> BK. IX. C. XVI. § 7 adds the Ave Maria to the Paternoster.

V. *From MSS. of the 15th century.*

(BK. IX. C. I. § 16.)

Agaer yn y maes o arddelw<sup>a</sup> ha-gen mwynhaer eithir naaill vod yn arddelw [y] neb ni allo vyned y mhenyd dros y weithret sef yw y rai hynny dynion ac vrddde Eclwys arnyn a dynion heb oed attep arnvn. [II. 216.]

Any arddelw<sup>a</sup>, that shall be found in the field, is to be allowed; only, no arddelw is to be allowed that cannot perform penance for his deed; that is to say, men who are in Church orders, and men without appointed time to answer. [II. 217.]

<sup>a</sup> arddelw = vouchee.

## (BK. IX. C. II. § 6.)

Niddleir gwat yn erbyn dogyn vanac. Sef yw dogyn vanac kyfreithawl llw kreddyvwr vwch ben pen raith athygv [i] gwelet lliw dyd [golav] gwedy kyvodi havl arlladrat gantho. Sef yw y kreddyvwr efeiriat a hyny rwg iddevddyn blwyf kans vn or naw tavodioc yw<sup>a</sup>. [II. 226.]

There is to be no denial against a competent declaration. A legal competent declaration is, the oath of a devotee, over a relic, swearing to seeing the thief, in open daylight, the sun being risen, with the theft in his possession. A devotee is a priest; and that in a case between two persons of his parish: for he is one of the nine tavodiogs<sup>a</sup>. [II. 227.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, pp. 252, 253, 256.

## (BK. IX. C. xvii. § 5.)

Val hyn ydyleir gyrv kroes ay gwadv kymryt krayr [yn y law] athygv yr krayr hyny deirgwaith arnaw torry y groes a gwadet y llall yr krayr a gwedy hyny roet y llw ar y drydyd or gwyr nessaf ev gwerth wythnos or Sul nessaf yn yr eglwys ybo y vara efferen ay dwfyr swyn. [II. 254.]

In this manner is a cross to be sued, and to be denied: a relic is to be taken by the party in his hand, and to swear on that relic thrice, to the breaking of the cross; and let the other deny upon the relic; and after that, let him give his oath, with the oath of two men nearest to himself in worth, a week from the next Sunday, in the church wherein shall be his sacramental bread and his holy water. [II. 255.]

## (BK. IX. C. xviii. § 4.)

Effeiriat rwg y dav dyn blwyf o byd ym rysson [y] rygthvnt amgymynv da vdvnt y my gymynwyt. Y mynev y kymynwyt. Yna yeffeiriati a ddyly dosbarth y rygthvnt os wrtho y kymynwyt<sup>a</sup>. [II. 254.]

A priest, between two persons of his parish, if there be a dispute between them, as to the bequest of property to them: 'To me it was bequeathed.' 'To me it was bequeathed.' Then the priest is to settle between them, if the bequest was through him<sup>a</sup>. [II. 255.]

<sup>a</sup> See p. 256.

## (BK. X. C. i. § 3.)

Galanas proposit Llan Ismael<sup>a</sup>  
Llonnyo<sup>b</sup> Dymbych<sup>c</sup> Llan Riein<sup>d</sup>  
hwebu athri geint mu a davad a  
hwch rwg pob dwy vn o honynt; a  
maenor a golchydes achymeint ahyn-  
ny yw galanas pob proposit ynn yr  
holl vyd<sup>e</sup>. [II. 306.]

<sup>a</sup> S. Ismael's? upon Milford Haven.

<sup>b</sup> Lanion? near Pembroke.

<sup>c</sup> Tenby in Pembrokeshire.

The galanas of the præpositus of  
Llan Ismael<sup>a</sup>, Llonio<sup>b</sup>, Dinbych<sup>c</sup>, and  
Llan Riain<sup>d</sup>, each three score and  
six kine, with a sheep and a sow  
between each two kine; and a mae-  
nor; and a washerwoman: and that  
is the amount of the galanas of every  
præpositus<sup>e</sup>. [II. 307.]

<sup>d</sup> Llan Riain near S. David's.

<sup>e</sup> See above, pp. 280, 282.

## (BK. X. C. v. § 1-6.)

[*Am Grevyddwyr.*]

I. O deruyd bot kwyneu vnac  
rei ogreuydwyr abat yn llys kymwt  
neu cantref athremygu yr orsed oho-  
nunt heb dyuot y ymdrycholi ac ar  
y tremic hwnnw barnu gael achym-  
ryt da o vanachty neu oysgubawr  
idaw o swydawc; deuet yr orsed  
geyr bron y swydawc adywedet y  
vot yn berchenawc yr da hwnnw  
drwy briodolder diwahan o vreint  
pennaduryaeth y vanachloc ac na  
dylyir gauaelu<sup>1</sup> y da ef y lle ny  
wneler drwy gwyn y gytbleit ar am-  
diffynnwr aphrofi y tremyc arnaw  
yswydawc adyly herwyd kyfreith  
lywyaw idaw y amdiffynn a rydhau  
y auel.

II. Os yswydawc a dyweit na  
rydhaa yr auel onyt y llys ae barn;  
dywedet yr abat nadyly y llys honno  
varnu dim arnaw ef ac nat ydiw

[*Of Religious Persons.*]

I. If there be complaints individually  
against some of the community of  
an abbat in the court of a cymwd,  
or cantrev, and they should contemn  
the court, by not coming to present  
themselves; and, upon that con-  
tempt, distress should be adjudged,  
and property taken from the mo-  
nastery, or from its barn, by an  
officer; let the abbat come before  
the officer to the court, and say that  
he is the owner of that property, by  
an inseparable propriety from the  
privilege of the supremacy of the  
monastery; and that no distress<sup>1</sup>  
should be made upon his property,  
where not made through a plaint  
by a co-party with the defendant,  
and proving the contempt against  
him; the officer, according to law,  
is to allow his defence, and release  
his distress.

II. If the officer say, that he will  
not release the distress, unless the  
court shall so decide; let the abbat  
say, that that court is not to decide



dan y medyant o vn dadyl: sef fford yw hynny bot tri ryw vrawtwr herwyd kyfreith achyntaf ohonunt brawtwr llys benatur y Brenhin, ac na dyly vn brawtwr o dieithyr hwnnw barnu ar abat herwyd breint nac ar [y] gynheneu trwy gyfreith.

III. Os y kwyn a vyd yn gysylltedic rac yr abat ay broffessawl deuent y gyt yr llys yn amserawl agwedy gwarandawer hawl a gofyn, gwrthebet yr abat trwy amdiffyn trwy ymdibleidaw y wrth y plas hwnnw. Canys,

IV. Tri ryw ymdibleidaw yssyd herwyd kyfreith kyntaf yw ywrth y plas yr orssed; eil yw yny mod; trydyd yw yny defnyd.

V. Sef val y mae hynny y neb aossotter idaw yn llys abrawtwr swydawc pennatur geir bron hwnnw y dyly seuyll trwy wir achyfreith; ac ny dyly brawtwr is y vreint noc ef teruynu arnaw nac arygreuydwr val ygossodet yr abat atdeb geir bron brawtwr llys pennatur y Brenhin o ryw achwysson, ac ymdibleitaw o ryw achwysson ereill y rei abwyssont y deilyngdawt y broffes ar creuyd; canys trwy varn y brawtwr hwnnw y rydheit y rei proffessawl o gyfreith y byt y gyfreith y creuyd dan lowodraeth eu habat.

anything in respect to him, and that he is not under its jurisdiction as to any suit: the way of that is, there are three kinds of judges, according to law; and the first of them, the judge of the supreme court of the King, and no judge but him, is to judge an abbat according to privilege, or his litigations, by law.

III. If the plaint be conjointly against the abbat and his professed, let them come together timely into court; and, after claim and demand shall be heard, let the abbat reply in his defence, by appealing as a party from that jurisdiction. For,

IV. There are three kinds of withdrawal, according to law: the first is, from the court to the session; the second is, as to the mode; the third is, as to the matter.

V. That is, whoever shall be assigned to preside in a court having a supreme judicial officer, before such he is to appear, through truth and law; and a judge of inferior privilege is not to decide upon him, nor upon his professing associate: as it has been established for the abbat to answer before a judge of the King's supreme court in certain cases, and to withdraw in certain other cases, the which may press upon the integrity of his religious profession; for through the judgment of that judge the professed were released from the law of the world to the law of the faith, under the government of their abbat.

## [ANOMALOUS WELSH (ECCLESIASTICAL) LAWS.]

VI. Or byd rei adebycker eu perthynn y abat neu yrei oy broffesswylyon ef gwneuthur galwedigaeth am gam varn arodo brawdwr llys kymwt nev gantref mywn collet yny erbyn nys dylyan o gyfreith. Sef fford yw hynny nyt oed vreint yr llysoed hynny y teruynu dim arnadunt hwy na rydit nachosp yn vn ryw aphei datkaneil lyc heb vreint idaw o tir nac o swyd varnn ogollet yn erbyn dyn nyt oed berthynnawl [idaw] nac ymwystlaw ac ef am y varn honno [herwyd kyfraith] namyn y chynnal yn bwnkg ogamdosparth a dwyn cosp amdanei, a goruet ar y brawdwr brenhinawl rodi teruyn o newyd ar y dadyl. Ac yn [vn] ryw gyffelyp ahynny ny dily yr abat nae greuydwyr galw barn brawdwr llys kymwt neu gantref canyt oes breint vdunt y teruynu arnadunt o rydit nac o gollet. Ac or damweina y rei hynny rodi dosparth o gollet yn erbyn yrei creuydus hynny, y swydawc a dily ony wna wrth rymder yn erbyn kyfreith, kynn gwneil du athal yr bleit gwybot trwy varn brawdwr llys pennadur yr arglwyd ae kyfreithawl yny dadyl. Canys Howel da a gennattawd herwyd y gyfreith ef y pop pennaeth or auei idaw gymwt neu chwanec, kynnall peunydyawl lys oriuedi swydogyon megys idaw ehun trwy vreint brenhinawl o vreint anoduaeu, achynnal llys beunydyawl bennatur herwyd swyd; achynnal dadleu ar y vchelwyr yny wlat trwy gyfreith gyffredin Gymry. Aphei damchweinei yr brawdwr hwnnw rodi camuarn

VI. If there be some who suppose it to pertain to an abbat, or to some of his professing community, to apply for the revocation of a wrong judgment pronounced by the judge of a cymwd, or cantrev, involving damages against them; they are not by law. The way of that is, those courts had not the privilege to determine anything respecting them, either of release, or punishment; as if a laic, without having privilege, either from land, or from office, were to pronounce judgment of forfeiture against a person; it would not be pertinent for him to enter into mutual pledge, as to such judgment, according to law, but to maintain it to be a point of wrong decision, and require punishment for it, and the royal judge be obliged to give a new decision upon the suit. And, in a manner similar therewith, neither the abbat, nor his religious, can be required to call for the judgment of the judge of the court of a cymwd, or cantrev; since such courts possess not the privilege of determining upon them, either for release, or for damage. And, if such courts give a decision for damage against those religious, the officer is to know, before he assist the party, unless he commit oppression against law, through the judgment of the judge of the supreme court of the lord, whether the cause be lawful. For Howel the good, according to his law, permitted every chief, who should have one cymwd, or more, to hold a

## [ANOMALOUS WELSH (ECCLESIASTICAL) LAWS.]

yn erbyn yr abat neu y greuydwyr mywn collet, y varn honno adylyit y galw ae chanlyn y enill barn ygan yr arglwyd ehun canny dylyir dwyn yswyd rac y brawdwr hynny ordiweder trwy gyfreith yscrivenedic abarn: allyna yr vn lle y goruyd ar yr arglwyd ehun rodi barn o gyfreith. [II. 318-322.]

daily court, with competent number of officers, the same as himself, by regal prerogative, with privilege, and sanctuaries, and to hold a supreme daily court, in right of office; and to hold pleas among his uchelwrs in his country, by the universal law of Cymru. And should it happen for that judge to pronounce a wrong judgment against the abbat, or his religious, to their damage, such judgment is to be moved and pursued to obtain judgment from the lord himself; for his office is not to be taken from the judge, until he shall be convicted by written law and judgment: and there is the single case wherein the lord himself is compelled, by law, to give judgment. [II. 319-323.]

<sup>1</sup> ganhadu = disposition P.

(BK. X. C. vii. § 10, 19, 21, 35.)

X. Tri dyn y degemir ununt: offeirat; etc. .... offeirat adyly degwm Crist.

X. Three persons who are to have tithe: a priest; etc. .... a priest is to have Christ's tithe.

XIX. Tri meib ny dilyant tref tat: nyt amgen, mab offeirat; etc. .... a mab a gaffo offeirat wedy ydel yn vrdeu offeiradaeth.

XIX. Three sons who are not to have patrimony: the son of a priest; etc. .... a son a priest shall have after taking priestly orders.

XXI. Teir gorssed gyfreithawl yssyd: gorssed arglwyd; gorssed Escob; gorssed abbat: ar teir hynny adilyant gwrogaeth gwyr, ac ny dyly gwr yr vn o honunt gwneuthur yawn namyn yny orssed ehun; ony bei damweinaw y wr yr Escob neu wr yr abat yn vn or dwy ereill, neu vn or dwy ereill yggorssed yr abat, pop vn or rei hynny gwnaet yawn yny lle y gwnel y cam.

XXI. There are three lawful sessions: the session of a lord; the session of a Bishop; and the session of an abbat: and to those three homage is due, and the man of no one of them is to do right but in his own session; unless a man of the Bishop's, or a man of the abbat's, in either of the other two, or either of the other two in the session of the abbat, let every one of those

do right in the place he does the wrong.

XXXV. Tri dyn a dieinc rac dihenyd <sup>1</sup>kyfaded<sup>f</sup> : yscolheic corunawc; ..... yscolheic corunawc ny dylyir arnaw na dirwy na dihenyd am y lletrat kyntaf, namyn <sup>2</sup>y diurdaw ae<sup>f</sup> adaw ar vreint lleyc. [II. 328, 330, 332, 338, 340.]

<sup>1</sup> am ledraf kyntaf yw = for theft: the first is S.

XXXV. Three men, who escape from execution, <sup>1</sup>although guilty: a tonsored clerk; etc. .... a tonsored clerk is not liable to dirwy, or execution, for the first theft, only <sup>2</sup>to be degraded, and left to the privilege of a laic. [II. 329, 331, 333, 339, 341.]

<sup>2</sup> dirwy = dirwy comes upon S.

(BK. X. C. ix. title and § 4, 8.)

[TRIDEC] PETH YSSYD YN LLUGRU  
Y BYT ABYTH Y BYDANT YNDAW;  
AC NY ELLIB BYTH Y GWARET  
OHONAW: SEF YW Y RHI HYNFY,

\* \* \* \*

IV. Ac offeiraf gwreigawc;

\* \* \* \*

VIII. Ac Escob hep wybot. [II. 346.]

THERE ARE [THIRTEEN] THINGS CORRUPTING THE WORLD, AND WHICH WILL EVER REMAIN IN IT; AND IT CAN NEVER BE DELIVERED OF THEM; WHICH ARE,

\* \* \* \*

IV. A married priest;

\* \* \* \*

VIII. A Bishop without knowledge. [II. 347.]

(BK. X. C. xiii. § 1, 2.)

I. Pan symudawd Hwel da [Brenhin Kymry] gyfreithau Kymry amryfaelyon vreineu y amryvaelyon dynyon agenatawd. Ac yn gyntaf y kenatawd y pob arglwyd eglwysic megys Archescob Mynyw, neu Escyb ereill, ac abbadeu breint breninawl y gynal dadleuoed ar y lleogyon hwy trwy gyfreith gyfredin Gymry. etc.

II. Pedwar peth a ganalod y Brenhin yny law ehun: vn yw, gwneuthur bath; eil yw gwneuthur kyfreith; trydyd yw kynal breint bagylogyon y deyrnas; pedwryd yw <sup>1</sup>cospi yneb

I. When Howel the good, King of Cymru, modified the laws of Cymru, he permitted various privileges to various persons of his kingdom. And, in the first place, he permitted every ecclesiastical lord, such as the Archbishop of Menevia, or other Bishops and abbats, royal privilege for holding pleas among their laics, by the common law of Cymru. etc.

II. Four things the King reserved in his own hand: one is, making coin; the second is, making law; the third is, maintaining the privilege of the croziers of the kingdom;

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awnel aghyfreith ar y prifyrd'. [II. 364.]

the fourth is, 'punishment of the person who commits illegality on the highways'. [II. 365.]

<sup>1</sup> Kynal ar holyon brenhinawl gorychel a berthyno att y goron y Brenhin ac aelodeu—

maintaining paramount royal suits that may pertain to the King's crown and his relations. &

## (BX. X. C. xiv.)

[*Am dadyl Llŷs ac Eglwys.*]

[*Of Suits of Court and Church.*]

I. O deruyd y wr olys holi gwr or Eglwys; holet ynyr Eglwys.

I. If a man of a court sue a man of a Church; let him sue in the Church.

II. O deruyd ywr o Eglwys holi gwr olys; holet ynyr lys.

II. If a man of a Church sue a man of a court; let him sue in the court.

III. [Wrth hynny ni dily gwr o lys heprwg y hawl yr Eglwys mwy no gwr or Eglwys yr llys: sef achaws nas dily amgymell or kledyf iawn yr vagyl.]

III. Hence a man of a court is not to carry his suit to the Church, more than a man of the Church to the court: because the sword enforces the rights of the crozier.

IV. Eissioes ef awnaethpwynt seith ragor yr Eglwys rac llys y bot y pennaf: sef ynt y seith hynny degwm, ac offrwm, a daeret, a 'chymyn marw', ac yspeil allawr, a sarhaet gradwr, a threis gole ar wr eglwyssic: am pop vn or rei hynny y dily gwr olys hebrwng iawn ywr o Eglwys hyt y Eglwys.

IV. However there have been seven precedences established for the Church as the chief, against the court: those seven are, tithe; offering; daered; 'communion of the dead'; altar spoil; saraad to a graduate; open violence against a clergyman: for each of those, a man of a court is to make amends to a man of a Church at his Church.

V. Vn ragor yssyd y Eglwys rac llys vreinawl teruynu yny blaen, o byd bagyl ac euengil: am tir adayar y mae hyn yr Eglwys. [II. 366.]

V. There is one precedence to a Church, in opposition to a privileged court; priority of meeting, if it have a crozier and gospel; for land and soil this precedence is for the Church. [II. 367.]

<sup>1</sup> priodas = marriage &

## (BK. X. C. xv. § 3.)

Trydyd orsed dygunull yw lle y damweino ymrysson kyfrwng awdurd-

The third conventional session is, where there shall be a dispute

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wyr am dyall dwy gyfreith erbyn yn erbyn y dosparth yr vn pwnwc heb uot vn ohonunt yn coylo dyall y gilyd neu na wpynt pwy deilygaf or dwy gyfreith hynny. Yna y dylyir o bleit y Brenhin kymell o wys rybydyawl kanhonwyr na gwyr o greuyd vwynt nac eglwyswyr ereill y <sup>1</sup>deruynv y gynnen [honnw] trwy dyall canon diledyf gan gatarnhau y dull drwy dwng, or byd ay typpyo; ac yna y dyly brawtwr opleit y Brenhin rodi barn herwyd dull y canonwyr. [Dewi Brefi! ]—[II. 370.]

amongst men of authority, concerning the import of two laws, opposed to each other, deciding the same thing, without any one giving credit to the explanation given by another; or that they know not which of those two laws is the most preferable: then it is incumbent, on behalf of the King, by a warning citation, to urge the canonists, whether men under religious vows, or other ecclesiastics, to <sup>1</sup>determine that cause of dispute by the sense of unbiassed canon, and confirmed by oath, if there be who shall doubt; and then it is incumbent on the judge, on behalf of the King, to pronounce judgment, according to the form of the canonists. Dewi of Brevi! [II. 371.]

<sup>1</sup> derbynn = receive S.

[The same enactment at greater length is in c. xi. § 18.]

## (BK. X. C. xvii. § 16.)

Eil yw<sup>a</sup> dyn y damwheino ido gwneuthur gweithreit ar ny allo caffel kymhediwe Eglwys Duw hyt pan gaffei y rydhau gan y Pab os gwedi y darffei idaw gynryt y fford yr bererindawt honno y kyffroit hawl arnaw ny dlyir gwrndaw yr hawlwr hwnnw na chynnwys y deissyf y gweithret barn hyt pan vei lithredic vn dyd ablwydyn or dyd y hadnepit kychwyn y pererin or gyghelloryaeth hono; cany dlyir herwyd kyfreith symmvt ansawd neb a vei vedyant a orffei arnaw geissaw rydit <sup>1</sup>deduawl o achaws gweithret <sup>2</sup>a wnelei o vywn

The second<sup>a</sup> is, a person who might chance to commit some act, so as not to be able to obtain the communion of the Church of God, until he obtained absolution from the Pope: if, after setting out upon his pilgrimage, a claim should be preferred against him, the plaintiff is not to be heard, nor is his application for proceedings at law to be countenanced, until a year and a day shall have elapsed, from the day it was ascertained that the pilgrim had departed from that canghellor-ship; since it is not right,

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yr amser y gallei dyuot trachefyn.  
[II. 384.]

according to law, to disturb the condition, or possession, of a person who might be constrained to seek 'customary remission of a deed, 'committed within' the period when he might return. [II. 385.]

<sup>1</sup> duwawl = godly *S.*

<sup>2</sup> an duwawl hyt ar = ungodly until *S.*

<sup>a</sup> i. e. of persons against whom no plaint is to be received or heard at law.

## (BK. XI. C. i. § 1.)

Tri dyn a gyneul tir ac ae herbyn o vewn llys kymwd neu gantref ac ny dylyant vod ynn bleidieu y atdeb y neb oe tired yn llwrw kwnu na bod yn vrawdwyrg ygneid o vreint tir megis brehyryon<sup>a</sup> nid amgen dyn eglwysic y rodo y Brenhin dir idaw drwy weithred ahynny oe dir dilis eu hyn; eil yw llyc y rodo y Brenhin idaw ae yghyfarws ae ynn rybychet arall ynn y kefylypyon vod; trydyd yw dyn agynhalo perchnogaeth o dauawgdir<sup>b</sup> dan y Brenhin y kyntaf areil rac bron y brawdwr penaf y dylan atdeb or byd ae gofynno ac nid y llys brenhuryawl; y trydyd ynn llys y dauawcdref y dylu atdeb ac nid y llys ychod. [II. 396.]

Three persons who hold land, and receive it in the court of a cymwd, or cantrev, and who are not to be parties to answer to any one for their lands upon any plaints, nor to be judicial judges, by privilege of land, like breyrs<sup>a</sup>: to wit, a clergyman, to whom the King shall grant land by deed, being his own undisputed property; the second is, a laic, to whom the King shall give land, whether as a gift, or as any other favour, in a similar manner; the third is, a person who shall hold the possession of taeog-land<sup>b</sup> under the King: the first and the second are to answer before the chief judge, if there be any to question them, and not in the baronial court; the third is to answer in the court of the taeog-trev, and not in the court above. [II. 397.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, pp. 246, 264.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 242.

## (BK. XI. C. ii. § 2.)

Or dervyd yr arglwyd keissaw kymell lleicion yr abad v lyd yrhei ni boynt ystynolyon o dir o vewn y gyfoeth ef neu yny deylu rwymedic idaw ar wasanaeth neu vn o

If the lord seek to compel laics belonging to the abbat to join the army, who have not investiture of land within his dominion, nor belong to his household by service,

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swydogion brenhinawl a swydeu llys beynydyawl ni dylyr llyd udynt o gyfreith. Sef fford yw hynny bod tir yr abad yn gardawd tir ryd ac na dylyr llyd o honaw o vreint tir ae bod hwynteu yn wyr amodawl kargychwyn or tir hwnnw ar dervyn amseroed. [II. 402.]

nor one of the royal officers, in offices of the daily court; they are exempt from military service, by law. The way of that is, the land of the abbat is frank-almoign land, and is not liable to military service by privilege of land; and they being also conventional car-flitting men from that land upon the expiration of terms. [II. 403.]

(BK. XI. C. iii. § 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 15, 22, 28, 29.)

RAC LLAW YDAMLYKEIR O GYFFREITH Y KREFYDWYR Y REI A AMBODYNT Y BROFFOES EU HARGLWYD ABAD.

IN THE SEQUEL IS TO BE EXPLAINED THE LAW CONCERNING THOSE RELIGIOUS MEN WHO DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO THE DISCIPLINE OF THEIR LORD ABBAT.

I. O bob aghyfreith krefydwyr llaw athroed or a wnelynt or a berthyno eu bod ynn eneid vathaeu oe achaws, neu gwerth neu yn dirwys neu yn gamlyrys<sup>a</sup> oe blegid; yr abad adylu eu dwyn herwyd kyfreith o orssed yr arglwyd y gabidwl ehyn. Kans kapidwl yr abad yssyd drydyd kapidwl kyfreithawl kans kyfreith a deweid na ellir kymell vn dyn eglwyssic rwymedic wrth vrdeu kysygreddic neu wrth grefyd arall y atdeb y neb o vaes oe sened or dwedir drc weithred arnaw.

I. For every breach of law, which religious men shall, by hand and foot, commit, for which they are liable to forfeiture of life, or to be sold, or to a dirwy, or to a camlwrw<sup>a</sup>; the abbat has a right, according to law, to remove them from the court of the lord to his own chapter. For the chapter of the abbat is the third lawful chapter; for the law says, that no ecclesiastical person, graduated in consecrated orders, or in other religious community, can be compelled to answer to any one out of his synod, if charged with any bad act.

II. Llymar gwahan yssyd herwyd kyfreith rwg gwr krefydys proffessawl a gwr arall eglwissic: gwr proffessawl ny dychawn gwranty vn dadl dros arall nabwrw y dillad krefydys odiwrthaw nac ymrodi y gyfreith llys kans ny dychawn dynny datl o orssed yr arglwyd y gabidwl yr

II. This is the distinction, according to law, between a man who is a professed religious, and another ecclesiastic: a professed man cannot warrant in any suit for another; nor divest himself of his religious garments; nor resign himself to the law of the secular court; for he



abad. Kans dwy varwolaeth yssyd, marwolaeth y gyfreith a marwolaeth anyanawl: marwolaeth y gyfreith yw megis y dwedir am y rei a darffei ydynt ymrodi y broffes abat ac a gyssylldid ar krefyd yn di amadaw yrhei hynny a diffyd ac a dreingk y breint yny gyfreith leiciawl hyd nadyly amreint ar nadynt; marwolaeth anianawl yw pan wahaner y eneid ae gorff.

III. Or byd kwyneu aholyon ar y ryw wyr hynny o blegid dlyeidon, ny ellir kymell neb o nodynt y atdeb geir bron brawdwy o blegid rwym perssonawl megis mechniaeth neu amod neu wybydyeid neu lunyaeth arall o edeid perssonawl. Kans ryw dynyon yssyd ar rydheir or ryw rwymedigaethu hynny: sef ynt dynyon avoynt rwymedic kyssegredic ynn anian duwolder a baint; a dyn a dylyo herwyd kyfreith baint penadyryaeth ac awahano kyfreith abreint dyn agysylltier ac ef hyd na atto rwym ymbleid y gymell o vn mod y dadl rwym nac edwid personawl val y dwesbwyd ychod ynnny lle ni aller herwyd kyfreith gwneuthur penadyr yn pleid yr defnyd. Sef yw yrheu hynny gwyr professawl neu ganon wyr ynn rwym krefyd kans breint penadyryaeth yr abad a diryma y breint hwynt hyd na allant vod ynn blaid yr dadyl.....

cannot remove a suit from the session of the lord to the chapter of the abbat. For there are two deaths, death in law, and a natural death: death in law is, as it is said of those who shall have devoted themselves to the discipline of the abbat, and are indissolubly united to religion; their privilege is extinguished and perished in the secular law, so that no want of privilege can affect them; a natural death is, when the soul shall be separated from the body.

III. If there be complaints and claims against such men for any dues, none of them can be compelled to answer, before judges, on account of any personal engagement; such as a suretship, or a contract, or as evidences, or other adjustment of personal due. For there are certain persons who are exonerated from such obligations: such persons as are bound and consecrated, in the nature of piety and privilege; and a person who is entitled, according to law, to the privilege of sovereignty; and those the law shall separate from the privilege of person that is connected with them, so that the bond of self-participation shall suffer them in no way to be compelled to abide a suit of personal obligation, or promise, as it has been said above, in the case where, according to law, a sovereign cannot be made a party to the matter. Those are, professed men, or canonists, under the obligation of religion; for the privilege of the

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V. Tri dyn ni ellir kanlyn kwyneu vníc rac dynt: manach hep y abad; a gwreic hep y gwr priod: a mab dioedran hep y dad neu geidwad tra dyló vod drosto.

VIII. Tri dyn a gyneil tir ynn llys y Brenhin ac æ herbyn gan y Brenhin os herwyd iawn ettifediaeth y disgyn ydynt y tir ac ny dylant wneuthur yr arglwyd vn or tri ryw wassanaeth yssyd ar dir euthyr talu y rent æ westva<sup>b</sup> idaw: gwreic wedw; a mab dioedran; ac ysgolheic rwymedic wrth yrdeu kysegredic: sef achaws y wr wreic ar mab o eisseu awdyrdawd synwyr a phersondawd; ac ysgolheic amna does werth ar y dafawd yghyfreith ac na dychawn neb varnu euthur dan perigl gwerth y dafawd.

XV. Pwy bynac dyn a doró y broffes o grefyd na manach na brawd nac agkar na meudwy na neb ryw grefyd or avo rwymedic ygwasaneuth Duw nac offeiriad a gymero gwreic gwedy rwyw offeiriadaeth; ny dylir kredy eu tystolyaeth yn vn lle euthur y gadel y maes o gyfreith onysvynnant gan y Pab neur Esgob drw benyd kyhodawc.

abbat's supremacy abrogates their privilege, so that they cannot be a party to the suit.....

V. Three persons against whom singly no complaints can be prosecuted: a monk without his abbat; a wife without her husband; and a son under age without his father, or guardian, whilst answerable for him.

VIII. Three persons who hold land in the King's court, and who receive it from the King, if the land descend to them according to right of inheritance, and who are not required to perform any of the three kinds of service to the lord, that are attached to land, except paying his rent and his gwestva<sup>b</sup>: a widow; a youth under age; and a scholar graduated in consecrated orders: because it is requisite for a man to have a wife; and the youth requires the authority of discretion and supervision; and the scholar has no worth set on his tongue, in law, and no one is qualified to judge, except under the penalty of the worth of his tongue.

XV. Whatever person shall break his vow of religion, whether a monk, or a friar, or an anchorite, or a hermit, or any kind of religious person bound in the service of God; or a priest who shall take a wife after the bond of priesthood; their testimony is not to be credited in any place, and they are excluded from the law, unless they seek a pardon from the Pope, or the Bishop, through a public penance.

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XXII. Bei lladei dyn wr eglwyssic neu wr rwyddwr wrth yr deu or kymer benyd ny chyll y dir euthur talu yr genedl yr alanas<sup>c</sup> ac yr arglwyd; ae dir a geiff ynn ryd.

XXVIII. Tri dyn nid geir y geir ar neb krefydwr gwedy tori broffes; a thyst a dyko kam dystolyaeth; a lleidir kyhoededic.

XXIX. Tri pheth nid ateb kyfreith dilys drostynt: vn yw barnu yn drygarawc; eil yw ysgymuno dyn kyn ateb; ..... [II. 402, 404, 406, 408, 410.]

XXII. If a person should kill a clergyman, or a man graduated in orders, if he perform penance, he loses not his land, but is to pay the galanas<sup>c</sup> to the kindred and the lord; and he is to have his land free.

XXVIII. Three persons whose words are not to be taken against any one: a professed religious after breaking his vow; a witness who shall bear false testimony; and a proclaimed thief.

XXIX. Three things for which sound law is not answerable: one is, judging mercifully; the second is, excommunicating a person before answering; ..... [II. 403, 405, 407, 409, 411.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 240.

<sup>b</sup> "Entertainment place," due to the lord from his freeholders, in kind or in money (*Queen's Glossary*).

<sup>c</sup> See above, p. 224.

## (BK. XI. C. iv. § 8, 14.)

VIII. Tri dyn a saif tafodyawc<sup>a</sup> absen drosdynt vn yw dyn a vo mewn pererindawd ty a Ryfein neu a bed Krist; .....

XIV. Pob adneu adylir y dalu ond adneu eglwys lle glendid ywr eglwys amam bop dyn agwahardedic yw kadw adneu ynn di kans ty gwedie yw ac nid ty ladron kans gwa-hardadwy yw kadw adneu ydi ni dylir talu adneu a dyker ynn lledrad o heni. [II. 420.]

VIII. Three persons for whom when absent a tavodiog<sup>a</sup> is to stand: one is, a person who shall be on a pilgrimage to Rome, or to the grave of Christ; .....

XIV. Every deposit ought to be paid for, except a deposit in a church: the church is a holy place, and the mother of all men, and it is forbidden to keep a deposit in it; for it is a house of prayer, and not the house of thieves: and since it is forbidden to keep a deposit in it, any deposit stolen from it is not to be paid for. [II. 421.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 252.

VI. *From the Triads of Dynmael Moelmud, dated by Mr. Owen in their present form in the 16th century.*

(BK. XIII. C. ii. § 193, 195, 219.)

CXCIII. Tri rhyw briodorian y sydd: cynnwynolion anianawl; gwyr llys; a gwyr llen: sev y cyntav o'r tri a elwir lleygion, ac iddynt y mae braint lle ar dir, a chyvarwys; ac i'r ail y bydd braint swydd, herwydd a ddyweto cyvraith; ac i'r trydyddion, sev y gwyr llen, y mae braint athrawon, sev dogn iddo o bob arad o vewn y swydd y bo ynddi yn warrantedig yn athraw; a'i dir braint yn rhydd iddo; a'i drwydded yn mraint ei wybodau.

CXCV. Tair swydd y sydd ar athrawon gwlad a chenedl, o wyr llen: dodi addysg i'r lleygion, yn eu teuluoedd, ac yn ngolychwyd, ac yn llysoedd y cyvoeth, ac yn ngorseddau gwarantedig o le ac amser; ail, cadw cov gwarantedig ar vreiniau, a devodau, a gwelygorddau, ac achau bonedd, gan briodasau teilyngion, ac ar weithredoedd anrhyddus, ac ar bob goreuau gwlad a chenedl, ac ar a wneler yn llys, ac yn llan, ac yn heddwch, ac yn rhyvel; trydydd, dylent vod yn barod bob lle ac amser gwarantedig wrth raid gwlad a chenedl, ac a wasanaethont, tan obr a thrwydded, i ddodi addysg a chynghor a gwybod

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CXCIII. There are three sorts of proprietors: those naturally born free; men of the court; and clergy: the first of the three are called laics, and to them pertains the privilege of location upon land, and grants; and to the second there is the privilege of office, according as the law shall set forth; and to the third class, or the clergy, there pertains the privilege of teachers, with an allowance to each from every plough within the district where he shall officiate as an authorized teacher; and his land of privilege free to him; and his maintenance secured to him under the privilege of his sciences.

CXCV. There are three functions pertaining to the teachers of the country and kindred, as being clergymen: imparting instruction to the laity in their households, and at worship, and in the courts of the territory, and in sessions authorized as to time and place; second, keeping authentic record of privileges, and customs, and tribe-stocks, and genealogy of descents, with legitimate marriages, and of honourable actions, and of all excellencies of a country and kindred, and of what shall be done in court, and in assembly, and in peace, and in war; thirdly, they are to be ready at every authorized place and time at the

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ar geinmygedau, ac i ddatgan cov gwarantedig, ac i ddangos cyvarwyddyd, ac i yru cyvarwyddyd ar a vo rhaid a govyn gan achaws gwlad a chenedl; megis y bydd negyddiaethau gwlad a gorwlad, a llys a llan; ac i drevnu gostegau a rhybuddiau, yn warantedig o gyvraith ac awdurdawd, a'u doddi yn mhen gwaedd gwlad; ac i lyvraw a ddoter gan varn a devawd ar gov llyvr a llythyr: ac amgen no hyn o swyddau nis dylit eu gyru ar athrawon gwlad, o wyr llen a llythyr a gwybodau ceudawd a doethineb, rhag nas gellynt eu gwasanaethu, a gwneuthur a ddylint parth eu swyddau o athrawon gwarantedig.

CCXIX. Tri chrair twng y sydd: brysyll golychwydwr; enw Duw; a llaw yn llaw a dynger iddo: a llawgreiriau a'u gelwir. Tri thwng arall y sydd: nid amgen, gair ar gydwybod; gair yn wyneb haul; a chadarnau yn nawdd Duw a'i wirionedd. Gwedi hyny doded: y den-gair deddv; ac evengyl Ieuan; a'r groes vendigaid. [II. 546, 548, 556.]

need of the country and kindred, and they shall minister, for fee and maintenance, to impart instruction and advice and information in respect to great events, and to proclaim authentic record, and to demonstrate skill, and to urge skill in what shall be necessary and in demand for the cause of a country and kindred; such as in regard to the negotiations of country and border country, and court and assembly; and to arrange proclamations and notices, as warranted by law and authority, and to put them on the cry of country; and to enter what may be promulgated of judgment and custom upon record of book and writing: and other than these functions ought not to be imposed upon the teachers of the country, as men of learning and literature and intellectual sciences and wisdom, lest they should not be able to serve them, and to accomplish what may be incumbent on them in their functions of authorized teachers.

CCXIX. There are three relics to swear by: the staff of a priest; the name of God; and hand-in-hand with the one sworn to: and these are called hand-relics. There are three other modes of swearing: to wit, averment upon conscience; averment in the face of the sun; and confirming under the protection of God and his truth. After that were introduced: the ten words of the law; the gospel of John; and the blessed cross. [II. 547, 549, 557.]

VII. *From a MS. of the 16th Century.*

(BK. XIV. C. iii. § 30.)

Tri anghyfarch addefedic ni ddlyir eu difwyn: dwyn cassec y gorffaw daly e hebawl yn llygru yt; a dwyn march neu gassec y rybyddiaw gwlat rhach cyrch a llu gorwlad; a dwyn march neu gassec y geyssyaw effeiryat y ddyn ymperygyll, neu feddic rhac y golli heb gymyn, neu eissieu meddic. [II. 582.]

Three acknowledged surreptions, for which no amends are due: taking a mare, to be enabled to catch her colt that is doing damage to corn; and taking a horse, or mare, to warn a country of an inroad, and of the host of a border-country; and taking a horse, or mare, to procure a priest for a person in danger, or a mediciner, lest he be lost without the sacrament, or for want of a mediciner. [II. 583.]

(BK. XIV. C. xiii. § 4.)

Teir poen oedd o gyfreith Dyfynwal, am lladrat, neu alanas, neu frat arglwydd: y hayarn twymyn; eil y dwfyr brwt rhoi yr aelawt awnelo yr anghyfreith ynthaw; trydydd oedd gornest ac ae gyrru yn gyfreithiawl; ac ny fyddei yna yr y gr ..... v neb a orfyddei yn yr ornest, hwnnw oedd yn lle prawf ac felly yn ..... Hywel dda ae yneit a weles nat cyfyawn hynny; sef gwnaethont praw o ddynyon a ..... ac nyt canmawl praw o weithret a fynnassant yn lle perthynei hynny, a rheithieu<sup>a</sup> am weithredoedd cyswyn, a gadu y bawb y wat yny ballei iddaw, a cheitweit ac arddelw<sup>b</sup> am weithredoedd yn llaw; na phan ballynt pallu y amddiffyn yr dyn a chyt a hynny gwir gwlat yn lleu ereill; ac am holion arglwydd yn benn ddiatnot; cany chyngein y arglwydd na thwng y greir yn gyrru, na thwng y greir yn

There were three ordeals by the law of Dyfnwal, for theft, or galanas, or treason to a lord: the hot iron; second, the boiling water, by putting the limb that did the deed therein; the third was, combat to such as should demand it lawfully; and there would be [no punishment for] the one who might overcome in the combat, that was instead of proof; and so, in [amending the laws,] Howel the good and his judges observed that that was not just; so they established proof by men, for [combat] they did not commend, and proof of deed willed, where that might be appropriate, and raiths<sup>a</sup> for reputed acts, and conceded to every body his denial, until it should fail him, and guardians, and arddelw<sup>b</sup> for thefts in hand; nor, when they might fail, that his defence should fail to the person; and, in addition to that, the justice of the country

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damdwng y da, na thwng yn profi o flaen gwybyddyeyt. Y tri pheth hynny ny ellir gwbyl hebddynt rhwng hawlwr ac amddiffynwr. [II. 622.]

enlightening others; and as to claims of a lord, in particular; since it is not pertinent for a lord either to swear on a relic in prosecuting, or to swear on a relic in swearing to property, or to swear in proving before evidences. Those three things cannot, in all things, be omitted between claimant and defendant. [II. 623.]

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 256.

<sup>b</sup> *arddele* = voucher (*Owen, Glossary*).

(BK. XIV. C. xiv. § 6<sup>a</sup>.)

Tri dyn ny ddylir y ladd, cyt boen llofruddieit: Brenhin ac effeiriad a cherddawr ac am hynny ny chaffant wynteu ran eithyr Brenhin ehun. [II. 626.]

Three persons who are not to be put to death, although they may be murderers: a King; a priest; and a minstrel: and, therefore, they also shall not have a share, excepting the King. [II. 627.]

<sup>a</sup> See the Latin of this, above, p. 264.

## (BK. XIV. C. xxi. § 24.)

Tri echos y bu da gwneuthyr o Ladin: cyntaf yw datcanu yr Pab rhac y bot yn erbyn cyfreith Eglwys mal y dallei hi; eil un ymoglyt rhac ddyall o bawb hi canys llawer peth a fydd mewn llythyr ny pherthyn eu clybot y fo rheit wrthynt; trydydd yw y beri yr ae gwyppo o Ladin ragor anrhydedd rhac lleyc; canys am hynny y dywetpwynt yn y llyfyr y neb a wyppo o ynat teir colofyn cyfreith, ar petheu ereill a elwir egwyddawr ygnyddyaeth nat eistedd lleyc yn y erbyn fyth. [II. 656.]

Three causes which render it advantageous to use Latin: first, that the law might be explained to the Pope, lest it should be in opposition to the law of the Church, so as to obscure it; the second one is, to guard against its being understood by every body; because many things may be in writing which it may not be proper should be heard, and yet they may be necessary; the third is, to procure for such as shall understand it in Latin, superior respect, compared with a laic; because it has been, on that account, said in the book, whatever judge is acquainted with the three columns of law, and the other particulars, called

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the rudiments of judicature, shall never give place to a laic. [II. 657.]

(BK. XIV. C. xlv. § 25.)

Ny ddichawn cerddyfwr a ymroddo y broffes ac ymadawo ar byt fot, na graddwr Eglwys mal effeiryat onys llyssa y bleit wynt, ef a eill ynat y llyssu. O mynnir eu llyssu, llysser pan fydder yn cadeiryaw y pleidieu pan ofynno ynat pwy dy gyngaws. [II. 734.]

A religious person that shall be bound by vow and shall have left the world cannot be [a pleader], nor a clerical graduate, as a priest; if the party do not object to him, the judge may. If it be minded to object to them, let it be done when they shall be arranging the parties, and the judge shall ask: 'Who is thy pleader?' [II. 735.]

GIRALDUS CAMBR., *Cambr. Descriptio, c. XVIII.—De Christianilitatis amore et devotione* [*apud Wallenses*].—De quolibet pane apposito primum fractionis angulum [Wallenses] pauperibus donant. Terni quoque in Trinitatis memoriam ad prandium sedent. Viro cuilibet religioso, monacho vel clerico, vel cuicunque religionis habitum præferenti, statim projectis armis cernuo capite benedictionem petunt. Episcopalem vero Confirmationem et Chrismatis (qua gratia Spiritus datur) Inunctionem præ alia gente totus populus magnopere petit. Omnium quoque rerum quas possident, animalium, pecorum, et pecudum, interdum decimas donant; quando videlicet vel uxores sibi maritali copula jungunt, vel peregrinationis iter arripiunt, aut quemlibet vitæ suæ, Ecclesiæ consilio, correctionem assumunt. Hanc autem rerum suarum partitionem decimam magnam vocant, cujus duas partes Ecclesiæ suæ baptismati, tertiam vero Episcopo diocesano, dare solent. Præ omnia autem peregrino labore, Romam peregre libentius eundo, devotis mentibus Apostolorum limina propensius adorant. Ecclesiis autem et ecclesiasticis viris, Sanctorum quoque reliquiis, et campanis bajulis, libris textis, et cruci, devotam reverentiam exhibere, longeque magis quam ullam gentem his omnibus honorem deferre, videmus: unde et ecclesiæ istorum longe majorem quam alibi pacem habent. Non etenim in cœmeteriis solum, verum etiam extra procul per metas et fossas ultiores ab Episcopis causa pacis impositas et constitutas animalibus ad pascua, pax servatur. Ecclesiæ vero majores, quibus majorem antiquitas reverentiam exhibuit, quatenus armenta mane ad pascua exire et vesperi redire possunt, pacem præbent. Unde, si cum principe capitales quis inimicitias incurrerit,



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si ecclesiæ refugium quæsierit, eadem sibi et suis pace gaudebit; adeo ut hac immunitatis indemnitate, longe canonum indulgentiam excedente (qui corpori solum et membris tali in casu salutem præstant), multi abutentes, audacius ob hanc impunitatem hostiliter excedunt; et ab his etiam refugii locis, tam patriam undique totam, quam principem ipsum, graviter infestando molestant. Heremitas et Anachoritas abstinentiæ majoris magisque spirituales alibi non videas. Gens enim hæc omni vehemens est intentione. [p. 891 *Camden.*]

## APPENDIX D.

[CARMEN DE VITA ET FAMILIA SULGENI EPISC MENEV., AUCTORE JEUAN  
FILIO\*, c. A.D. 1100.]

Arbiter Altithrone nutu Qui cuncta gubernas,  
Ut nunquam valeant modulum transire repostum;  
Qui cursu proprio sustentas iure potentes  
Stelliferi centri vergentia culmina circum,  
Non cassura solo, cursum retinentibus astris,  
Flammantemque globum Phœbi, lunamque bicornem,  
Flexibus ambiguus reptantum more draconum,  
Celatum lustrare polum, glebamque patentem;  
Solem dans luci clarum, noctique sororem,  
Sidera concedis necnon splendescere summa;  
Quique manens semper iam summa sede coruscus,  
Telluris molem circundans æquore tanto,  
Lymbo consimile, clari ceu tegminis oram,  
Occianum prohibes minitantem murmure multo  
Undisono fremitu rumpat ne proxima terræ:  
Tu mihi poscenti sophiam concede supernam,  
Votivas grates ualeam tibi pendere, Christe;  
Qui me scriptorem libri uenerabilis astat<sup>b</sup>;  
Nomine Quem quino uocitant te iure<sup>c</sup> fideles;  
Optatum fessus fecisti carpere finem,—  
Nam ceu cum nautæ iam iam minitante procella  
Contractis loris alnum mediante carina  
Consurgunt, uelis tenso sinuamine pansis,  
Uiribus arreptis temptant sua brachia remis;  
Pupi iam celsa sedens auriga benignus  
Tramite directo librat trans æquora tanta:  
At tunc turgescunt flabris rumpentibus euri;  
Imbribus horrendis insultans peruenit aura;  
Multiuago fremitu saltant ad sidera fluctus;  
Atque patente sinu declarat tartara tellus:  
At titubante genu frigescunt corda pauore;

Desperant nautæ uita: tunc ora precantum  
 Uocibus altisonis proclamant iure Tonantem.  
 Iam tandem, miserente pio uotisque fauente,  
 Optatum lassi portum libramine recto  
 Tangunt, ymnidicis referentes cantica votis.  
 Haut aliter scriptor, tangens extrema libelli,  
 Bicipitis rostro gaudet concludere finem.—

*De Nomine Scriptoris.*

Scriptoris nomen quisquis cognoscere curat,  
 Obtusæ mentis torporem truat inormem<sup>d</sup>;  
 Scrutando minium<sup>e</sup> nitens pertingere verum,  
 Ingenio claro versus iam perlegat istos.

*Nomen.*

Ymprimis nona texendi culmina cœpit;  
 Ordine quart-decima<sup>f</sup> considit rite secundo;  
 Has octaua manet, post tertia iure locanda;  
 Atque petit prima meorum tunc ordine quarto;  
 Nulli tresdecima dubium sit quinta putetur;  
 Numine tresdecima repetendi sexta locatur;  
 Excipit et quintam formandi septimus ordo;  
 Sortibus oct-decima pertingit ultima finis.—

*De Gente Patriaque et Nomine Patris Scriptoris.*

Et gentem patriamque simul nomenque parentis  
 Qui uelit, ut nota sint, [atque<sup>g</sup>] ordine noscere cuncta,  
 Intendat versus post istos iure sequentes.—

*Primo de Gente.*

Atqui famosa natus sum gente Britonum.  
 Romanæ quondam claris cum viribus obstat,  
 Iulius cum Cæssar refugus post terga recessit.—

*De Patria.*

Quod mihi Ceretica tellus sit patria certe,  
 Confiteor cunctis coram; ditissima quondam,  
 Hostibus exossa, peregrinis atque benigna,  
 Hospitio cunctos excellens iure Britannos.—  
 Exprimit hæc tabulæ formam iam quattuor oris.

[CARMEN DE VITA SULGENI.]

Nam mons excelsus<sup>h</sup> consurgit solis ad ortum,  
 Proficuus multis pecorum iam partibus apte;  
 Immensus fluuius<sup>l</sup> dextrales irrigat oras;  
 Ac latus occiduum latum mare<sup>k</sup> proluit inde;  
 At boreæ partes flumen<sup>l</sup> discriminat ingens.  
 Per mare sic montemque simul binosque per amnes  
 Fertilis hæc regio discernitur undique versus.—  
 Huius ad arctoas locus est metropolis<sup>m</sup> altæ,  
 Antestes sanctus quo duxit iure Paternus  
 Egregiam uitam septenos terque per annos,  
 Votiuus cælo quot mersis<sup>n</sup> quotque diebus.  
 Nam quiddam seclo rationis nouit in isto,  
 Omnia quæ mundi sunt, uana ac lubrica cernens,  
 Intendens animò cælestia numine toto,  
 Deuouit Christo totum seruire per æuum.—  
 Ac se iam sacrum mactans cruciamine corpus,  
 Semper inexhausto persistens ualde labore,  
 Orans, ieiunans, uigilans, lacrimansque, gemensque,  
 Essuris alimenta simul, uexisque leuamen,  
 Hospitibus pandens aditum, sitientibus haustum,  
 Egrotis curam, nudis miseratus amictum,  
 Prudens quæque gerens, perfecit cuncta potenter.  
 Ac sic lucifluum meruit conscendere regnum,  
 Cuncti quo sancti miro splendore beantur.—

*De Nomine Parentis.*

Ortus hinc Sulgenus adest iam germine claro  
 Nobilium semper sapientum iure parentum:  
 Qui postquam primo nablam tener edidit infans,  
 Perlustrat scholas studio<sup>o</sup> florente Britannas;  
 At crescente simul ardore, ac tempore multo,  
 Exemplo patrum commotus more<sup>o</sup> legendi,  
 Iuit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros.  
 Sed cum iam cimba uoluisset adire reuectus  
 Famosam gentem scripturis atque magistris,  
 Appulit ad patriam, ventorum flatibus actus,  
 Nomine quam noto perhibent Albania longe.  
 Ac remoratus ibi certe tum quinque per annos,  
 Indefessus agit votum. Ceu fertile pratum  
 Inueniens, caltis candens ardensque rosetis,  
 Dulciferoque thimo flagrans campestre per omne;

[CARMEN DE VITA SULGENI.]

Cum Sol flammivomo Cancrum iam splendidus astro  
 Transcurrit scandens summi laquearia centri,  
 Caumate tum tanto silvas camposque nitentes,  
 Conualles montesque simul, maria altaque circum,  
 Comburens totum pariter terramque polumque;  
 Ac clarus molli boreus cum sibelat aura;  
 Imbribus assiduis udus cum deficit auster;  
 Iam subtilis apes degustat flore sapor:—  
 Haut secus assiduo persistens nocte dieque  
 Exsugit puro septeni gurgitis amne  
 Pocula mellifluo flatu flagrantia longe.  
 Nam simul immenso discens scribensque labore,  
 Quicquid pernoctans scrutatur mente retenta,  
 Solem per clarum surgens scribebat acute.—  
 His ita degestis, Scotorum visitat arua;  
 Ac mox Scripturas multo meditamine sacras  
 Legis Divinæ scrutatur sepe retractans.  
 Ast ibi per denos tricens iam placidus annos  
 Congregat immensam pretioso pondere massam,  
 Protinus arguta thesaurum mente recondens.—  
 Post hæc ad patriam remeans iam dogmate clarus  
 Uenit, et inuentum multis iam diuidit aurum,  
 Proficiens cunctis discentibus undique circum;  
 Reges quem, populi, cleri, cunctique coloni,  
 Omnes unanimes uenerantur mente serena.  
 Quattuor ac proprio nutriuit sanguine natos,  
 Quos simul edocuit dulci libaminis amne,  
 Ingenio claros; iam sunt hæc nomina quorum,—  
 Rýcýmarch sapiens, Arthgen, Danielque, Iohannes.  
 Qui quoque post tantam populorum fame famam,  
 Cunctorum precibus superatus, summus ut esset,  
 Uallis iam Rosinæ presul deducitur, ecce!  
 Uitam quo puram Dauid perfecit ouanter.—  
 En igitur Sulgenus adest, mihi iam pater almus,  
 Pontificis Dauid cathedram qui rexit amœnam:  
 Bis reuocatus ibi, duodenos egerat annos;  
 Soli nam Christo secretam ducere uitam  
 Deuouens, totum pomposam liquerat illam.  
 In senio cuius hæc tanta uolumina scripsi,  
 Iam complere uolens genitoris uota benigne;  
 Ex cuius sophia nutritus qualiter haussi,—

[CARMEN DE VITA SULGENI.]

Merces hæc mea semper erit benedictio cuius.—

Quid referam plura? Uos deprecor ecce legentes,  
 Cura quibus sollers scrutandi sepe subinfert,  
 Præsulis excelsi clarum cognomine librum,  
 Augustinus; ouans clerus quem personat orbis  
 Unanimes uotis. Lætanter adeste precantes  
 Pro meis commissis, uocitor quem rite Johannes,  
 Hæc qui dictaui, scribendo quique peregi,  
 Ut Genitor clemens solita pietate remittat  
 Factis aut dictis quæ gessi corde nefando,  
 Proficuum dum tempus adest, certæque salutis;  
 Dum mihi uita manet, dum flendi flumina prosunt:  
 Nam cum tartareis nullius cura subintrat.  
 Ac mihi, post tandem finiti flaminis horam,  
 Pure perpetuam concedat scandere sedem  
 Arbiter, ex solio moderans jam sæcula summo;  
 Sanctorum cœtus quo clamant cœlitus omnes  
 Alleluia, pro cantu sine fine per æuum.

Amen.

\* From MSS. C. C. C. Camb. 199. See above, p. 298. On the top of one of the pages (fol. 112) of this MS. itself of S. Augustin's treatise *De Trin.*, is an invocation in Latin to S. Paternus: the MS. being probably written at Llanbadarn Vawr (see also above, pp. 308, 344, 350, 361). On the top of the opposite page are a few words in old Welsh. A few lines of this poem have been printed by Archbishop Usber (*Relig. of Anc. Irish*, c. 3 end; and *Vett. Epist. Hibern. Syll.*, Pref.) from a 16th century copy then in the Cotton MSS. And from the fragments of the same copy, half burned, which are now in the British Museum, Bishop Burgess printed a considerably larger portion in 1812. The original MS., which contains S. Aug. *de Trin.*, the poem being written on fly-leaves at the end of it, is described by Professor Westwood. Some verses also of Jean's brother

Rhyddmarch, prefixed to the Psalter mentioned above on p. 299, are printed by Usber (*Relig. of Anc. Irish*, c. 1).

<sup>b</sup> So in MS. ? "astas."

<sup>c</sup> "te eire" in MS.

<sup>d</sup> So in MS.

<sup>e</sup> The initial letters (sc. *YOHANNES*) in the following lines are coloured red and blue.

<sup>f</sup> So in MS.; and similarly "oct-decima," lower down.

<sup>g</sup> Some such word appears to be omitted.

<sup>h</sup> Sc. Plinlimmon.

<sup>i</sup> Sc. the Teifi.

<sup>k</sup> Sc. the bay of Cardigan.

<sup>l</sup> Sc. the Dyfi.

<sup>m</sup> Sc. Llanbadarn Vawr.

<sup>n</sup> So in MS.

<sup>o</sup> Leg. "amore."

<sup>p</sup> So in MS., evidently for "trinos."

## APPENDIX E.

### INDEPENDENT NORTH-WELSH BISHOPS DURING THE REIGN OF OWEN GLYNDWR, A.D. 1400-1415.

#### I. BANGOR. *Llywelyn or Ludovicus Bifort*, 1404-1408.

In 1406, "Lewelinus Bifort, vocat. Episcopus Bangorensis" (*MS. List of Fines* imposed upon rebels in Anglesey, quoted by *Br. Willis, Bangor*): who was, it is said, provided to the see by Pope Innocent VII. in 1404 (*Richardson on Godwin*) at the request of Owen, and upon the translation of Bishop Young to Rochester<sup>a</sup> Nov. 11, 1404; and who was plainly also consecrated to the see, probably by the Pope.

1408, Feb. 19. "Pontifex Bangorensis" (evidently Llywelyn), taken prisoner at the battle of "Heselwode" or Bramham Moor with the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf, "donari vita meruit, eo quod inermis captus fuit" (*Walsingh., II. 278*).

1408, April 18. Lewis of Bangor is "translated" by Pope Gregory XII. at Lucca, and Benedict Nicolls Rector of Staplebridge provided to Bangor (*Reg. Arundel*), who had temporalities July 22, 1408 (*Rymer, VIII. 544*; "nuper vacante Eccles. Cathedr. Bangor.," but no reason given for the vacancy), spiritualities Aug. 10, 1408 (*Reg. Arundel*), and was consecrated Aug. 12, 1408, by Archbishop Arundel (*ib.*). But, nevertheless, in 1416, "Ludovicus Bangorensis" signed as such at the Council of Constance (*Labb., XII. 184*).

<sup>a</sup> Richard Young, provided and consecrated to Bangor at Rome by Boniface IX. (*Reg. Arundel*, May 9, 1400), having temporalities in custody Oct. 21, 1399, and fully May 20, 1400 (*Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 5. memb. 27, p. 7. memb. 26*), and being Henry IV.'s ambassador to Norway and Sweden in 1399 (*Walsingh., II. 242*), and accordingly at Roskeld June 16, 1401, although in England again July 5 of that year (*Royal and Hist. Letters temp. Hen. IV., I. 16, 67*), was away from his see June 1402 (*Commission to William Menhagh Archdeacon of Chester to certify names of preachers of rebellion in Bangor and S. Asaph dioceses*), being indeed in Norway July 25 of that year (*Royal Letters &c. I. 68*), and also Nov. 2 and 25, 1402 (*ib. 119, 121, 130*):—was on the King's business "in partibus Dacie"

January 25, 1403 (*Letters on his behalf de generali attorney*, to last for one year, *Rymer, VIII. 287*); while Feb. 26, 1404, an administrator is appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury for Bangor, "ob negligentiam Episcopi in remotis agentis" (*Reg. Arundel*):—but August 2 of the same year Bishop Richard is again in London (*Royal Letters &c.*); and Nov. 11 of the same year, Innocent VII. translates him to Rochester, of which see however he is not in possession until May 2, 1407. Probably he quitted Bangor before the outbreak of the rebellion (*Proclam. super Rebell. Wallensium*, Sept. 19, 1400, *Rymer, VIII. 159*) and never returned. That he was ever Owen's prisoner is merely a guess, and probably a groundless one (of *Richardson on Godwin*).

[WELSH BISHOPS IN THE TIME OF OWEN GLYNDWR.]

II. S. ASAPH. *John Trevor* or *Trevaur*, 1395-1410.

Bishop Trevor pronounced sentence of deposition on Richard II., and was ambassador of Henry IV. to Spain, in 1399 (*Walsingh.*, II. 242), was also Chamberlain of Chester 1399-1405 (*Wharton, De Episc. Assav.*), and received confirmations from Henry of Papal grants (to hold the livings of "Meyvot," etc., in commendam with his see in consequence of his losses by the Welsh war) August 23, 1401 (*Rymer, VIII.* 223) and March 14, 1402<sup>a</sup> (*ib.* 246); but he was "factus transfuga ad Howenum" in 1404 (*Walsingh.*, II. 262), and was probably one of the two Bishops (Lewis of Bangor probably being the other) who in 1407, with the Earl of Northumberland, vainly sought an interview with the supposed Richard II. at Stirling (*Fordun, II.* 441). In 1408 the spiritualities of his see were given by the Archbishop of Canterbury to Thomas abbat of Shrewsbury (*Reg. Arundel*). May 16, 1409, Owen, and "Johannes qui se prætendit Episcopum Assavensem, proditores et rebelles nostri," were together and in rebellion against Henry (*De Rebellibus etc. in partibus Walliæ reprimendis, Rymer, VIII.* 588), and so also in 1410 (*ib.* 611). But April 10, 1410, Friday<sup>b</sup>, "Johannes Episcopus Herefordensis in Wallia" died in Paris and was buried in the Infirmary Chapel of S. Victor's Abbey (*Br. Willis, S. Asaph*), who is obviously meant for Bishop Trevor. And accordingly, Oct. 8, 1410, the see of S. Asaph is declared vacant (*Pat. 12 Hen. IV.*), and Robert of Lancaster is consecrated to it June 28, 1411 (*Reg. Arundel*).

<sup>a</sup> The David, whom Wharton inserts (*De Episc. Assav.*) as Bishop 1402-1411, is simply a blunder. His existence rests solely on an *Inspecimus* by Henry V. Feb. 4, 1415 (2 Hen. V.), of a grant of privileges by Hen. IV. July 20, 1402 (3 Hen. IV.), to "David" of S. Asaph ("nuper Episcopus," in 1415), from the *Lth. Rub. Assav.* (in *Peniarth MSS.* 26; and printed in *Nichols' Collect. Topogr.*, II. 277, but with a misdate of 2 Hen. IV. for 3 Hen. IV.). Indisputably, in July 1402 (and still more in 1401) John Trevor was both Bishop of S. Asaph and

in favour with Henry IV.; while he and none other was "nuper Episcopus" in 1415. No doubt the initial letter only of the name was transcribed by the copyist, or at the most "Dd.," and he ought to have written "Johannes." Here, then, there was no Welsh intrusion of a Bishop, as there was at Bangor, but the Canterbury Bishop joined the Welsh. And while at Bangor the see was filled during the lifetime of the rebel Bishop, at S. Asaph the King waited for the Bishop's death.

<sup>b</sup> April 10, 1410, was however a Thursday.

A.D. 1402. *Ordinationes Walliæ 4 Hen. IV.*

\* \* \* Item ordenez est et establez, que nulle homme Galois soit fait Justice, etc., n'autre office quelconque, ..... en nulle partie de Gales, etc. :



Auditum namque et diversis rumoribus relativis compertum nobis est, quod sacerdotes vestri a Catholicæ fidei regula secundum Scripturæ præceptum minime concordent.—ALDHELM, *Epist. ad Gerunt. Reg. Damnonia*. [A.D. 705.]

Addiderunt [Eadulfo Episcopo Cridiensi, c. A.D. 909], tres villas in Cornubia, ..... ut inde singulis annis visitaret gentem Cornubiensem ad exprimendos eorum errores.—*Memor. in Leofric's Missal*, fol. 2. [MSS. Bodl. 579, A.D. 1050 × 1072.]

# CHURCH OF CORNWALL

## DURING THE SAXON PERIOD,

A.D. 681-1072.

- [A.D. 682. "West Welsh driven to the sea" by Kentwin of Wessex (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, *Flor. Wig.*—the boundary had been near Bradford in Wilts 652, at the Parret 658; *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*). But,
- A.D. 683. A counter victory claimed for the Cornish, giving them back as far as Glastonbury (*Brut, Gwent.*)
- A.D. 700. Saxons in Exeter (*Willbald, V. S. Bonif., I. 5*), but sharing it with Britons (*W. Malm., G. R. A., II. 134*).
- A.D. 705. Aldhelm persuades the Britons subject to Wessex to adopt the Roman Easter (*Bæd., H. E., V. 18*).
- A.D. 721. The Cornish claim a victory over the Saxons (*Brut y Tywysog.*<sup>a</sup>).
- A.D. 813. Egbert overruns all Cornwall (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*); and, 823, the battle of Gavelford, and, 835, a second victory of Egbert over Cornish and Danes, gives the Saxons Devonshire (*ib.*).
- A.D. 833-900. Cornwall still a separate principality, but subject ecclesiastically (*Prof. of Bp. Kenstec*), and civilly (Alfred at S. Neot's, *Asser*), to the Saxon Church and King.
- A.D. 900. Exeter, with all the "parochia" belonging to Alfred in "Saxonia" (Devonshire) "et in Cornubia," given to *Asser* (of S. David's) in 884, passes to the see of Sherborne on *Asser's* succeeding to that see (*Asser*).
- A.D. 909. See of Crediton constituted out of Devon and three parishes in Cornwall, the (British) Cornish see still continuing (*Leofric's Missal*, fol. 2).
- A.D. 926. Cornish [?] princes do homage to Athelstan (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*), who is at Exeter in Easter 928 (*Kemble, C. D. 1101*); the Britons driven from Exeter and confined to the West of the Tamar (*W. Malm., G. R. A., II. 135, G. P. A., II.*); and the British Bishop of Cornwall a recognized suffragan of Canterbury (*Kemble, C. D.*, from A.D. 931).
- c. A.D. 950. First Saxon Bishop of Cornwall.
- A.D. 1026 or 1031 x 1035 or 1043. Cornish see merged in that of Crediton (Devon).
- A.D. 1050. The united see transferred to Exeter.
- A.D. 1072. First Norman Bishop of Exeter.]

<sup>a</sup> See also Bodl. MSS. 572, fol. 46 a, as quoted in Villemarqué, *Notice des MSS. des Anc. Brélons*, pp. 17, 18.

A.D. 705. *The Roman Easter, etc., adopted by the Britons subject to Wessex, i.e. by the "Wealas" of Somerset and Devon*<sup>a</sup>.

BÆD., *H. E.*, V. 18 [A.D. 731].—Denique Aldhelm, cum adhuc esset presbyter et abbas monasterii quod Maildufi urbem nuncupant, scrip-  
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sit, jubente synodo suæ gentis<sup>b</sup>, librum egregium adversus errorem Brittonum, quo vel Pascha non suo tempore celebrant vel alia perplura ecclesiasticæ castitati et paci contraria gerunt; multosque eorum, qui Occidentalibus Saxonibus subditi erant Brittones, ad Catholicam Dominici Paschæ celebrationem hujus lectione perduxit. [M. H. B. 268.]

\* That Aldhelm failed to convert the Britons not subject to Wessex, i.e. the Cornish, is both implied by Bæda himself, and expressly appears from the entry in Leofric's Missal relating to A.D. 909, which see under A.D. 909.

<sup>b</sup> See this synod, and Aldhelm's *Epistola ad Geruntium Regem Damnonie*, below under the Saxon Church, A.D. 705. The synod was very possibly that at which S. Boniface was present as a young presbyter (*Willibald, V. 8. Bonifac.*).

A.D. 833 × 870. *Kenstec*<sup>a</sup> Bishop of Dinnurrin<sup>b</sup> (in Cornwall) professes canonical obedience to Ceolnoth Archbishop of Canterbury.

[*Professio Kenstec Episc. Cornub.*].—In nomine Dei Summi et Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Kenstec, humilis licet et<sup>c</sup> indignus, [ad] Episcopalem sedem in gente Cornubia in monasterio quod lingua Brettonum appellatur *Dinnurrin* electus, in primis confiteor tibi, sanctissime pater Ceolnode Archiepiscopo, quod absque omni dubietate credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, coeli et terræ factorem, et in Jesum Christum Filium Ejus, Qui natus est de casta et intemerata virgine atque inviolata matre Maria, passusque pro humani generis redemptione et salute; similiter et in Spiritum Sanctum, procedente[m] de Patre et Filio, co-adorandum ac glorificandum: illam Sanctam Trinitatem et veram Unitatem ore et corde et omnibus adoro et glorifico atque etiam<sup>d</sup> laudo omnibus diebus vitæ meæ. Fateor etiam cum omni humilitate et sincera devotione, piissime et prudentissime præsul, quod in omnibus<sup>e</sup> sancta sede Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ et tibi tuisque successoribus obœdibilis servunculus supplexque clientulus usque ad terminum transeuntis vitæ sine ullo falsitatis frivolæ cogitationis scrupulo fieri paratus sum. Ego Kenstec mea propria manu confirmando subscribo signaculo Crucis Christi. [*Ex Regist. Prior. et Convent. Cant.*]

\* If this document dates towards the latter end of Ceolnoth's archiepiscopate, i.e. not long before 870, the occurrence in it of the Double Procession presents no difficulty. It is harder to understand how the Cornish "errors" could have lasted until 909 (see under that year), if the Cornish Bishop submitted to Canterbury half a century before; save indeed that these "errors" may well have held their ground among the

people long after the Bishops gave them up. The earliest Saxon grant of land in Devonshire appears to be one of Æthelwulf A.D. 854 (*K., C.D.* 272), followed by Æthelstan's grants to Exeter monastery A.D. 937, 938, 939 (*ib.* 369, 371, 373, 1120), and Cnut's A.D. 1019 (*ib.* 729). For Cornwall, see below on p. 688.

<sup>b</sup> "Dingerein" (i.e. the castle of Geraint) was the Cornish "harbour" at which S. Teilo

[A SAXON SEE IN DEVONSHIRE AND PART OF CORNWALL.]

landed (*Léb. Landav.* 108) when he crossed from Armorica to visit King Gerennius on his deathbed. Compare "Dinsol," the Cornish name for S. Michael's Mount in the Life of S. Cadoc (§ 27, *Cambro-Brit.* SS. 65). And it looks a very plausible conjecture, that the most probably miswritten *Dinnurin* of the Canterbury scribe was intended for Dingerein. If so, how-

ever, it leaves the question still doubtful between S. Germain's and Bodmin, both being (in the words of *W. Malm., G. P. A., II.*) "supra mare juxta flumen;" although S. Germain's no doubt is on the side of the country towards Armorica.

<sup>c</sup> "ad," in the MS.

<sup>d</sup> The word is doubtful in the MS.

<sup>e</sup> So in the MS.

A.D. 875. ANN. CAMB.—CCCCXXXI. Annus. Dumgarth<sup>a</sup> Rex Cerniu mersus est. [*M. H. B.* 836. So also *Brut y Tywysog., ib.* 845, "Dwrngarth."]

<sup>a</sup> See the sepulchral inscription of King Donieth or Dyvnerth, below in *Append. B.*

A.D. 884. *First Organization of a Saxon See out of (now Saxon) Devonshire.*

ASSER, *De Reb. Gest. Ælfredi*.—Dedit mihi [i. e. Ælfredus Asserio<sup>a</sup>] Exanceastre cum omni parochia quæ ad se pertinebat in Saxonia et in Cornubia. [*M. H. B.* 489.]

<sup>a</sup> On the death of Bishop Wulfge, A.D. 892 x 900, Asser became Bishop of Sherborne, the then Western Wessex see, comprising Berks, Dorset, Wilts, Somerset (*Flor. Wig. Append.*;

and see *Stubbs, Reg. Sae. Angl.*); to which must have been added, on Asser's accession to the see, Devonshire and some small part of Cornwall. "Saxonia" = Devonshire.

A.D. 891. ANGLO-SAX. CHRON., *in an.*—And þære Scottaƿ cuomon to Ælfrebe Cýninge. on ánum bate butan ælcum ƿeƿeðrum. of ƿibeƿnia. ƿonon hi hi beƿtælom ƿopƿon þe hi ƿolbon ƿop Lober lufan on elƿioðigneƿƿe beon. hi ne ƿohƿon hƿæƿ. Se bāt ƿæƿ ƿeƿopht of ƿƿiððan healfre hýbe þe hi on ƿopon. and hi namon. mið him ƿæt hi hæƿbon to ƿeƿon nihtum mete. and þa comon hie ýmb vii niht to lonbe on Cornƿalum. and ƿopon þa ƿona to Ælfrebe Cýninge. Ður hie ƿæƿon ƿenembe. Ðubyláne, and Maccebeðu, and Macclinnum<sup>a</sup>. [*M. H. B.* 362, 363.]

And three Scots came to King Ælfred, in a boat without any oars, from Ireland, whence they had stolen away, because they desired for the love of God to be in a state of pilgrimage, they recked not where. The boat (coracle) in which they came was made of two hides and a half; and they took with them provisions sufficient for seven days; and then about the seventh day they came on shore in Cornwall, and soon after went to King Ælfred. Thus they were named; Dubslane, and Macbeth, and Maclinnum<sup>a</sup>. [*ib.*]

<sup>a</sup> According to Ethelweard (*M. H. B.* 517), they went on to Rome and thence to Jerusalem.

X X 2

[BRITISH CORNISH BISHOP SUBJECT TO CANTERBURY.]

A.D. 909. *Saxon See of Crediton constituted out of Devon and three parishes in Cornwall.*

LEOFRIC'S MISSAL, fol. 2<sup>a</sup>.—Plegmundus ordinavit ... Eadulfum ad Ecclesiam Cridiensem: cui etiam addiderunt tres uillas in Cornubia, quarum nomina sunt hæc, <sup>b</sup> Polttun, Coelling, Landuithan; ut inde singulis annis uisitaret gentem Cornubiensem ad exprimendos<sup>c</sup> eorum errores. Nam antea in quantum potuerunt, veritati resistebant, et non decretis Apostolicis obœdiebant. [*MSS. Bodl.* 579.]

<sup>a</sup> Also in *Archæv. Cant.* A. fol. 3 b, whence Wilkins has printed it, l. 200. But Leofric's entry seems to be the original. It is also in part in *W. Malm.*, G. R. A., II. 134; and in *Flor. Wig.* For the date as above given, for the entire document, and for the probable facts of the whole case, see below under the Saxon

Church, under Plegmund's archiepiscopate.

<sup>b</sup> Se. Pawton in S. Breoc, Callington, and Lawhitton. See Pedler, *Anglo-Sax. Episc. of Cornwall*, p. 87.

<sup>c</sup> "extirandos," in *Arch. Cant.* as printed by Wilkins.

A.D. 931<sup>a</sup>. *British Cornish Bishop, suffragan to Canterbury.*

LELAND, *Collect.* I. 71.—Ex charta donat. Æthelstani. Erexit in Ecclesiam S. Germani quemdam Conanum Episcopum anno Dni. 936 nonis Decembris.

KEMBLE, *Cod. Diplom. Anglo-Saxon.*—(Conan, Cunan, Cuman, Caynan, or Cayman <sup>b</sup>, "Episcopus," signs charters, as one of Æthelstan's court, at Colchester March 23, at Worthy July 21, and at Lewton in Wilts Nov. 12, A.D. 931; at Middleton (in Hants?) Aug. 30, A.D. 932; and at Winchester May 28, A.D. 934. And his name is subscribed also to doubtful charters, of June 17, A.D. 930, at Nottingham, of Dec. 21, A.D. 935, and of April 23, A.D. 939, at Dorchester. [Nos. 353, 364, 1102, 1103, 1107; and 352, 367, 375, 1119.]

<sup>a</sup> For the Witenagemot under Æthelstan at Exeter in Easter 928, and its "judicia," see below under the Saxon Church. And for Æthelstan's conquest of the whole of Cornwall either then or in 926, *Gul. Malm.*, G. R. A., II. 134; and *Kemble*, C. D. 1101. Leland (as above) wavers between 936 and 926. The earliest signature of a Cornish Bishop to a Saxon grant is dated A.D. 931.

<sup>b</sup> A Bishop "Mancant," without any see named, signs the charter of Aug. 30, A.D. 932 (*Kemble*, C. D. 1107) at Middleton, to which Conan's name is also attached. Possibly he too was a Cornish Bishop. His name may be miswritten for Morcant. Possibly however it may be meant for Marchwyd Bishop of Llandaff (see above, p. 209).

A.D. 941 x 1026 or 1043. *Manumissions at the Altar of S. Petroc.*

(I.) ✕ Hæc sunt nomina illorum hominum Huna et soror illius Dolo, quos liberauit Byrhtflæd pro redemptione animæ suæ super

## [MANUMISSIONS AT S. PETROC'S.]

altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus: Leofric prespiter, Budda prespiter, Morhayþo prespiter, Deui prespiter, Hresmen diaconus, Custentin laicus, Wurlowen laycos: ut libertatem habeant cum semine suo sine fine. Et maledictus sit qui fregerit hanc libertatem.

(II.) Rumun liberavit Haluiu super altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus: clerici Sancti Petroci.

(III.) Budic, Glowmæð, quos liberavit Uulfsie Episcopus super altare Sancti Petroci.

(IV.) Hec est nomen qui liberavit Duihon super altare Sancti Petroci Sancti: Leofstan, coram istis testibus: Byrhsie presbiter, Morhaðo diaconus, Britail, Iohann.

(V.) ✠ Hæc sunt nomina illarum feminarum quas liberavit, Rum, Addalburg, et Ogurcen, coram istis, Wulsige, Cemoyre, testibus uiden[tibus]: Osian preß, Cantgethen diaconus, Leucum clericus.

(VI.) Wulfsige Episcopus liberavit Inaprost cum filiis eius pro anima Eadgar Rex et pro anima sua coram istis testibus: Byrhsige presbiter, Electus presbiter, Abel presbiter, Morhaðo diaconus, Canreðeo diaconus, Riol diaconus.

(VII.) Hæc sunt nomina illorum hominum quos liberabit Ælfsie super altare Sancti Petroci pro redemptione animæ suæ, Onwen, Ewsannec, Iesu, coram istis testibus: Byrhtsie p̃sr., Mermen p̃br., Agustinus lector, Morhaiþo diaconus, Riol diaconus.

(VIII.) Hoc est nomen illius femine Gluiucen, quem liberavit Ordulf pro anima Ælfsie super altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus: Morhaðo diacono, Tithert clerico.

(IX.) þes ys þæs manes nama ðe Byrhsie gefreāde et Petrocys stowe, Byhstán Háte Bluntan sunu, on Æpelhide gewitnyse hys āgen wíf, and on Byrhisi ys mæsepreóstes, and on [Rio], and Myrmen, and Wunsie, Mørhæþþo, and Cynsie preóst.

(X.) Hec sunt nomina mulierum, Medhuil, Adlgun, quas liberavit Eadmunt Rex super altare Sancti Petroci palam istis testibus: Can-gueden diaconus, Ryt clericus, Anaoc, Tithert.

(XI.) Hec sunt nomina hominum quas liberavit Eadmund Rex pro anima sua super altare Sancti Petroci, Tancwoystel, Wenerieð, coram istis testibus: Wulfsie presbiter, Adoyre Milian clericus. Atque in eadem die mandavit hanc feminam Arganteilin eisdem testibus.

(XII.) Hæc sunt nomina hominum quas liberauerunt clerici Pe-

## [MANUMISSIONS AT S. PETROC'S.]

troci, Sulleisoc, Ourduypal, pro anima Eadgari Regis super altare Sancti Petroci in festiuitate Sancti Micaelis coram istis testibus: Byrhsie presbiter, Osian presbiter, Austius lector, Riol diaconus.

(XIII.) Hoc est [nom]en mulieris Meonre, quam liberauit Ullfrit pro anima sua super altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus: Mermen presbiter, Morhaiðo diaconus, Guaiðrit clericus.

(XIV.) ✠ Hec sunt nomina mulierum quas liberauit Wulfsie Episcopus et clerici Sancti Petroci, Proscen, Wuencen, Onncum, Illcum, super altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus: Byrhsie presbiter, Riol diaconus, Morhaiðo diaconus, Wuaðrit clericus.

(XV.) ✠ Hoc est nomen illius mulieris, Wenceneðel, quam liberauit Ordgar dux pro anima sua super altare Petroci Sancti coram istis testibus: Wulfsige Episcopus, Leumarh presbiter, Grifuð presbiter, Morhaiðo diaconus.

(XVI.) ✠ Hoc est nomen illius hominis, Iliuþ, cum semine suo, quem liberauit Æþelræd Rex super altare Sancti [Petroci] coram istis testibus: Æþelwerd dux testis, Osolf prepositus testis, Mermen prespiter, Riol prespiter, Ret clericus, Lecem clericus, Blepros clericus.

(XVII.) ✠ Hoc est nomen istius hominis Madfuþ, quem liberauit Iofa pro redemptione animæ suæ super altare Sancti Petroci, coram istis testibus uidentibus: Tittherd presbiter, Aþalberþ presbiter, Budda presbiter, Brytthael presbiter, Cenmyn presbiter; hii sunt laici, Tepion filius Wasso et Ungust Cilifri. Et quicumque fregerit hanc libertatem, anathema sit; et quicumque custodierit, benedictus sit.

(XVIII.) Hæc sunt nomina illarum feminarum quas liberauit Ermen pro anima matris illius, Guenguui et Elisaued, super altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus uidentibus: Osian presbyter, Leucum clericus, Ret clericus.

(XIX.) ✠ Hoc est nomen istius hominis, Teriþian, cum semine suo, quem liberauit Ordulf filius Brun super altare Sancti Petroci pro redemptione anime suæ, ut libertatem habeat ab eo et a semine suo perpetualiter, coram istis idoneis testibus: Leofric presbiter, Prudens presbiter, Adalberd þ., Tittherd þ., Budda þ., Boia diaconus, Morayþo diaconus. Quicumque fregerit hanc libertatem, anathema sit; et quisquis custodierit, benedictus sit.

(XX.) ✠ Hoc est nomen illius mulieris, Ælfgyþ, quam liberauit Æþælflæd pro anima sua et pro anima domini sui Æþælwerd dux,

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super cimbalum Sancti Petroci in uilla quæ nominatur Lyscerryt, coram istis testibus uidentibus: Æpælstan presbiter, Wine presbiter, Dunstan p̃b., Goda minister, Ælfwerd Scírocc, Æpælwine Muf, Ealdred fratrē eius, Eadsige scriptor; et hii sunt testes ex clericis Sancti Petroci, Prudens presbiter, Boia diaconus, Wulfsige diaconus, Bryhsige clericus: ut libertatem \* \* \* \*. Et postea uenit Æpælwærd dux ad monasterium Sancti Petroci et liberauit eam pro anima sua super altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus uidentibus: Buruhwold Bisceop, Germanus abbas, Tittherd presbiter, Wulfsige diaconus, Wurgent filius Samuel, Ylcærpon p̃positus, Tēpion consul, \* \* \* filius Mor. Et ipse adfirmavit, ut quicumque custodierit hanc libertatem benedictus sit, et quicumque fregerit anathema sit a Domino Deo cœli et ab angelis Eius. Amen.

(XXI.) Hoc est nomen illius hominis quem liberauit \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

(XXII.) Hoc est nomen illius hominis quem liberauit Cenmenoc pro anima sua super altare Sancti Petroci, Benedic, coram istis testibus uidentibus: Osian presbiter, Morhaitho diaconus.

(XXIII.) Hoc est nomen illius Anaguistl, quem Eadgar Rex liberauit pro anima sua super altare Sancti Petroci, coram istis testibus uidentibus: Wulfsige presbiter, et Grifuð presbiter, et Conredu diaconus, et Byrehtsige cleric[us, et] Elie laicus.

(XXIV.) Wuenumon and hire teám, Móruiw hire swuster and hire teám, and Wurgustel and his team, wuarun gefreód hér on tūne for Eádryde Cynigc and for Æðelgea[rd] Biscop an þas hirydes gewitnesse ðe hér on tūne syndun.

(XXV.) Hoc est nomen illius hominis quem liberauit Perem pro anima sua, Gurient, super altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus: Adelces presbiter, Morhaedo diaconus, Guaedret clericus. Uale! Uiue in Xpo!

(XXVI.) ✠ Wunstan, Bleðros, Hincomhal, Benedic, Wurcant, Otcer, Onnwuen, Argantmoet, Telent.

(XXVII.) ✠ Marh gefreóde Leðelt and ealle hire teám for Eádwig Cynigc on his ægen reliquias and he hie hét lædan hider to mynstere and hér gefreógian on Petrocys reliquias on ðæs hirydes gewitnesse.

(XXVIII.) Hér kýð on ðissere béc ðæt Æilsig bohte ánnne wíf-mann Ongyneðel hátte and hire sunu Gyðiccael æt þurcilde mid healde punde æt þære cirican dura on Bodmine, and sealde Æilsige



## [MANUMISSIONS AT S. PETROC'S.]

portgereua and Maccosse hundredesmann IIII. pengas to tolle. þa ferde Æilsig tó þe þa menn bohte and nam hig and freóde úppan Petrocys weofede æfre sacles, on gewittnesse þissa gódera manna: Ðæt wæs, Isaac messepreóst, and Bleðcuf m.þ., and Wunning m.þ., and Wulfger m.þ., and Grifuð m.þ., and Noe m.þ., and Wurðicið m.þ., and Æilsig diacon, and Maccos, and Teðion Modredis sunu, and Kynilm, and Beórláf, and Dirling, and Gratcant, and Talan. And gif hwá þás freót ábrece, hebbe him wið Criste geméne. Amen.

(XXIX.) Hoc est nomen illius mulieris, Codgiuo, quam liberata fuit pro anima Maccosi centurionis super altare Sancti Petroci in uigilia Aduentus Domini, istis testibus uidentibus: Boia decanus, Godricus pr., Sewinus pr., Eli diaconus, Wulgarus diaconus, Godricus diaconus, Elwine diaconus, Eadricus clericus, Elwinus, Elwerdus, Sic-teicus, Waso, Wulwerdus, et alii quamplurimi de bonis hominibus. Si quis tam temerarius sit qui hanc libertatem fregerit, anathema sit a Deo et ab angelis Eius. Amen, fiat.

(XXX.) ✠ Hec sunt nomina illorum quas liberauit pro anima Etgar Rex super altare Sancti Petroci, Guene, Cen, Arganbri, et iunior dedit unum pro anima Etgar Rex, id est nomen Brethoc, coram istis testibus: Grifuð, Loumarch presbiter, Gaudreit clericus.

(XXXI.) Hér kýð on þissere béc þ Ælfríc Ælfwines sunu wolde þeówian Putraele him tó nydþeówetlinge; ðá [com] Putrael tó Boia and bed his forespece tó Ælfríce his bréðere; þa sette Boia þei spece wið Ælfríce, þ wes þ Putrael sealde Ælfríce VIII. oxa æt þere cirican dura æt Bodmine, and gef Boia sixtig penga for þere forspæce, and dide hine sylfne and his ofspreng æfre freols and saccles fram þam dæge wið Ælfríce and wið Boia and with ealle Ælfwines cyld and heora ofspreng, on þissere gewittnisse: Isaac messepreóst, and Wunning pr., and Sewulf pr., and Godríc diacon, and Cufure prauost, and Wincuf, and Wulfwerd, and Gestin, þes Biscopes stiwerd, and Artaca, and Kinilm, and Godríc Map, and Wulfger, and má gódra manna.

(XXXII.) ✠ Hæc sunt nomina illorum hominum quos liberauit Ælfsie pro anima Eadgari Regis et pro anima sua super altare Sancti Petroci, Guenttinet, Cenhuiðel, Daud, Anau Prost, coram istis testibus: Byrhtsie presbiter, Riol diaç., Anaoc clericus, Tidherd clericus, Beniamen clericus.

(XXXIII.) ✠ Hec est nomen illius mulieris quam liberauit Gratcant, Ourdylyc et filio suo Wurci, super altare Sancti Petroci coram

istis testibus: Hedyn presbiter, Lowenan diaconus, Leucum clericos, Blepros clericos, Boia discipulus, Cenmyn clericos, Beniammen clericos.

(XXXIV.) ✠ Hoc est nomen illius mulieris, id est Medguistyl, cum progenie sua, id est, Bleidiud, Ylcerthon, Byrchtylym, quos liberauerunt cleri[ci] Sancti Petroci super altare illius Petroci pro remedio Eadryd Rex et pro animabus illorum coram istis testibus: Comuyre prespiter, Grifiud prespiter, Oysian prespiter, Loumarch diaconus, Wudryt clericus, Loucum clericus, Tithert clericus.

(XXXV.) Hær cƿð on þyson béc þ Ælwold gefreóde Hwatu far hys sáwle a[t] Petrocys stow á degye and æfter degye. An[d] Ælger ys gewytnisse, and Gótric, and Walloð, and Gryfyið, and Bleyðcuf, and Salaman. And hebbe he Godes curs and Søs Petrocus and æalle Welkynes sanctas þe þ brece ðæ ydon ys. Amen.

(XXXVI.) Custentin liberauit Proscen pro anima sua super altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus: Mermen presbiter, Riol diaconus, Cantgueithen diaconus, Tithert clericus, et aliis multis.

(XXXVII.) ✠ Wulfsie Episcopus liberauit Aedoc filiam Catgustel pro anima sua et Eadgari Regis, super altare Sancti Petroci, Cyngelt, et Magnus, et Sulmeaþ, et Iustus, et Rumun, et Wengor, et Luncen, et Fuandrec, et Wendeern, et Wurðylic, et Cengor, et Inisian, et Brenci, et Onwean, et Rinduran, et Lywci. Hær sunt nomina illorum hominum, illarumque [feminarum], quos liberauit Wulfsige Episcopus super altare Sancti Petroci pro anima sua et pro anima Eadgæri Regis.

(XXXVIII.) ✠ Hær sunt nomina illarum feminarum quas liberauit Ermen pro anima matris illius, id est Guenguiu et Elisaued, coram istis testibus: Freoc p̃rs., et Osian p̃rs., et Leucum monachus.

(XXXIX.) ✠ Hoc est nomen illius hominis qui liberauit Osferd pro anima Eatgari Regis, Gurheter, super altare Sancti Petroci, coram istis testibus: Comoere Episcopus, Agustinus lector, Burhsie sacerdos.

(XL.) ✠ Hec est nomen [illius hominis] qui liberauit Eusebi pro anima sua, Ceenguled, super altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus: Grifuð, Leumarh, Riol.

(XLI.) ✠ Hec sunt nomina illorum hominum quos liberauit Anaoc pro anima sua; Otcær, Rannoew, Muelpatrec, Iosep; super altare Sancti Petroci, coram istis testibus uidentibus: Cemoere Episcopus, Osian sacerdos, Leucum clericus, Guadret clericus.

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(XLII.) Hæc sunt nomina illorum hominum, Agustin, Ælchon, Sulcæn, Loi, Milcenoc, Guenneret, Guncencor, Riol, Anauciat, Æulcen, Guncant, Cest, Æniuc, Oncenetil, Lucco, Iudhent \* \* \* .

(XLIII.) ✠ þes sint þa menn þe Wulfsige Byscop freóde for Eádgár Cinig and for hyne sylfne] æt Petrocys wefode, Leuhelec, Welet, \* \* nwalt, Beli, Iosep, Dengel, Proswite, Tancwuestel; an þas gewitnese, Byrhsige mæssepróst, Mermen massepróst, Mar, Catuutic, Wenwiu, Puer, Meðwuiwel, Iosep.

(XLIV.) ✠ þys syndun þara manna naman ðe Wulfsige Byscop gefreódet æt Petrocys wefode for Eádgár and for hyne sylfne: and Byrhsi ys gewitnese massepróst, and Mermen massepróst, and Morhi: ✠ Diuset and ealle here teám.

(XLV.) ✠ ðys sindun þara manna naman ðe Wunsie, Conmonoc, gefreóde at Petrocys stowe, [for] Eádgár Cinig, on ealle ðæs hiredys gewitnesse; Iarnwallon, and Wenwærþlon, and Mæiloc.

(XLVI.) ✠ Hæc sunt nomina filiorum, Wurcon, Aeðan, Iunerð, Wurfoðu, Gurualet, quorum filii et nepotes posteritasque omnis defenderunt se per iuramentum, Eadgari Regis permisum, quoniam accusazione malorum dicebantur patres eorum fuisse coloni Regi[s]: Comoere Episcopo teste, Ælfsie præside teste, Dofagan teste, March teste, Ælfnoð teste, Byrhtsie prespiter teste, Mitcuuð prespiter teste, Abel prespiter teste.

(XLVII.) Hoc est nomen illius uiri quem liberauit Byrhtgyuo, Salenn, pro anima sua super altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus: Leof presbiter, Osian presbiter, Morcant. [*Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 9381<sup>a</sup>; also in *Thorpe, Diplom.* 623-631, and *Kemble, C. D.*, IV. 308-317.]

\* The entries are in the margins of the pages of this MS.; which is the Bodmin Gospels, is now in the British Museum (see a description of the MS. in Oliver's *Monast. Exon.*), is supposed to have been written in the 9th century, and certainly belonged to Bodmin Priory. They do not follow one another chronologically.

The earliest manumissions entered, which can be dated within limits, are Nos. x., xi., in the reign of Eadmund A.D. 941-946; the latest, of which the date can be approximately reached, is one (No. xx.) witnessed by Bishop Burhwold, who died A.D. 1026 x 1043.

The Kings mentioned in them are—

- 1 Eadmund the Elder A.D. 941-946 (Nos. x., xi.).

2. Eadred A.D. 946-955 (Nos. xxiv., xxxiv.).

3. Eadwy A.D. 955-959 (No. xxvii.).

4. Eadgar A.D. 959-975 (Nos. vi., xii., xxiii., xxx., xxxii., xxxvii., xxxix., xliii., xlv., xlv., xlv.).

5. Æthelred A.D. 978-1016 (No. xvi.).

The Bishops mentioned in them are—

1. Æthelgea[rd] (No. xxiv.)—(so filled up by Kemble, the name being imperfect, but only as here marked, in the MS.)—contemporary with King Eadred, and possibly identical with the Bishop of Crediton of that name 934-953.
2. Comoere or Cemoere (Nos. xxxix., xli., xlv.), contemporary with King Eadgar, and probably the same with

## [FIRST SAXON BISHOP OF CORNWALL.]

the Comyre who was a presbyter in the reign of Eadred (No. xxxiv.).

3. Wulfisge (Nos. iii., vi., xiv., xv., xxxvii., xliii., xlv., xlv., and probably v.), also contemporary with King Eadgar, and probably signing a charter relating to lands in Cornwall in 967 (*Kemble*, 534).
4. Burhwold or Burnhwoold (No. xx.), whose date is fixed by charters of A.D. 1016, 1018, 1019 (*Kemble*, 723, 723, 730). For the end of his Episcopate, see below under A.D. 1026 x 1035 or 1043.

To these Bishops must be added from the charters, between Wulfisge and Burhwold, 1. a Bishop Ealdred (*Cornubiensis Ecclesie Episcopus*, in charters of A.D. 993, 994, 995, 997, *Kemble*, 684, 686, 688, 698), and 2. a Bishop Æthelred (*Cornubiensis Ecclesie Episcopus*, if the signatures are genuine, in a charter of A.D. 1001,

*Kemble*, 706). Further, since Comoere was Bishop in the time of Eadgar 959 x 975 (having been apparently a presbyter only, in that of Eadred), while Wulfisge (if the charter of that year be not signed, as many others of the period, by Wulfisge of Sherborne) was Bishop in 967, having been apparently a Priest still into Eadgar's reign, it seems probable, although by no means certain, that Comoere preceded Wulfisge. Further, Duke Ordgar (who died in 971) is mentioned as contemporary with Bishop Wulfisge; and Duke Ethelweard, alive until 1020 (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*), with Bishop Burhwold.

Æthelstan, the alleged "*Episcopus Cornubiensis*" of A.D. 966, is found only in the forged charter of that date (one of the Croyland forgeries) in *Kemble* 528.

See Oliver, *Monasticon*; Pedler, *Anglo-Sax. Episcopate of Cornwall*; and Carne, *The Bishopric of Cornwall* (*Journ. of Roy. Instit. of Cornwall*, 1867).

c. A.D. 950. *The first Saxon Bishop of Cornwall (probably) 2.*

\* See the note to the Manumissions above printed. If the imperfect name *Æthel*... is rightly filled up into Ethelgeard, either there was a Saxon Bishop of Cornwall during Eadred's reign A.D. 946-955, or the Saxon Bishop of

Crediton, named Ethelgar, 934-953, had charge of the Cornish see in addition to his own. Thenceforth, unless Comoere be an exception, the Cornish Bishops (separate from Crediton) were certainly Saxons.

A.D. 981. ANGLO-SAX. CHRON., in an. — Dep' on þýr gearpe þær 8cē Petrocfer 7top forþeþgob. and þý ilcan gearpe þær micel heapm zebón zehþær be þam jæ-pūman. æððer ze on Defenum. ze on þealum. [*M. H. B.* 399.]

\* To this statement, which is repeated by Florence of Worcester, Wynne and Powel in their Welsh history add, professedly from Welsh Chronicles, that at this time, and in consequence of this destruction of Petroctowe or Bodmin, the

In this year St. Petroc's-Stowe was ravaged; and that same year was much harm done everywhere, by the sea-coast, as well among the men of Devon as among the Welsh. [*Id.*]

see of Cornwall was removed from that place to S. Germain's. But this further statement does not occur in any of the *Bruts* in the *Myvyrian Archaeology* or the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, nor in the *Gwentian Brut*, nor in the *Annales Cambrie*.

A.D. 994. *Charter of King Æthelred to Bishop Ealdred, granting Liberties to the See of Cornwall.*

✠ Dis is se freols ðe Æþelred Cynincg het gesettan to þam Bisceoprice in to Wielcynne\* Ealdrede Bisceope. [Endorsement in *Thorpe, Diplom. Anglic. etc.* p. 285.]

\* That the Cornish were still called "Wealas," see p. 681, no. XXXV., and p. 695.

[ÆTHELRED'S GRANT OF LIBERTIES TO THE SEE OF CORNWALL.]

✠ Rector altipolorum culminis, atque Architector summæ fabricæ æthereæ aulæ, ex nihilo quidem cuncta creavit; cœlum, scilicet, et terram, et omnia quæ in eis sunt, candida quidem angelica agmina, solem, lunam, lucidaque astra, et cætera quæ super firmamento sunt; mundi autem fabricam inenarrabili disponens ordine, ut Genesis testatur, "Et hominem sexto die formavit ad similitudinem Suam," Adam uidelicet quadriformi plasmatum materia, unde nunc constat genus humanum, quæ in terris moratur, et ima terra larvarica latibula, ubi et Lucifer cum decimo ordine per superbiam de cœlo ruit. Sed et hoc invidet pestifer chelidrus protoplastum a Deo conditum, intellexerat ut hoc impleret, a quo ipse miser et satelliti illius de cœlo projecti sunt. Heu! quidem boni creati sunt, sed miserabiliter decepti. Ideoque invidus zabulus totis uiribus homini invidet, suadet mulieri, mulier uiro, per suasionem atque per inobedientiam ambo decepti sunt fraudulenter per gustum pomi ligni vetiti, atque amœnitatem paradisi dejecti sunt in hoc ærumnoso sæculo, et lethum sibi ac posteris suis promeruerunt, atque in tetrum abyssi demersi sunt. Sed hoc misericors et piissimus Pater indoluit perire tamdiu nobilem creaturam Sui imaginem; misertus est generi humano; misit nobis in tempore, id est, post quinque millia annorum, proprium Filium Suum, ut mundum perditum iterum renouaret: ut sicut mulier genuit mortem in mundo, ita per mulierem enixa est nobis vita in mundo; et sicut per delictum Adæ omnes corruimus, ita per obedientiam Christi omnes surreximus: et sicut mors per lignum intrauit, ita et uita per lignum sanctæ Crucis uenit, et antiquum inimicum superauit: et Fortis fortem alligauit, et in imo baratro retrusit. Juste periit qui iniuste decepit, atque omnes antiquas turmas a fauce pessimi leonis eripuit, et ouem perditam in humeris posuit, et ad antiquam patriam reduxit, et decimum ordinem impleuit. Unde ego Æthelredus, compunctus Dei misericordia, totius Albionis cæterarumque gentium triuiatim persistentium Basileus, dum plerumque cogitarem de huius sæculi caduci rebus transitoriis, quomodo superni Arbitris examine, cuncta quæ uidentur uana sunt, et quæ non uidentur æterna, et cum transitoriis rebus perpetua præmia adquirantur. Qua de re nunc patefacio omnibus Catholicis, quod cum consilio et licentia Episcoporum ac Principum, et omnium Optimatum meorum, pro amore Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, atque Sancti Confessoris Germani, necnon et Beati Eximii Petroci, pro redemptione animæ meæ, et pro absolutione criminum meorum, donauit Episcopium

[ÆTHELRED'S GRANT OF LIBERTIES TO THE SEE OF CORNWALL.]

Ealdredi Episcopi, id est, in Prouincia Cornubiæ, ut libera sit, eique subiecta omnibusque posteris eius, ut ipse gubernet atque regat suam parochiam sicuti alii Episcopi qui sunt in mea ditione, locusque atque regimen Sancti Petroci semper in potestate eius sit successorumque illius. Itaque omnium Regalium tributorum libera sit, atque laxata ui exactorum operum, pœnaliūque causarum, necnon et furum comprehensione, cunctaque sæculi gravedine, absque sola expeditione, atque libera perpetualiter permaneat. Quicumque ergo hoc augere atque multiplicare uoluerit, amplificet Deus bona illius in regione uiuentium, paceque nostra conglutinata uigens et florens, atque inter agmina beatitudinis tripudia succedat qui nostræ donationis muneri consentiat. Si quis vero tam epilemticus philarguriæ seductus amentia, quod non optamus, hanc nostræ eleemosynæ dapsilitatem ausu temerario infringere temptauerit, sit ipse alienatus a consortio Sanctæ Dei Æcclesiæ, necnon et a participatione Sacrosancti Corporis et Sanguinis Ihesu Christi Filii Dei, per Quem totus terrarum orbis ab antiquo humani generis inimico liberatus est, et cum Juda Christi proditore sinistra in parte deputatus, ni prius hic digna satisfactione humilis pœnituerit, quod contra Sanctam Dei Æcclesiam rebellis agere præsumpsit, nec in uita hac practica ueniam nec in theorica requiem apostata obtineat ullam, sed æternis barathri incendiis trusus iugiter miserrimus crucietur. Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCCXCIII., Indictione VII., scripta est hæc cartula a venerabili Archiepiscopo Sigerico Dorobernensis Æcclesiæ hujus munificentie chirographa: hiis testibus consentientibus, quorum inferius nomina decusatim Domino disponente caraxantur.

✠ Ego Æthelredus, Britannicæ totius Anglorum Monarchus, hoc Agiæ Crucis taumate roborau.

✠ Ego Sigeric, Dorobernensis Æcclesiæ Archiepiscopus, præfati Regis benevolentie lætus consensi. [Canterbury.]

✠ Ego Ælfheah Præsul, canonica subscriptione, manu propria, hilaris et triumphans subscripsi. [Winton.]

✠ Ego Ealdred, plebis Dei famulus, iubente Rege, signum sanctæ Crucis plaudens impressi. [Cornwall.]

✠ Ego Ælfwold Pontifex, Agiæ Crucis testudine intepidus hoc donum lepidissime roborau. [Crediton.]

✠ Ego Ordbricht, legis Dei Catascopus, hoc eulogium propria chira deuotus consolidau. [Selsey.]

[ÆTHELRED'S GRANT OF LIBERTIES TO THE SEE OF CORNWALL.]

✠ Ego Ælfrich, Episcopus Wiltanæ ciuitatis, consensi et subscripsi. [Wilton.]

✠ Ego Wulfsye, Episcopus Shyreburnensis Ecclesiæ, consensi et subscripsi. [Sherborne.]

✠ Ego Æthelwerd Dux. [Duke of the Western Provinces.]

✠ Ego Ælfric Dux.

✠ Ego Leofric Dux.

✠ Ego Leofwyne Dux.

✠ Ego Leofric Abbas.

✠ Ego Ælfred Abbas.

✠ Ego Ælfric Abbas.

✠ Ego Brichtelm Abbas.

✠ Ego Æthelmar Minister.

✠ Ego Ordulf Minister.

✠ Ego Beorhtwold Minister.

✠ Ego Æthelmar Minister.

✠ Ego Ælfric Minister.

✠ Ego Ælfwine Minister.

✠ Ego Leofwyne Minister.

✠ Ego Osulf Minister. [*Thorpe, Diplom.* pp. 285–287, from MSS. Harl. 358, fol. 31 : also in *Kemble, C. D.* 686.]

A.D. 1018. *Grant of King Cnut to Burhwold Bishop of  
S. Germain's.*

In Nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis! Cum mundi cursus uario, ut cotidie cernimus, incertoque discrimine tendat ad calcem, cuique mortalium opus est, ut sic caducam peragat uitam, ut quandoque possit Dei adiutus [beneficio] possidere perpetuam, et quamdiu uitæ istius utitur aura cuncta quæ iusto statuuntur examine certis apicum lineis inserere, ne forte subsequentibus ueniant in obliuionem, et sic a iunioribus paruipendatur institutio seniorum. Quapropter ego Cnut, Rex subthronizatus Angligenum, cuidam meo fidelissimo Episcopo, qui noto uocitamine nuncupatur Burhwold, condono in æternæ ius hæreditatis quandam telluris particulam, cassatas scilicet quatuor, in duobus locis diuisas, ubi ab incolis dicitur Landerhtun<sup>a</sup>, et terra aliud Tinieltun<sup>a</sup>: ut habeat quamdiu uitalis spiritus in hac ærumnosa uita fragile corpus aluerit: et post obitum ejus terram Landerhtun

[GRANT OF CNUt TO BISHOP BURHWOLD.]

commendat pro anima eius et Regis Sancto Germano in perpetuam libertatem; et Tinieltun faciat Episcopus quod sibi uisum fuerit. Maneatque, prout iam prædixeram, donum istud ab omni sæculari seruitio exinanitum, cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus, campis, siluis, pascuis, pratis, excepta expeditione tantum si necessitas coegerit, et captio furum, libertatem teneat ut superius titulatur. Hanc uero meam donationem, quod opto absit a fidelium mentibus, minuentibus atque frangentibus, fiat pars illorum cum illis de quibus e contra fatur, 'Discedite a Me maledicti in ignem æternum,' et cætera; nisi hic prius satisfaciant ante mortem. Istis terminis ista terra hinc inde gyratur, etc. Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis Millesimo Octodecimo scripta est hujus munificentix syngrapha, his testibus consentientibus quorum nomina inferius caraxata esse videntur.

✠ Ego Cnut, totius Britannix Monarchus, meæ largitatis donum Agix Crucis taumate roborau.

✠ Ego Livingus, Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus, consensi et subscripsi. [Canterbury.]

✠ Ego Wlfstan, Eboracensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopus, signo Sanctæ Crucis subscripsi. [York.]

✠ Ego Ælfgyfa Regina humillima adiuui.

✠ Ego Ælfsinus Episcopus non renui. [Winton.]

✠ Ego Brihtwold Episcopus adqueui. [Wilton.]

✠ Ego Æthelwine Episcopus confirmaui. [Wells.]

✠ Ego Brihtwine Episcopus consilium dedi. [Sherborne.]

✠ Ego Eadnoth Episcopus consolidaui. [Crediton.]

✠ Ego Burhwold Episcopus conclusi. [Cornwall.]

✠ Thurcil Dux.

✠ Yrric Dux.

✠ Egillaf Dux.

✠ Ranig Dux.

✠ Æthelweard Dux. [Duke of the Western Provinces.]

✠ Godwine Dux.

✠ Brihtrig Abbas.

✠ Æthelsige Abbas.

✠ Brihtmær Abbas.

✠ Ælfsige Abbas.

✠ Æluere Abbas.

✠ Æthelwold Abbas. [Exeter.]

✠ Thored Minister.



[CORNISH SEE MERGED IN THAT OF CREDITON.]

- ✠ Aslac Minister.
- ✠ Tobi Minister.
- ✠ Ælfgar Minister.
- ✠ Odda Minister.
- ✠ Ælfgar Minister. [*Kemble, C. D. 728<sup>b</sup>.*]

<sup>a</sup> Conjectured by Mr. Carne (*Bishopr. of Cornwall*, p. 20) to be respectively Landrake and Tiniel in Landulph, both in Cornwall.

<sup>b</sup> The earliest extant Saxon grant of land in

Cornwall appears to be one of Eadward the Martyr to Duke Ethelweard A.D. 977 (see *Pedler*, p. 165).

A.D. 1026 or 1031 × 1035 or 1043<sup>a</sup>. *The Cornish See merged in that of Crediton.*

I. GUL. MALM., G. P. A., II. *De Episcopis Cridiensibus, Exoniensibus, Cornubiensibus*.—Eo apud eum [Cnutonem Regem] gratiæ processit [Livingus Episcopus Cridiensis], ut defuncto avunculo suo Brihtwoldo, qui erat Cornubiensis Episcopus, ambos arbitrato suo uniret Episcopatus.

II. FLOR. WIG., *Append.*—Hic [Livingus], defuncto Brihtwoldo suo avunculo, Cornubiensem præsulatum, Rego Eadwardo permitte, Domnaniensi coadunavit Episcopatu. [*M. H. B. 621.*]

<sup>a</sup> The date of Burhwold or Brihtwold's death is only known by charters to have been after 1019 (*Kemble, C. D. 730*). But Living (abbat of Tavistock) did not become Bishop of Crediton until 1026 (*Kemble, C. D. 743*, if the charter is genuine) or 1031 (*Flor. Wig.*), and

Cnut died in 1035. Living's additional presentation to Worcester was in 1038 (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.*). If however we take the statement of Florence of Worcester, then Burhwold must have survived until at least 1043, the date of Eadward's coronation.

A.D. 1050–1071. *Manumissions recorded at Exeter Cathedral.*

1. Halwun Hoco on Exec[e]stre freode Hagelfæde hire wiman þi hy bocte 7 tilde for hire sawuale. Crist 7 S̅c̅e Peter 7 ʒalle Cristes halga hi wurðe wrað þe hi hæfre geþywie. Amen.

2. Her kyð on þisse bec þ̅ Æilgyuu Gode alysde Hig and Dunna and heora ofspring æt Mangode to

1. Halwyn Hoco in Exeter has freed Hagelfæd, her woman, whom she bought and fostered for her soul. May Christ and S. Peter, and all Christ's saints be wroth with those who shall ever reduce her to servitude. Amen.

2. Here is made known, in this book, that Ælfgifu Gode has redeemed Hig and Dunna and their

## [MANUMISSIONS AT EXETER.]

XIII. mancson 7 Æignulf portgerefa and Godric Gupa namon ðæt toll on Manlefes gewitnesse and on Leowerdes Healta and on Leowines his broðor and on Ælfrices Maphappes and on Sweignes scyldwirtha. and hæbbe he Godes curs þe þis æfre undo á on ecnysse. Amen.

3. Her kyð on ðyssere bec þ Godwine Blaca bohte hine sylfne 7 his wyf 7 his ofspring æt Willelme Hosethe mid XV. scill. on Edmæres gewitnise 7 on Ælwies 7 on Dunninges 7 on Sæmæres 7 on Ælmæres 7 on ealles þæs hundredes on Cuiclande. 7 Ælfric Hasl nā þæt toll for þæs Kynges hand. 7 hæbbe he Godes curse þe hit æfre undo. Amen.

4. Her kyð on ðysse bec þ Edwy Beorneges sunu lysde hine and his wif and his cild on Edwerdes dæge Cynges æt Hunewine Hega suna ut of Toppeshamm lande a Kinstantes gewitnise þf. and a Leofsuna gewitnise a Wunforda and on Ælfrices Hwita and on Wyciniges batswegenes 7 on Sæwines Lufa sunu and on Leofsies and on Ælfsies.

5. Her kyð on þissere bec þæt Ediuuu Sæugeles laf bohte Gladu æt Colewine wyð healfre punde to cepe 7 to tolle 7 Ælword portgerefa nā þ toll. 7 þæto was gewitniss Leowine Leowordes broðor

offspring from Mangod for XIII. mancuses; and Æignulf portreeve, and Godric Gupa took the toll, in witness of Manlef, and of Leowerd Healta, and of Leofwine his brother, and of Ælfric Maphap, and of Sweign shieldwright. And have he God's curse who shall ever this undo to all eternity. Amen.

3. Here is made known, in this book, that Godwine Black has bought himself and his wife and his offspring from William Hoseth, for XV. shillings, in witness of Edmær, and of Ælwie, and of Dunning, and of Sæmær, and of Ælmær, and of all the hundred of Quick. And Ælfric Hasl took the toll for the King's account. And have he God's curse who ever shall undo it. Amen.

4. Here is made known, in this book, that Edwy Beornege's son has redeemed himself and his wife and his child, in the day of King Edward, from Hunewine Hega's son, out of Topsham, in witness of Kinstant priest, and of Leofsunu at Winford, and of Ælfric White, and of Wyking boatswain, and of Sæwine Lufa's son, and of Leofsie, and of Ælfsie.

5. Here is made known, in this book, that Ediwu Sæfugl's relict has bought Gladu from Colewine for half a pound, as price and toll; and Ælword portreeve took the toll. And thereto were witness: Leowine Leo-

## [MANUMISSIONS AT EXETER.]

ƿ ƒlwi Blaca ƿ ƒlwine se cyng ƿ Landbyriht ƿ Alca ƿ Sæwerd. ƿ hæbbe he Godes curs þe þis æfre undo on ecnisse. Amen.

6. Her kyð on þisse bec þ Briht-mær æt Holacumbe hæfð geboht hine ƿ ƒlfgifu his wif ƿ hira cild ƿ hira ofspring æt Rocgere Derindig to twā pundum æfre to freolse on Dudemannes gewitnisse preostæs on Exancestre ƿ on Leofwines þr. on Hwitastane ƿ on ƒlfgæres portgerefa ƿ ƒlfwerdes portgerefa þe þ toll namon for þæs Cynges hand ƿ Leofwærdes his broðor ƿ Edwines Leofede suna ƿ Oteres Dyrlinges suna ƿ ƒlfgæres ƒlfrices suna ƿ Blakemanes ƿ Leofrices Sæwines suna ƿ Dunstanes Sæwines suna ƿ Randolfes ƿ Alboldes ƿ Sme-wines on Holacumbe ƿ ƒgilwærdes ƒlfsies suna ƿ ƒlfmær Cynges suna ƿ ƒlfsiges mid þā berde ƿ Edwine Leofrices suna ƿ Edwine Edmæres suna ƿ Edric on Hrenahpicge ƿ on ealles þæs hundredes gewitnisse on Holacumbe. ƿ hæbbe he Cristes curs ƿ Sca Marian ƿ Sca Petrus þe þis æfre undo ƿ on ealles þæs hundredes gewitnisse on Exancestre.

word's brother, and ƒlwi Black, and ƒlwine the king, and Landbyriht, and Alca, and Sæwerd. And have he God's curse, to eternity, who shall ever undo this. Amen.

6. Here is made known, in this book, that Brihtmær at Holcombe has bought himself and ƒlfgifu his wife and their offspring of Roger Derindig, for two pounds, in perpetual freedom. In witness of Dudman priest at Exeter, and Leofwine þr. at Whitston, and ƒlfgar portreeve, and ƒlfwerd portreeve, who took the toll on the King's account, and Leofræd his brother, and Edwine Leofed's son, and Oter Dyr-ling's son, and ƒlfgar ƒlfric's son, and Blakeman, and Leofric Sæwine's son, and Dunstān Sæwine's son, and Randolf, and Albold, and Smewine at Holcombe, and ƒgilward ƒlfsie's son, and ƒlfmær King's son, and ƒlfsige with the beard, and Edwine Leofric's son, and Edwine Edmær's son, and Edric at Renridge; and in witness of all the hundred of Holcombe. And have he Christ's curse, and S. Mary's, and S. Peter's, who shall ever this undo: and in witness of all the hundred at Exeter.

[MSS. Bodl. 579<sup>a</sup>; also in *Thorpe, Diplom.* 638-640, and *Hicks, Dissert. Epistol.* pp. 12, 13.]

\* These manumissions are written at the beginning and the end of Leofric's Missal, and probably date within his Episcopate; one of them certainly during the reign of Edward the Confessor. The translation is from Thorpe's

*Diplomatarium*. Topsham was given by ƒthelstan to Exeter monastery A.D. 937 (*Kemble, C. D.* 369). Hollacombe belonged to S. Petroc's at Bodmin (*Domesd. Bk.*), but land there is given by Leofric A.D. 1050 to Exeter (*Kemble, C. D.*

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940). Some other manumissions, and other documents, belonging to Exeter, but of a date later than Leofric, are also in *Hicks. id.*, pp. 14-19; and *Thorpe, Diplom.* 631-638. And a yet earlier manumission there is in *Thorpe*, p. 623: "Eadwi Cing het gefreon Abunet Ælfnoð cyrcweard an Exanceastre fryo 7 færewyrþe

on Apelwoldes ealdermannes gewitnesse: 7 Daniel biſc 7 Byrhtices profastes 7 on Wulfrices cyrcweardes 7 Eadwi Cing het hit bryga [? bryngan] Bryhtic her binnoð Cristes bec." Daniel's see is unknown, save that he was not Bishop of either Crediton or Cornwall.

A.D. 1050. *See of Crediton (including Cornwall) transferred by Bishop Leofric (1045-1071) and Edward the Confessor, with Papal sanction, to Exeter.*

I. LEOFRIC'S MISSAL<sup>a</sup>, fol. 3-5.—Anno vero Dominice Incarnationis mill<sup>o</sup>. XLIII., loco XI. p<sup>o</sup>[<sup>o</sup>is] Eduuardum predictum, filium scilicet Alfridi Regis, imp[er]iu[m] totius Anglorum regni suscepit Eduuardus filius Athelredi Regis die Dominico Pasce, i[d est], III<sup>o</sup>. n<sup>o</sup>[<sup>o</sup>]. Ap[er]i[i]s, cum magno gaudio totius gentis Anglice, in Uuinn-tonia ciuitate consecratus. Tertio autem anno imp[er]ii sui, i[d est], anno MXLVI. Dominice Incarnationis, dedit Episcopatum Cridionensis Ecclesie atque Cornubiensis prouincie capellano suo Leofrico, uita moribusque modesto<sup>b</sup>. Qui uir uenerabilis, accepto pontificatus honore, diocesim suam perlustransque, populo sibi commisso verbum Dei studiose predicabat, clericos doctrina informabat, ecclesias non paucas construebat, et cetera que officii sui erant strenue amministrabat. Cernens uero utramque prouinciam diocesis sue, i[d est], Deuenoniam et Cornubiam, piratarum barbarica infestatione sepius deuastari, cepit Diuina (ut credimus) inspiratione diligenter meditari, qualiter Episcopalem Cathedram Cridionensis loci ad urbem Exonicam transferre posset. Et q[ui]a sagaci animo p[ro]spexit hoc absque Romane Ecclesie auctoritate fieri non posse, misso illuc idoneo legato, i[d est], Landb[er]to presbytero suo, ad sanctissimum Papam Leonem, humiliter postulauit, qu[a]tinus directis Paternitatis sue litteris Regem Eduuardum rogaret, ut de Cridionensi uilla ad urbem Exoniensem Episcopalem sedem transmigrare concederet; ubi ab hostilitatis incursu liber tutius ecclesiastica officia disponere posset. Apostolicus uero pontifex libenter rationabili eius petitioni annuens huiusmodi litteras Regi Eduardo direxit.—

[Pope Leo IX. to Edward the Confessor. A.D. 1049 or 1050.]

LEO EPISCOPUS SERUUS SERUORUM DEI *Eduardo Anglorum Regi* salutem k[arissi]mam cum benedictione Apostolica. Si bene habes et bene uales, inde non modicas Domino Ihesu Xpo referimus gratias.

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Et hoc optamus, ut ita luculenter possideas regni gubernacula ut in eterna maneat tabernacula. Et q[ui]a audiuius te circa Dei ecclesias et ecclesiasticos uiros studiosum et religiosum esse, inde multum gaudemus. Et hoc ammonemus atque benigne rogamus, ut ita in Dei opere perseverare studeas, quatinus Regi Regum Deo placere ualeas atque cum Illo in celesti regno permanear. Notum itaque est nostre Pietati, qualiter Leofricus Episcopus sine ciuitate sedem pontificalem tenet. Unde multum miramur, non de illo solo, sed et de omnibus illis Episcopis qui talia agunt. Cum uero ad uos nostrum miserimus legatum, de aliis dicemus: n[on]c autem de nostro fr[at]re iam dicto Leofrico precipimus atque rogamus, ut p[ro]pter Deum et nostri amoris causam adiutorium p[re]beas, ut a Cridionensi villula ad ciuitatem Exoniam sedem Episcopalem possit mutare. Hec et alia bona opera ita agere studeas, ut a Xpo Domino et[er]num regnum adquirere ualeas. Uale k[ari]ssi[m]e semper in Domino.

His Rex litteris cum magna deuotione assensum p[re]bens, ilico dedit predicto Episcopo<sup>o</sup> monasterium Sancte Marie et Sancti Petri Apostoli in ciuitate Exonia, ut ibi Episcopale solium construeret. Et post aliquot menses illuc ueniens Rex ipse gl[ori]osus, per brachium dextrum Episcopum ducens, et nobilissima regina Edgitha per sinistrum, in cathedram pontificalem in prefato monasterio constituunt, presentibus ducibus multisque Angliæ proceribus. Sicque uenerabilis uir Leofric anno Dominice Incarnationis mill<sup>o</sup>. L., indict. III., cum magna gl[ori]a inthronizatus, primus Episcopus factus e[st] Exoniensis Ecclesie, iussuque Regis canonicos ibi constituit. Et quia locus ille terris, libris, omnibusque ornamentis ecclesiasticis pene despoliatus erat (nam ex XXVI. terris q[ua]s Rex religiosus Æthelstanus illuc dedit, uix una uilissima remansit, et tres codices, feretrumque reliquiarum), presul ipse de suis p[ro]p[ri]is multo tempore congregationem paut, et cum maximo studio quantum potuit locum illum restaurauit et em[en]dauit, datisque illuc tribus p[ro]p[ri]etatis sue terris augmentauit<sup>d</sup>.

Anno autem Dominice Incarnationis MLXXI<sup>o</sup>. Episcopatus uero sui anno XXVI., die IV. id. Febr., ex hac erumnosa uita subtractus, sepultus [est] in cripta eidem ecclesie per[tinen]ti. Pro cuius anime requie, pie lector, non omittas orare. [MSS. Bodl. 579: and Leo's letter also *in fin.* MSS. Bodl. 718: printed also in Pedler's *Anglo-Sax. Episcopate of Cornwall, Append.*, and in the *Monasticon*.]

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<sup>a</sup> "Hunc missalem Leofricus Episcopus dat Ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Apostoli in Exonia, ad utilitatem successorum suorum. Si quis inde abstulerit, æternæ subiaceat maledictioni. Fiat, Fiat. Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis." (Entry at the beginning of the Missal, repeated in Saxon.) The MS. is nevertheless now in the Bodleian Library.

<sup>b</sup> "Apud Lotharingos altus et doctus," according to Will. Malm. (*G. P. A.*, II., *De Episc. Criddien*, etc.), "Britonicus" (*Fl. Wig.*, in an 1046).

<sup>c</sup> "Lefricus, ejectis sanctimonialibus a Sancti Petri monasterio Episcopatum et canonicos statuit, qui contra morem Anglorum ad formam

Lotharingorum uno triclinio comederent, uno cubiculo cubitarent: transmissa est huiusmodi regula ad posteros, quanvis pro luxu temporum nonnulla jam ex parte deciderit; habentque clerici oconomum ab Episcopo constitutum, qui eis diatim necessaria victui, annuatim amictui commoda suggerat" (*W. Malm.*, *ib.*)

<sup>d</sup> See the grant in *Kemble*, *C. D.* 940, from the Exeter Gospels of Leofric, Bodl. Auct. D. II. 16. The same MS. records the foundation of the monastery of S. Mary and S. Peter at Exeter by Æthelstan (apparently about A.D. 928), and adds a list of relics which he gave to it (printed in *Dugd. Mon.*, II. 527-536).

## II. A.D. 1050. *Charter of Eadward the Confessor translating the Cathedral Seat of Crediton to Exeter.*

✠ Igitur cum uniuersa in sapientia a Deo bene condita sint, uidelicet, celum, aruum, et quæ in eis continentur; dignum quippe equumque dinoscitur fore, quamquam impossibilitas egre humanitatis humanos actus pluris calamitatibus conturbet, quod nos, qui rectores hominum a Deo constituti dicimur, instinctu superne clemencie, iuxta modulum nostre censure prudenter equitatem ciuilis exquirere studeamus sciencie, et præcipue res ecclesiastice denique discutiendo tractare ea quæ cernuntur nostris non equa optutibus rectius constituere, sicque sancita ad profectum innocencie siue utriusque uice corroborando gubernare. Equidem gloriosum est nimiumque laudabile destructas edes sanctorum locorum ad Diuinum adminiculum exposcendum reedificare, sacraque altaria uenustis uelis cum nitore pii cordis uelare, et unamquamque nocturnam siue diurnam sinaxim armoniacis modulis resonare. Quapropter ego Eadwardus, Dei gratia Anglorum Rex, consilio imbutus bone uoluntatis, quoniam prouisum est michi, secundum quod præcipitur in Diuinis decretis, Cathedram Pontificalem consolidare Exoniæ ciuitatis in monasterio Beati Petri Apostolorum Principis, quod est situm infra menia eiusdem urbis, auctoritate superni Regis, meaque, meeque coniugis Eadgyde, ac uniuersorum Episcoporum Ducumque meorum, per hoc priuilegium testamenti atque cautionem cyrographi in perpetuo tempore constituto<sup>a</sup> presulem Leofricum, ut sit ibi Pontifex, et post illum ceteri affuturi, ad laudem et gloriam Sanctæ et Indiuidue Trinitatis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et ad honorem Sancti Petri Apostoli. Dono etiam possessiones omnes ad eundem locum pertinentes quecumque sint, tam in ruribus, quam in pascuis, pratis, siluis, aquis, liberis, seruis, ancillis, legibus, censu, pagis, Deo

[SEE OF CREDITON, INCLUDING CORNWALL, TRANSFERRED TO EXETER.]

Sanctoque Petro, fratribusque canonicis ibi famulantibus, ut habeant iugiter subsidium hubesum corporis, quo ualeant Christo militare sine ulla molestia animi. Hoc tamen notum Papæ domino inprimis Leoni facio, ipsiusque attestazione confirmo, deincepsque cunctis Anglorum magnatibus, quod Cornubiensem diocesim, quæ olim in Beati Germani memoria atque Petroci ueneratione Episcopali solio assignata fuerat, ipsam cum omnibus sibi adiacentibus parochiis, terris, uillis, opibus, beneficiis, Sancto Petro in Exonia ciuitate trado; scilicet, ut una sit sedes Episcopalis, unumque pontificium, et una æcclesiastica regula, propter paucitatem atque deuastationem bonorum et populorum, quoniam piratîci Cornubiensem ac Cryditonensem æcclesias deuastare poterant: ac per hoc in ciuitate Exoniæ tuciore munitiorem aduersus hostes habere uisum est, et ideo ibi sedem esse uolo. Hoc est, ut Cornubia cum suis æcclesiis et Devoniam cum suis simul in uno Episcopatu sint et ab uno Episcopo regantur. Itaque hoc priuilegium ego Eadwardus Rex manu mea super altare Sancti Petri pono, et Præsulem Leofricum per dexterum brachium ducens, meaque regina Eadgyda per sinistrum, in Cathedra Episcopali consisto, præsentibus meis Ducibus et consanguineis, nobilibus necnon [et] capellanis, et affirmantibus laudantibusque Archiepiscopis Eadsino et Alerrico, cum cæteris aliis, quorum nomina describentur in meta huius cautionis. Enimvero si quis hoc testamentum priuilegii affirmare post meum uitæ transitum, et bona Ecclesie augere tuendo uoluerit, adaugeat Omnipotens Deus dies uitæ eius, atque centuplicato fructu nono decimo coronet eum æterno præmio in gaudio æthereo. Si autem, quod absit, aliquis compiler fraudis, uel cauillator fautoris, næuo fomitatis inique cupidinis, hanc cautionem seu decretum huius Episcopi destituere aut permutare contempnendo presumpserit, uel eiusdem minuere et subtrahere substantiam temptauerit, eternis mancipatus habenis cum diabolo eiusque ministris, sit separatus a Christo Ipsiusque Sanctis disseggregatione perpetue anathematis. Fiat. Anno igitur Incarnationis Dominicæ ML<sup>mo</sup>., Indictione tertia, Epactæque XXV., et Concurrentes VII., hæc cautio scripta est edictione solida karecterata karecteribus testium, iubente piissimo Rege Anglorum Eadwardo gubernante eodem feliciter tocius monarchiam Maioris Britanniæ.

✠ Ego Eadwardus Rex hoc donum cautione hac affirmo.

✠ Ego Eadsinus Archiepiscopus Christi Ecclesie manu mea subscripsi.

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- ✠ Ego Elericus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis Ecclesie confirmaui.
- ✠ Ego Stigandus Episcopus dignum duxi [Winton].
- ✠ Ego Herimannus Episcopus corroborauit [Wilton].
- ✠ Ego Rodbertus Episcopus testis fui [London].
- ✠ Ego Ealdredus Episcopus consolidauit [Worcester].
- ✠ Ego Doduca Episcopus consensi [Wells].
- ✠ Ego Godwinus Dux.
- ✠ Ego Leofricus Dux.
- ✠ Ego Siwerdus Dux.
- ✠ Ego Haraldus Dux.
- ✠ Ego Radulfus Dux.
- ✠ Ego Tosti Nobilis.
- ✠ Ego Ægelwerdus Abbas adiui.
- ✠ Ego Æluiuus Abbas consensi.
- ✠ Ego Ræinbaldus Presbiter commendauit.
- ✠ Ego Godwinus Presbiter aspirauit.
- ✠ Ego Godmannus Presbiter interfui.
- ✠ Ego Petrus Presbiter laudauit.
- ✠ Ego Odda Nobilis.
- ✠ Ego Rymhtrucus Nobilis.
- ✠ Ego Ordsanus Minister.
- ✠ Ego Celericus Minister.
- ✠ Ego Touinus Minister.
- ✠ Ego Radulphus Minister.
- ✠ Ego Dodda Minister.
- ✠ Ego Eadulfus Minister.
- ✠ Ego Ordulfus Minister.
- ✠ Ego Ecgulfus Minister.
- ✠ Ego Eabpissus Minister.
- ✠ Ego Celfpendus Minister.

*In dorso.*—Dis is se freols to þam b. rice on Defenanscire. 7 on Wealan ðe Eadweard Cyningc dihte 7 gesette mid his witena ræde for his sawle alysednisse into þam Bisceopstole on Exanceastre Leofrice þe 7 his æftergegean on æce yrfe. [*Thorpe, Diplom.* pp. 365-368; from MSS. C. C. C. C. 59, no. 36: also in *Kemble, C. D.* 791<sup>c</sup>.]

<sup>a</sup> *Leg.* "constituo."

<sup>b</sup> See also *Hickes, Dissert. Epist.* pp. 16, 17, note: whose objections however to its genuineness without exception break down upon examination. Leofric's death, Feb. 10, 1072, N. S.

(as above), transferred the united Bishoprics to a Norman. And the date of his death is confirmed by that of his successor's consecration, and by a Chron. of Exeter in Richardson, which gives 1073.



## APPENDIX A.

### CORNISH LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS.

#### I. *Missa Propria Germani Episcopi*<sup>a</sup>.

Deus, Qui famulantibus Tibi mentis et corporis subsidia misericorditer largiris, presta quesumus, ut hi, qui pro amore supernæ patriæ ardentem celestia præmia per fidem et spem caritatemque adipisci cupiunt, intercedente beato archimandrita confessore tuo Germano, ab omnibus iniquitatibus liberentur: per Dominum.

ITEM ALIA.—Propitiare, Domine Deus, omni populo Christiano ex diuersis partibus linguarum conuenienti in unum; ut hi, qui locum præclarum atque notum ubique Lannaledensem<sup>b</sup>, ubi reliquiæ Germani Episcopi conduntur, quanto ardensius tanto cicius uisitare cupiunt, ab omnibus infirmitatibus anime et corporis fideliter liberentur: per—

SECRETA.—Concede nobis, omnipotens et misericors Deus, ut hæc n[obis sit]<sup>c</sup> salutifera oblatio; et, intercedente beato Germano confessoræ<sup>d</sup> tuo atque Episcopo, a nostris reatibus liberet, et a cunctis tueatur aduersitatibus: per Dominum—

Ø.<sup>e</sup> ETERNE Deus, et Te laudare mirabilem Dominum in sanctis Tuis, quos ante constitutionem mundi in æternam Tibi gloriam præparasti; ut per eos huic mundo ueritatis tuæ lumèn ostenderes: de quorum collegio iste Germanus Episcopus, a sancto Gregorio Romane urbis Apostolico ad nos missus, lucerna et columna Cornubiæ et præco ueritatis efulsit; qui in Lannaledensis æclesiæ Tuæ prato sicut rosæ et lilia floruit, et tenebras infidelitatis quæ obcecabant corda et sensus nostros deterisit<sup>f</sup>. Propterea supliciter atque lacrimabiliter deprecamur totis uiribus clæmentiam Tuam, ut licet meritis non exsistentibus misereri tamen nostri semper digneris; quia priscis temporibus legimus Te irasci magis quam misereri propter uesaniam dementiamque imp[er]ii et crudelis Regis Guortherni. Idcirco petimus, obsecramus, deprecamur, in his ultimis diebus, indulgentiam pietatis Tuæ; ut per Te ueniam peccatorum nostrorum mereamur accipere, et post finem huius seculi, Te interpellante, cum Deo et sanctis Eius immaculati conregnare possimus. Et ideo—

POST COM.—Sumptis, Domine, sacramentis in honore sancti confessoris

## [CORNISH LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS.]

Tui Germani Æpiscopi, cuius uenerandam hodiæ cælebramus festiuitatem, nos clémenter exaudi; Tuam misericordiam obsecrantes, ut ab hac <sup>b</sup> \* \*

\* From MSS. Bodl. 572, fol. 1: printed by Hardy, *Descriptive Catal. etc.*, vol. 1. P. i. pp. 48, 49;—also in Bishop Forbes's preface to the *Arbuthnot Missal* edited by the rev. G. H. Forbes (Burntisland, 1864). MS. Bodl. 572 (olim 2026, and NE. B. 5. 9) is described by Wanley p. 83, by Lhuys (*Arch. Brit.*, I. 226), and by Villemarqué (*Notice des MSS. des Anciens Brétons*, pp. 16 sq.). Welsh interlinear glosses occur in the plainly Bréton school-tract contained in it, which indeed has for its object to teach the Latin equivalents of these words to boys.

<sup>b</sup> Of course S. Germain's, but why called the Church of Aladh or Aledh does not appear. Kill-Aladh was the old Irish name of the see of Killala in West Connaught in Ireland.

<sup>c</sup> A blank in the MS., which the sense seems to require to be filled up as above.

<sup>d</sup> So in MS.

<sup>e</sup> i. e. "Vere dignum est."

<sup>f</sup> Or, "detruit."—defait in MS.

<sup>g</sup> So in MS.

<sup>h</sup> The fragment is on two sides of one folio, which breaks off with this word at the end of the page.

II. *Benedictions* (i.) of *Alms for the Dead*, (ii.) of *Manumissions*,  
(iii.) of *Crops* <sup>a</sup>.

(i.) Creator et Sanctificator elementorum, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, Qui es vera Trinitas et Unitas, precamur Te, Domine clementissime Pater, ut elemosina ista fiat in misericordia Tua, ut accepta sit cibū istū <sup>b</sup> pro anima famuli Tui iſt, ut sit benedictio Tua super omnia dona ista: per—

(ii.) Per <sup>c</sup> libertatem hominis istius quem liberemur in terris, libertatem suorum dona <sup>d</sup> consequi percipere mereatur <sup>e</sup> peccatorum: per—

(iii.) Benedictio Tua <sup>f</sup>, Domine, copiosa super has segetes adveniat, petimus, faciatque in eis salubrem fructum ad copiosam inaptam <sup>g</sup> sibi confuntie <sup>h</sup> tempore perferre: per—

ALIA.—Alme Deus clemens omnipotens, sanctificationis Tuæ virtute semina hic aspersa in fertilem messem, adacomodā umare victum <sup>i</sup>, concede, quesumus, oportuno tempore pervenire. Benedicere et sanctificare digneris, Domine, segetes nostras per hanc creaturam aque et benedictionem qua benedicimus, ut abiciantur demones ac uolucres celi et uermes terre ab ea per inuocationem nominis Tui, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen <sup>k</sup>.

\* From the same MS. fol. 40. a. It is only a conjecture that these formulæ are British and Cornish. They are found in the same MS. with the *Missæ S. Germani* above given, and on the next page to a tract (on Purgatory) of which one Bledian a manifest Briton was the scribe; and in a handwriting resembling his (although immediately at the end of the tract, on fol. 39. b, are inserted also some much more modern liturgical couplets); and while on the back of the page, fol. 40. b, is a table for Easter-day, ranging

from March 22 to April 25, both inclusive, which is therefore only British if dated after the Britons had adopted the reformed Roman reckoning, yet this is followed (after a page nearly blank) by a school-tract written (as appears by internal evidence—see Villemarqué as quoted below) about the middle of the 8th century by an (apparent) Cornishman who had (certainly) migrated to Brittany. At the commencement of the Benedictions is a rubric in Saxon—"Cpeth þy ofen ðone mete þetnan"

## [CORNISH LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS.]

(i. e. þæt man) "ƿop beaðne gebædeð." The likelihood seems to be that the fragments belong to Cornwall when under Saxon influence, say, about the 9th or 10th century. A fragment of a Mass on fol. 90 b. has no apparent connection at all with the British Church; occurring, as it does, among documents belonging to the Saxon Church, which are bound up in the volume.

<sup>b</sup> So in MS.

<sup>c</sup> In margin, þær man ƿreoð ma ...

<sup>d</sup> So in MS. Possibly "donator."

<sup>e</sup> "mereatur," is interlined.

<sup>f</sup> In margin, ðonne man æpæt ace ...

<sup>g</sup> So in MS.

<sup>h</sup> So in MS. Possibly "confluente."

<sup>i</sup> So in MS. Possibly "adaccommodans humanum victum."

<sup>k</sup> At the end are three lines of Anglo-Saxon cypher.

[The Bodmin Gospels (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 9381, see above, p. 190, note <sup>i</sup>, and pp. 624, 682) are mainly *Vulgate*, but contain several traces of the *Old Latin*, e. g. in S. Matthew, v. 13 *projiciatur* foras (but marked in the MS. as an error), 15 *supra* candelabrum, 16 *magnificent* Patrem, vii. 12 *omnia bona ... ita et vos facite*, 23 *omnes* qui, 27 *ruina ejus*, xii. 36 *pro* eo, xv. 14 *cæci sunt* [*om. et*] *duces*, xvi. 18 *inferni*, xxii. 37 *ex* tota anima, 40 *tota* lex, xxiii. 3 *vero* opera, ... *ipsi* et non, 13 *vos autem* non, xxiv. 20 *vestra* [*om. in*] *hieme*.—That they belonged to the monastery of Petrockstowe or Bodmin during the earlier half of the 10th century, and were therefore probably written while that monastery was still British but in full intercourse (times of war excepted) with the Saxon Church, is evident from the manumissions on the margins as above printed, pp. 676–683.]

## APPENDIX B.

SEPULCHRAL CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN CORNWALL, A.D. 700-1000.

1. At *S. Clere*, in the churchyard, upon one of three stones, and surrounded by a rectangular *sulcus*.

DONIERTH ROGAVIT PRO ANIMA.

See for King Dumgarth or Dyvnerth, drowned A.D. 875, above, p. 675 : and for the stone, *Borlase*, pp. 396, 397, and *Blight*. There is or was a cruciform chamber underground below the stones, and interlaced knotwork upon them.

2. At *S. Blasay*, upon a slender upright stone<sup>a</sup>.

✠ ABRORON (on one side).—VILLICI ✠ FILIUS (on the other).

<sup>a</sup> In letters of Saxon character : see *Borlase*, pp. 399-401.

3. Near *Michel*<sup>a</sup>.

RVANI HIC IACIT.

<sup>a</sup> Upon a stone in letters of like date to the last : *Borlase*, p. 401.

4. At *Camborne*<sup>a</sup>.

LEUIUT IUSIT HEC ALTARE PRO ANIMA SVA.

<sup>a</sup> Upon a flat altar-stone in letters of like character to No. 2 : *Borlase*.

5. At *Lanteglos* near *Camelford*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> An illegible inscription in Saxon characters : *Blight*.

[A block of tin, found at Trereife and now in Penzance Museum, has upon it a (supposed) mercantile mark, made up of a cross with various additions, and of three Greek letters, viz. ε ι ς (*Archæol. Journal* for Dec. 1866, XXIII. 284-286).]

## APPENDIX C.

### OF LEGENDARY LIVES OF CORNISH SAINTS A.D. 700-1000; ALSO OF CORNISH MONASTERIES.

Of Legendary Lives of Cornish Saints of this period there are none extant. Even in the time of William of Malmesbury (*G. P. A. II.*, speaking of S. Rumon the tutelary saint of Tavistock), there was the evidence in Rumon's case of a splendid tomb, but "nulla scriptorum fides assistit opinioni;" in that, "non solum ibi, sed in multis locis Angliæ, invenies violentia hostilitatis abolitam omnem gestorum notitiam, nuda sanctorum nomina, et si quæ prætendunt miracula sciri."

I. Of British Cornish Saints (setting aside those who went to Brittany) there are only,—

1. Lives quoted by Leland, but not now extant, as of *S. Ia, V.* (*Leland, Itin. III. 11*), of *S. Breaca, V.*, *S. Wymerus*, and *S. Edwinus* (*Id., ib. p. 5*), of *S. Maw* (*Id., ib. p. 19*), of *S. Sativola* (*Id., ib. p. 49*); and,—
2. Articles of purely modern compilation, on *S. Buriæna, V.*, in the *Actt. SS. (May, vol. VII. p. 37)*, and on *S. Columba, V. et M.* (*Ib., March, vol. II. p. 427*)\*.

II. Of Saxon Cornish Saints there are Lives of *S. Neot*, who died it is said A.D. 877, at S. Neot's in Cornwall, "in qua S. Gueryr requiescit et nunc etiam S. Neotus ibidem pausat" (*Asser, M.H.B. 484*), which are of 11th to 13th centuries (see *Hardy, 539-548*), the passage from the *Vita S. Neoti* quoted in Asser's present text being an interpolation (*Petrie upon Asser, M.H.B. 480*). See also Gorham's *Hist. and Antiq. of Eynesbury and S. Neot*.

\* For lists of "nuda Sanctorum nomina," belonging to Cornwall, see *William of Worcester*, etc. as quoted above p. 150, note \*, *Leland's Collectanea*, and the list of dedications of Cornish churches at the end of *Oliver's Monast. Exon*.

"Hucusque Levita," who is alleged by Leland to have composed a volume of homilies, and to have prefixed to them Egbert's *Excerptiones*, i. e. either the set of extracts printed under that title

by Wilkins or that abstracted by Johnson (see in the Preface to the present volume) which contain some of the Frank Capitularies (see *Wasserschleben, Bussordn. etc., Geschichte etc. p. 45*), or some similar compilation, and who therefore must be dated not earlier than the 9th century, speaks of himself as coming "ex ultimis Cornu-galliæ partibus" (*Leland, De Script. Brit. 168, 169*); to which Leland adds that he belonged to S. Germain's. Bale dates him in 1040.

[OF LEGENDARY LIVES OF CORNISH SAINTS; AND OF CORNISH MONASTERIES.]

There is no record of the foundation of Cornish British Monasteries. S. Germain's, and Petrockstowe<sup>a</sup>, both in due time Augustinian, were clearly of early British origin (see also *Leland, Coll. I.* 75; *Dugd., Mon. II.* 461, 468; *Oliver's Monast. Exon.* pp. 1 sq., 15 sq.). And (the Devonshire) Tavistock, Benedictine, was as clearly Saxon, founded by Duke Ordgar who died A.D. 971 (*Id., ib.* pp. 89 sq., *Flor. Wig. in an.* 971). S. Burian's Collegiate Church is assigned to Athelstan c. A.D. 936 (*Id., ib.* pp. 6 sq.; *Kemble, C. D.* 1143; *Exeter Domesd.* fol. 121). Of the others, there apparently existed before the Norman Conquest, but whether of British date or not does not appear, the (Augustinian) monastery of Launceston (*Exeter Domesd.* fol. 93; *Leland, Coll. I.* 76, *Itin. II.* 79; *Dugd., Mon. IV.* 210), the Collegiate Churches of S. Carantoc and Perranzabuloe (*Exeter Domesd.* fol. 187, 188-190), and the Prebendal Church of S. Probus (*Exeter Domesd.* fol. 187: and see *Oliver*, as above quoted, pp. 21 sq., 54 sq., 59 sq., 71 sq.). To which Eadward the Confessor added a Benedictine monastery on S. Michael's Mount (*Charter* from S. Michael's Mount in France, in *Dugd. Mon. VI.* 989; and *Oliver*, as above, pp. 28 sq.).

<sup>a</sup> King Eadred's grant to S. Petroc's, of Newton, co. Devon, A.D. 946 x 955, is recited and confirmed by Henry III. A.D. 1272 (*Cart.* 57

Hen. III. m. 9, printed in *Oliver's Monasticon*). Æthelstan's grant of the same land to the same monastery (see *Pedler*, p. 167), is fictitious.

## APPENDIX D.

### PLACE OF ORIGINAL CORNISH SEE OR SEES.

In A.D. 664, and until Saxon encroachment had absorbed, first, Somerset, and then Devon, and shut up the Cornish west of the Tamar, there were, almost certainly, more Bishops than one in Cornwall, or at least in Dyfnaint or Damnonia (see above, p. 124). Nor is it impossible, that a Bishopric of Congresbury should have once existed in British hands, although certainly not so late as the middle of the 8th century (see above, p. 150). See also the conjecture hazarded above on p. 676 respecting Bishop "Mancant," as late as A.D. 932. The historical evidence to the locality of this see (or sees) is as follows:—

1. A.D. 833–870, there was a Cornish see at "Dinnurrin," in a monastery there, "in gente Cornubia" (Kenstec's Profession, above on p. 674); conjecturally = "Dingerein," and in that case the seat of the residence of the (British and Christian) King of Cornwall, but of which nothing more definite is known (assuming this identity) than that it was a sea-port: a description applicable in the same degree, and actually alike applied, to both S. Germain's and Petrockstowe or Bodmin (see above, p. 674, note b).
2. During the 9th century at the latest (Saxon ecclesiastical neighbourhood having so far influenced the document as to introduce into it the name of Gregory the Great, but leaving still S. Germanus as the patron saint, and the remembrance of Vortigern as the predominant historical feeling), and possibly even in the 8th century (the undoubted date of documents and tracts bound up in the same MS.), the fragment of the *Missa S. Germani*, printed above (p. 696), supplies us with a British name for (certainly) S. Germain's, viz. Llanaledh (of which no explanation suggests itself, unless that the name indicates a connection with Ireland); and this name is different from Dinnurrin or Dingerein, although it may of course have been only the (so to say) ecclesiastical name for that place. Nor does the fragment necessarily even imply that there was then a Bishop at S. Germain's.
3. Upon the conquest of Cornwall by Æthelstan, Leland quotes, "ex charta donat. Æthelstani," that the Saxon King "erexit in Eccle-

[PLACE OF ORIGINAL CORNISH SEE OR SEES.]

siam S. Germani Conanum Episcopum Anno Domini 936," or "926:" which would be conclusive for S. Germain's, were it not possible that Leland merely meant the see of Cornwall, and called it by the designation which really and certainly belonged to it during the last century of the Saxon period. The original charter, which would have determined the question, is unfortunately not extant.

4. The Bodmin manumissions of A.D. 941-1043 (above, pp. 676-683) do not prove the assumption, that the see was at Petrockstowe (distinctly identified by them with Bodmin and *not* Padstow) down to Bishop Burhwold inclusive (A.D. 1016-1035 or 1043), inasmuch as the choice of Bodmin for these manumissions does not exclude the possibility of other manumissions contemporaneously at S. Germain's, and was not necessarily determined to the Episcopal cathedral or monastery, nor does the presence of the Bishop's steward at Bodmin (p. 680, no. XXXI.) in any way prove that place to have been the Bishop's see. Both circumstances however do make it likely that the see was in some sense at Bodmin during these manumissions (viz. from at least about A.D. 941). But under Bishop Burhwold, A.D. 1016, whose see was certainly at S. Germain's, the circumstance that he did not—although Duke Ethelweard, on the same occasion, did—come from "Lyskerryt," i. e. Liskeard, to Bodmin to confirm a manumission (p. 679, no. XX.), destroys any special evidence for Bodmin, altogether.
5. The Welsh Chronicles however (above, p. 683) are said to add to the statement of the Danish destruction of Petrockstowe A.D. 981, as given by the *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* and *Flor. Wig.*, an express assertion that the Cornish see was on that account and then removed from Petrockstowe to S. Germain's:—which would be conclusive, if it could be trusted.
6. The Charter of Ethelred to Bishop Ealdred A.D. 994 (above, p. 684) expressly subjects S. Petroc's to S. Germain's, and is supposed to imply that it had once not been subject to it, but was so in 994.
7. The Charter of Cnut to Bishop Burhwold in A.D. 1018 (above, p. 686) distinctly implies that the see was then at S. Germain's.
8. The Charter of Eadward the Confessor to Bishop Leofric A.D. 1050, transferring the united sees from Crediton to Exeter (above, p. 691), describes the Cornish see as having been "olim in beati Germani memoria atque Petroci veneratione."
9. William of Malmesbury (*G. P. A. II. De Episc. Cridiens.* etc.),—by whose time the question had become uncertain,—tells us, that



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"Cornubiensium sane pontificum succiduum ordinem nec scio nec appono, nisi quod apud Sanctum Petrocum confessorem fuerit Episcopatus sedes; locus est apud aquilones Britones supra mare juxta flumen quod dicitur Hegelmithe: quidam dicunt fuisse ad Sanctum Germanum juxta flumen Liner supra mare in australi parte."—While, however,

10. Florence of Worcester or his continuator (*Append. ad Chron., M. H. B.* 643), mentions S. Germain's only—"In Domnania, quæ Devenescire dicitur, et in Cornubia, quæ nunc Cornugallia dicitur, erantque tunc" (in Saxon times) "duo Episcopatus, unus in Cridetuna, et alter apud Sanctum Germanum; nunc est unus, et est sedes ejus Exoniæ."
11. And lastly, an *Inquisitio* of 32nd Edw. III., Oct. 8 (A.D. 1358), recited in a Patent of Richard II. (Nov. 10th 7 Ric. II. i. e. 1383), expressly affirms that "tunc," viz. in the time of Cnut and of Bishop Burhwold, "fuit ibidem" (i. e. "in Ecclesia Sancti Germani") "sedes Episcopalis Cornubiæ."

It would seem to follow from these documents, 1. that the see was certainly but one see, and that at S. Germain's, yet with a kind of second cathedral at Bodmin, from Bishop Ealdred, or more precisely (if the Welsh statement is trustworthy) A.D. 981, to the year (1026 × 1035 or 1043) in which it was united to Crediton in the person of Bishop Living. 2. That it had possibly been at Petrockstowe, i. e. Bodmin, in a more decisive sense, prior to 981, upon the same Welsh evidence; perhaps, if at all, from the time of King Eadmund, perhaps from that of the Saxon Conquest of Æthelstan (although possibly indeed merged for a few years, under Bishop Ethelgar, in the see of Crediton), being during this period also a single see. 3. That in the year 926, Leland's language certainly inclines to fix it at S. Germain's, but not conclusively. 4. That up to the 7th century there may possibly have been two sees or more; but that Kentec's Profession is worded as if there were only one at that time, viz. in the middle of the 9th century. And if only one, then that before 926 it was at a place called Dinnurrin (or Dingerein) certainly, and if Dinnurrin be identified with S. Germain's, then of course at S. Germain's, which was at that time, however, certainly called Llanaledh. But the question must remain still undetermined, although probabilities incline towards S. Germain's, in default of evidence to fix with certainty the locality of "Dinnurrin<sup>a</sup>."

<sup>a</sup> See also *Pedler and Carne*, as quoted above, p. 683, note.

*E. H.*

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